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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 5, 1899.

The Week.

The news from Manila which tells of the surrender of Iloilo to the insurgents, and of a new and strong cabinet formed by Aguinaldo, is supplemented by news from Washington that President McKinley is thinking of sending a commission to the Philippines to study the conditions there, and to make recommendations as to the policy to be pursued in dealing with the islands. Gen. Merritt, who is now at Chicago, is reported as strongly disapproving the act of the Spanish Gen. Rios in surrendering to the insurgents, unless he (Rios) was compelled to do so by hunger or other *force majeure*. A fortnight ago the newspapers contained another remonstrance from Agoncillo, the diplomatic agent of the Filipinos, against the annexation of the islands to the United States. He argued strongly that Spain had nothing to cede in the Philippines; that her claims were annulled long before the Paris conference took place, and that since her pretended sovereignty had been overthrown she had nothing either to sell or to give away. If we add to this that the American troops in the islands are many of them suffering from climatic diseases, that they are pining to come home, and that their relatives are sending petitions to members of Congress every day for their discharge, and that the new army bill is not passed, we have a condition that may be rightly called a muddle. Nor is it likely that the conditions will simplify themselves with the lapse of time.

No illusion should be entertained about the antecedents and probable aims of the men of mixed blood who are now at the head of the so-called Philippine republic. Their patriotism has been, in the past, of too glaringly a mercenary character to make it easy to believe it now entirely disinterested. Most of them were concerned—certainly Aguinaldo was—in the famous treaty of Biacnabató, which was negotiated by Governor-General Primo de Rivera on December 14, 1897. This treaty was simply a contract for bribery on a gigantic scale. The sum semi-officially divulged in Spain was \$5,000,000. Of this, Aguinaldo's share was \$400,000, in consideration of which he agreed to waive his love of liberty and independence, and retire to Hong Kong, as he did. There may be more or less uncertainty about these figures, but there is none about a document which one of the Philippine insurgent leaders sent to Spain, and which was read openly before the Cortes. He was one Pedro Paterno,

afterwards elected President of the native Assembly, who informed the Spanish Government last February that the treaty of peace through bribery was due to his labors with the insurgent chiefs. He enclosed a bill for his services—namely, \$1,000,000, a dukedom of Castile for himself, and a Spanish title of Count for his brother. Later he issued an appeal to the islanders to cast their lot with Spain against the American invaders. The conversion of this man into a stern republican is a trifle sudden.

Nobody yet knows how large a part of the army must prepare for foreign service, or how long those regiments now in Manila or Cuba or en route must stay there. In the English army 102,000 men are kept abroad, each regiment being sent home for seven years after it has passed a like period in India, South Africa, or Egypt; and the draughts upon the 117,000 home troops for recruits to take the places of those incapacitated or killed by disease abroad have been so great as to cause the War Office much concern, and to lead to a large increase of the army as well as a partial reorganization. Our regiments are going across the seas with no home battalions to supply them during their absence with the fresh victims ever demanded, even of a conquering army, by the conqueror of all. Our War Department and generals, throwing away a rare opportunity for reform, have clung to a vicious, out-of-date staff system, and to numerically weak regiments, while making entrance to the commissioned offices free for all men without fitness and with pulls. The forty-seven regiments we are to have when Mr. Hull's bill passes in a month or two will, in all probability, not begin to supply the military needs of Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, and our own unsettled West, even with native auxiliaries to fall back upon, if our regulars are to have the boon of coming back to civilization at stated intervals. If we retain these island dependencies, we may count upon yearly assaults upon Congress for more soldiers as well as for more ships. It has been and is so the world over. Our Mahans and our Mileses, because of their training, will see new dangers every twelvemonth or oftener. Each island must be fortified, and must have its trained garrison to protect its flag. For the country that has once set its face squarely towards militarism and military governments there is no stopping. Does not Germany alone prove this?

The wage-workers of the United States have been slow in realizing that the annexation of the islanders of the

East and West Indies brings them face to face with something akin to Chinese cheap labor, and that they will not be able to resist it when it comes in that form. They seem now, however, to be waking up to the fact. On Saturday week the Central Labor Union of New York passed, with only one dissenting vote, resolutions against expansion. On Thursday evening last the similar organization at Boston took similar action, recording its "emphatic protest against the policy of imperialism now being shaped as the result of a war undertaken in the alleged name of humanity." In some parts of the country, resolutions have been passed by workmen expressing the belief that annexation of the Philippines is a part of a capitalistic scheme to bring about a reduction of wages. We do not think that there is any ground for this suspicion, but we agree with the Boston Central Labor Union that, if such a result should follow, it would aggravate industrial discontent to a dangerous degree. As surely as the Philippines are annexed, whatever the forms of annexation may be, and however we may seek to guard against the admission of their inhabitants to the present United States, they will find their way hither, and they cannot be kept out except by trampling under foot the foundation principle of the republic, which is the equality of all citizens under the law.

Ex-Secretary Day, in his speech on Monday night at Canton, surpassed all rivals, and they are many, in fulsome adulation of the President. He said of him that he could "not forbear an expression of satisfaction that the verdict of his countrymen, no less than the approving judgment of the world, gives him first place among the great men who have filled that high office." Shovel on the flattery thick, was Disraeli's cynical account of the way he came to stand so high in the Queen's favor; and we have seen a sickening amount of such shovelling, done in the most ostentatious way, by men who wanted something from Mr. McKinley. Mr. Day speaks as a man who has had something, and is squaring the account by this public fawning. It is not only a disgusting business, but a thing most demoralizing to public manners and morals. What becomes of our historic sense, of our standards of judgment, to say nothing of good taste and even decency, if we are to be called upon every day or two to fall down and worship a man whose life has been before the country for twenty-five years, and who never, in all that time, displayed a single first-rate quality of intellect or character? If he were half the great man his flatterers trumpet before him

that he is, the first thing he would do would be to bid them be still, for very shame's sake. A really great man in the Presidency would never let it even be imagined that the way to get office from him was to cover him with obsequious flattery; and if he caught the editor of the *Tribune* trying it on, he would say to him, as the Duke of Wellington said to a man singing his praises to his face, "Don't be a d—d fool!"

Señor Romero, the Ambassador of Mexico, whose death occurred last week, represented his country so long at Washington city, and made himself so much liked both there and elsewhere, that he seemed almost like one of our own citizens. He was long the Dean of the diplomatic corps, the social functions of which position he discharged in a charming manner. He was a frequent visitor to New York, and a welcome guest among all those who had the pleasure of acquaintance with him. He first came to Washington as Secretary of Legation in 1859, and was soon afterwards made *Chargé d'Affaires*. He returned home to fight the French when they invaded his country, and was appointed Minister at Washington when the government of Maximilian came to an end. He was also Secretary of the Mexican Treasury for a short time. Thus his diplomatic service was of nearly forty years' duration, and would have been quite so but for the interruptions mentioned above, which were voluntary on his part. His long official sojourn among us teaches that a diplomatic career, as distinguished from appointments made by the rules of chance and luck and party spoils, is not impossible or unbecoming in a republic, and that the best results of international intercourse are to be obtained when the diplomatic office seeks the man, and when it finds him holds him. Usually the importance of a Minister is in exact proportion to the importance of the country he represents, but it was not so in Romero's case. He added to the importance of his country in the eyes of the Government and people to whom he was accredited.

The difficulty which Governor Roosevelt is experiencing in finding a really first-rate man who is willing to accept the position of Superintendent of Public Works, calls attention anew to one of the most radical defects of our system of government. If we had permanent tenure during good behavior for all such places as this, we could then pay a sufficient salary to make it possible to obtain the very best talent for the public service; but so long as the term of service is limited by political changes in the Government, it would be folly to raise the salaries above their present limit, for to do so would have no other effect than to make more furious the

pursuit of the politicians for possession of them. A Governor of the Roosevelt type could be depended upon to fill them well, but one of the Black type would put Aldridges and Payns into them, and the only result would be that the State would pay expert prices for very bad service. Large salaries with uncertain tenure would not make the positions much more attractive to really desirable talent than they are now, for few experts would be willing to give up permanent private employment for two years' employment by the State, with a prospect of constant annoyance during that period and dismissal at its close. Col. Waring's experience in this city is typical of what a really desirable man is called upon to do when he is asked to take a public office in which expert ability is desired. He gave up a private business which brought him in something like \$20,000 a year, in order to serve this city for \$6,000 a year. He served the city in a way as nearly perfect as any official anywhere has ever done. There was absolutely no question of the faithfulness, success, and incalculable value of his work. What was the result? He was turned out of his place with as little ceremony or even decent respect as if he had failed utterly. His salary had been so inadequate for his very modest demands that a fund had to be raised after his death for the support of his family.

Col. Roosevelt caused the machine keen disappointment last week by appointing Lieut.-Col. Avery D. Andrews Adjutant-General of the National Guard. Even though that office has lost much of its former importance because of the new military code about to go into effect, the Governor-elect's readiness to place the disposal of its not inconsiderable patronage and moneys in the hands of an independent Democrat must be taken as highly significant of his determination to appoint to office the very best men available, without regard to the likes or dislikes of the party bosses. As a graduate of West Point, who has served almost continuously in the regular army and the State militia for the last twelve years, Gen. Andrews is in every way fitted for the duties of his position, while his excellent record as a Police Commissioner, and the independence of his attitude on all the questions which came up before the Police Board during his term of service, are guarantees that his new office will be administered with an eye single to the interests of the State and to the advancement of its military forces. Thus the National Guard enters upon the brightest year in its history under a sensible and progressive code of laws, and under the leadership of two trained and able soldiers, Gens. Roe and Andrews, who have the vigorous aid and hearty support of the first Governor in many years to possess military tastes

and knowledge. The change has come none too soon. Under the wretched military administration now passing from office and its present incompetent and political Adjutant-General, the State force has sunk low indeed. Its war record is tarnished by serious charges of cowardice and inefficiency, its armories have become primarily breeding-places of dissensions and scandals, and its entire condition is distempered and disordered. For it the dawn of good government has come at the darkest hour.

At first thought, the proposal of Mr. Croker to start an insurance company seems to be somewhat inexplicable, but when you come to consider the matter for a moment, you will see that there may be something in it after all. He started a club, and it has become a roaring success. He has started a surety company, and that is doing a fine business—how fine, nobody knows so well as the Platt Family Surety Company which gave Mr. Croker the idea. Both these Croker institutions owe their prosperity to the same basic fact—that everybody who wishes to stand well with the ruler of the city must join the one and do business in bonds with the other. Why may not the same principle be applied to the insurance business? If you want any favors from Tammany Hall, any nominations for office, any contracts, any places for yourself and friends—want, in short, to fortify and fructify your worldly fortunes by means of the Croker pull, why should not a good policy on your life in the Croker Life Insurance Company (Limited) be a sure way of doing this for you? In fact, so long as the Croker "pull" is the inexhaustible and irresistible source of power that it is at present, why should it not be made the working capital of business of all kinds? With an annual budget of \$100,000,000 behind it, with an enormous list of places to fill as the boss wishes, and with all the corporate wealth of the city as a mine from which to draw contributions, the resources of the "pull" are as near boundless as anything in the way of capital that the modern world has seen.

The practical disfranchisement of the blacks in Alabama and other Southern States, through the device of constitutional changes, is urged for various reasons, among others that the elimination of this element will enable the whites to divide their votes in safety, as they cannot now do. Thus the Savannah (Ga.) *News* recently asserted that, "if the menace of the black vote were removed, there would be two parties of white voters in all of the Southern States, and there would be just as much interest in Southern State elections as there is in an election in Vermont or any other State." But this theory is not sustained

by the experience of Mississippi, which was the first State to adopt the new policy. The colored vote was practically got rid of there eight years ago, and yet the whites show far less interest in elections now than they did before the change. The extraordinary situation which now exists is strikingly portrayed by the Vicksburg Herald, as follows:

"The restrictions and what preceded them have completely enervated the electoral body. Habituated to dependence upon organization for so many years for protection, when the peril of negro debasement is removed we find that the surrender to party absolutism has become second nature. The primary or the convention having spoken, the election is a mere formality. This is a realization of what Mr. Evarts, in the Senate debate upon our Constitution in 1891, called 'a desiccated suffrage.' The resulting political status is not democracy, it is oligarchy. But it is better than that from which we escaped. Still, does Georgia—which has not the depth and degree of negroism that we had—wish it?"

For more than a year a railroad-rate case of special interest has been pending before the United States courts. The North Dakota Railway Commissioners in May, 1897, adopted a schedule of rates for the railways operating in that State, which involved a reduction from existing charges of about 14 per cent. For refusing to publish the new schedule, or for disregarding it, the penalties were very severe; but the railroads applied for an injunction from the United States court to restrain the publication of the rates, thus bringing up the whole question of their reasonableness. This was elaborately argued for and against the State's contention, and a decision was finally handed down last week sustaining the railways. Judge Amidon, District Judge for Dakota, and Judge Thayer of St. Louis, sitting with him, found that the proposed rates would not have yielded a sufficient return to pay for the cost of handling the traffic, that they were therefore unreasonable, and that the order restraining their publication should be continued. To the lay mind this doctrine of "reasonableness" seems in conflict with the one laid down by the Supreme Court in the pooling case, in which it was held that a law of Congress need not be reasonable in order to be binding. But as North Dakota will probably appeal its own case to the Supreme Court, we shall find out in time if there is a conflict or not. Meanwhile, the decision of the District Court is a severe blow to the railway-barriers of the West.

Imperial penny postage took a long stride onward on Christmas Day, when the English Postmaster-General announced a list of some forty-five British possessions, including India, to which the letter-postage is hereafter to be one penny the half-ounce, instead of the present rate, 2½d. This is the result of prolonged agitation, led of late years by Mr. Henniker Heaton, and of many con-

ferences between colonial governments and delegates and the imperial authorities. The final upshot was an agreement that all those parts of the British empire which desired to have penny postage between themselves should be allowed to do so. Australia and Cape Colony do not as yet see their way clear to join the movement, on account of the expense of carrying letters inland; but all the other great colonies have now availed themselves of the privilege. This is a form of imperial federation and expansion which everybody must approve, except those who insist upon making expansion mean fighting. If empire meant solely the free exchange of ideas, as of goods, it would seem very tame to some of our military romancers, but it would really be empire at its best. There is a temporary expense involved, as a postal deficit will have to be made good for a time. This should recommend it to the expansionists, who fairly dote on expense. Yet our expansive Postmaster-General drew back from the proposal that penny postage should be established between the United States and Great Britain, on the ground that we could not afford it. We are spending so much on guns and ships and policing our empire that we have nothing left to pay postage.

Lord Salisbury, in his speech to the Constitutional Club on December 16, put in his neatest manner the difficulty of mixing the new diplomacy with the old. The cry of the new diplomats is that you must take the people into your confidence. Very good; but how can you take them into your confidence without taking everybody else in too—including the foreign nation with which you may have some delicate negotiation in hand, and to which you do not care to blurt out all your case? Lord Salisbury said he had always preferred greater reticence, but some of his colleagues had not taken the same view. But what had been the result of their attempts to lift the veil? Why, they had been instantly denounced for using indiscreet and provocative language. There is the dilemma. "If you want discretion and reticence, you may have it; but if you want the reverse of reticence, whatever it may be, you cannot expect to have what you consider to be discretion." Therefore, any unlucky Minister who ventured to speak at all about foreign relations was certain to be charged with indiscretion, or else charged with the more heinous crime of not taking the people into his confidence. Chamberlain and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach and Sir Edmund Monson will read this gentle railery with mixed feelings; but it certainly gives plausibility to the rumor that Salisbury is tiring of the cares of the Foreign Office, and that his throwing the reins so often on the necks of his subordinates is but preliminary to getting off the box altogether.

The same speech contained some sentences which certainly support the view of "Diplomaticus" in the *Fortnightly*, on which we recently commented. This was, that it was the knowledge of the threatening French conspiracy in Africa which tied the Prime Minister's hands in Armenia and in China. As if precisely to bear this out, Lord Salisbury said: "It may be quite true that there are some matters on which you do right to go to war, and yet the extreme step was not taken, but you must be sure before you take that action that there were no other possible or immediate complications within view which made it necessary to economize the force that was at the disposal of the Government." He also maintained that a government should be judged as a merchant would be who had failed in some enterprises, but succeeded in others, the failure being excusable by the necessity of reserving all his capital "for work that he knew was impending upon him, and of which he knew that all his capital was necessary for the success." This was only a diplomatic way of saying that the Foreign Office had to lie down in Turkey and China in order to be able to checkmate France at Fashoda.

The *Journal des Économistes* has a sad story to tell about French commerce and colonial policy, apropos of the Fashoda affair. Inquiring what can be the cause of the English feeling of irritation towards France, it attributes it to the operation of the Méline tariff on the commercial relations of the two countries. Under the treaties of commerce the exportations of England into France amounted to 665,000,000 francs; under the Méline tariff they have declined to 485,000,000 in 1896; while the French imports into England have risen, through English free trade, to 1,335,000,000, an increase of 300,000,000. More mischievous than this, the *Journal* thinks, is the French practice of closing to foreign commerce all her new colonial possessions. In 1880, under the treaties of commerce, the French foreign trade amounted to 8,500,000,000 francs; in 1897, under the Méline tariff, it has sunk to 7,554,000,000. The French exports to Algeria amount to 100,000,000 francs. This is the exact cost of the defence and administration of the colony, per annum. In other words, the taxpayers of France pay the profits of the French exporters, and this sixty years after the acquisition of the colony. There are among us a good many low "kickers" and grumblers, who predict exactly the same results for our colonization—that is, the payment, through the cost of defence and administration, by the taxpayers of the American exporters' profits. We are on the way to that glorious result already, and would advise that the persons who call attention to it be sent out of the country.

DEMOCRATIC WARS.

Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte read, at the meeting of the Civil-Service Reform Association, a fortnight ago, a very powerful paper in answer to the question, apropos of the events of the late war: Can we trust our army to spoilsmen? No more trenchant exposure of the levity and imbecility which marked our military operations has yet appeared, and we are glad to see that it has been reprinted in pamphlet form. But Mr. Bonaparte has to begin his observations, as most writers have to-day, by showing that he does not disapprove of war in general, or believe, with Gen. Sherman, that "war is hell!" or that Washington was a "Beelzebub," or that the men who fought at Bunker Hill, Saratoga, and Yorktown were "demons in training." What Gen. Sherman undoubtedly meant, and had to mean, was that war was as near a reproduction of the hell of the theologians as man could produce here on earth, which is strictly true. Any one who denies it cannot have seen war. War involves a complete dissolution of the ordinary bonds of civil society, and an abrogation of most of the rules of morality. What else could man do to imitate the state of things in the kingdom of Satan? Literal reproduction of hell is not within our reach. We cannot command lakes of fire, and eternal torments, with three-pronged forks, but we inflict all the tortures of which we are capable, and to-day thousands of our best minds are busy improving the means of killing and maiming human beings and destroying the material results of civilization over large areas, so as to make the lot of the inhabitants as unhappy as possible. What else is Satan's regular business?

This part of Mr. Bonaparte's address is, in fact, what we call rhetorically "the placatory clause" which most of our writers have to use in order to secure a patient hearing from a public not accustomed to plain logic. Mr. Bonaparte says he addresses "those of my fellow-countrymen (numbering, in my opinion, certainly nine out of every ten of them) who have no longing for wars or conquests, and view with distrust and misgiving our adoption of a meddling, visionary foreign policy which leads to these, but who know that, while men remain neither better nor worse than men, there will be times when the sword must be drawn, and know, moreover, that often it can remain in the scabbard because, and only because, it is, and is known to be, sharp and ready to the hand which shall wield it." We presume he also addresses "many thousands of our young men who left their homes for a war which, as I have reason to think, a large majority deemed unnecessary and unwise. In their cheerfulness and obedience under privations, all the harder to bear because plainly needless, and in the steadiness and gallantry displayed

by substantially all of them who went into action, I see, perhaps, the most encouraging and healthful symptoms of our national life."

As Mr. Bonaparte's thesis is simply that a nation should not go to war without preparation, he is, doubtless, not called on to discuss the proper causes or proper time to go to war. But so strangely constituted is the human mind that we see in this readiness of young men to take the field in person in "a war which a large majority deemed unnecessary and unwise," not a "most encouraging and healthful symptom of our national life," but a dangerous one. There could not be a better illustration than the late war, as Mr. Bonaparte describes it, of the enormous danger and barbarism of any war, except a plainly defensive one, for a democracy like ours. The war with Spain was, he admits, "unnecessary and unwise," and, therefore, frightfully wicked. It was more than usually wicked because we were entirely unprepared for it, and, therefore, it promised great loss of life among our own people, and great injury to the health of our young men, without any compensatory damage to the enemy.

Now, who got up this "unwise and unnecessary war" and hastened its outbreak? A small set of distrusted politicians at Washington known to Mr. Bonaparte as the "spoilsmen"—that is, men without much conscience or honor or real patriotism, for whom these young men, who went into the field so readily, had no respect in private life. But, by an old monarchical tradition, these spoilsmen were, for the time being, "the country," and, therefore, at liberty to launch Christian men, without inquiry, into any enterprise they chose to designate as "patriotic," as if man was not a moral being before he became a citizen, or ceased to be one after he became a citizen. An American citizen has still, in the nineteenth century of the Christian era, to follow our politicians to their wars, as Englishmen had to "follow the king to his wars" in the fifteenth century, without any inquiry as to what the war was about.

The belief that a wish on the part of a politician for war gives him a claim on your life and property and health which you are bound to honor, without question as to cause, or preparation, or prospect of success, is to us one of the greatest dangers of modern democracy. In the sixteenth and seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the kings were, like Louis XIV., held to be entitled, if they enjoyed war, to ruin their countries with it, the evil was in some degree, as we pointed out the other day in connection with Taine's comments on the Napoleonic conscription, mitigated by the fact that wars were carried on by voluntary enlistment. The people who were carrying on the work of civilization in their various occupations were not held bound to leave them, that the king

and the court might see them march and counter-march, and open trenches, and die miserably, for their entertainment. Most of their victims were men to whom no better lot was open. But as the tradition has come down to us, anybody who can secure a nomination, or even buy it, can call for the flower of our youth for a hopeless conflict, as the Venezuela war would have been, or for an "unnecessary and unwise" conflict, as the late war admittedly was. This readiness of our youth to respond, like Italian mercenaries, is to us alarming, and, if it continue, full of evil promise. For we may rely upon it that, with the increase of our army and navy and of our ambition, this will not be the last war the politicians will get up, in order to save an election, or to help financiers, or to get money through contractors for "the party."

Are we, then, in favor of peace at any price, or opposed to all war? Have we no respect for "the soldier's glorious trade," or for military courage, or for the great exploits by which empires have been built? The greatest possible. We have here a placatory clause against which the gates of hell cannot prevail, namely, Do not go to war until you know what it is about and whether it cannot be avoided. Above all, in a democracy, see that your wars are defensive, and not wars of conquest or contractors' wars. The morality and necessity of all offensive wars are doubtful, for their secret causes lie beyond the reach of the ordinary citizen's inquiry. The politician's temptation to deceive or humbug him is almost irresistible. But there never can be any doubt about the morality and necessity of a defensive war. For that too great a number of young men cannot rush to the field. Washington's war was defensive. The soldiers of Bunker Hill and Yorktown and Saratoga were defending their liberty. They had that most precious thing, "a cause" which they understood and could justify. When they suffered, they suffered from poverty, not from villany. When they died, they were sure they died for man, and not that a political party might keep "the offices" and demagogues blather over the dead.

THE QUESTION OF RESPONSIBILITY.

Some days ago the organ of the Administration in New York, in a passage on which we made a few remarks last week, spoke as follows:

"The final character of our colonial rule depends on the people, not on the President. No Administration makes the spoils system, but the popular pressure against which Presidents with varying force contend, and the public opinion which encourages or discourages them in resisting spoilsmen."

It has been impossible or very difficult (for those, at least, who neither admire nor trust Mr. McKinley) not to take this sort of semi-official announcement as connected with a President's failure,

for the first time in twenty-five years, to make any mention in his message of civil-service reform. This almost formal warning that the present Executive will not be responsible for the way in which our new possessions are to be governed, is enough to send a cold shiver down the back of an honest expansionist. We know, too, that he is at this moment contemplating the removal of about 2,000 places from the classification, and handing them back to the spoilsmen on a report from them that they would like to have the disposal of them. In fact, the signs and omens are to-day all unpleasant as regards the Executive, good as they may be as regards the public at large.

Various commercial bodies all over the country are already moving in the direction of consular reform, and their memorials to the President all assume that he can bring about the change and make our shame to cease if he pleases; and this at the very moment that his own organs are giving out that the matter does not depend on him, but on the "people." In a speech which Mr. McKinley made at Savannah recently, he said:

"If, following the clear precepts of duty, territory falls to us, and the welfare of an alien people requires our guidance and protection, who will shrink from the responsibility, grave though it be?"

Here he clearly recognizes the existence of responsibility somewhere—how created, he does not explain—for "the welfare of an alien people," and inquires, "Who will shrink from the responsibility, grave though it be?" Now the responsibility for the welfare of an alien people always devolves, in civilized governments on the chief of the state, that is, on the Executive. There are both reason and business in this arrangement. Seventy millions of men, women, and children engaged in earning their bread or completing their education cannot "afford guidance and protection to an alien people."

They have enough to do to secure "guidance and protection" for themselves. They pay \$50,000 a year and provide with a house a gentleman named McKinley, for taking care of such "alien peoples" as he brings home, all out of their scanty earnings. They do not expect him to shout to them to look after the Tagals and the Malays, after he has himself invited them to look on him as their "great father." The great Griggs has, it is true, perorated much about the eagerness of the American people for "responsibility" for inferior races, but the only sign of this responsibility we have seen is to be found in the Griggs "rainbow" speeches. What the American people *plainly* wishes, is that Admiral Dewey should supply the guidance and protection, and they will gladly read accounts of his chastisement of inferior races with quick-firing guns. But that "the people" means itself to take any

special measure about any "alien people" we have never heard, and do not believe.

Another thing to be remembered is that this tendency on the part of American officials to throw responsibility on "the people" and shirk it themselves, is almost as old as the republic, and the principal thing against which the friends of good government have had to contend ever since "reform" first began to be spoken of. If an official does not take refuge behind "the people," he takes refuge behind "the party." He always tries to make "the party" responsible for the administration of his office. If he or his subordinates do wrong, it is "the party" which is to blame. In large affairs it is "the people"; and, of course, "the party" and "the people" are both bodies which, for purposes of administration, can neither be found nor called to account. It was an old maxim of the Schoolmen that the same rule applies both "to things which are not visible and things which are non-existent." This is singularly true in politics. In the mouth of a guilty or negligent official "the people" is simply the "wicked partner." All that has been accomplished in the way of civil-service reform has been the work of Presidents who boldly met their responsibility to the nation. All the failures which civil-service reformers have met with have been due to the dishonest or corrupt pretence of Presidents that they could not resist "the pressure"—that is, the persuasion of a small group of men in Washington whom they knew to be both venal and selfish.

If, now, the proper government of our dependencies is to be prevented by a pretence of "pressure," if nobody is going to take it in hand until 70,000,000 of people busy themselves about the "guidance and protection" of our new acquisitions, we confidently predict that the 12,000,000 we have seized will "get left." War is a delightfully exciting pastime, for the women and boys especially, who read about "thrilling exploits" in the newspapers. It seems so easy to govern "dependencies" by reading of their seizure by the army and navy in the penny *Blatherskite*; but governing them in a manner on which we can invoke "the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God," is a very different matter. Very few want to read about the details of administration, and least of all the women who love war and think it improves a young man's character. Administering subject-races when you receive little or no help from the ruled, is one of the driest and dreariest of human occupations. To do it honestly and efficiently requires the highest character, indomitable industry, and an unconquerable love of detail. The notion that "the people" will engage in it, or watch it, or concern themselves about it abroad, any more than they have con-

cerned themselves about it at home, has a dishonest stamp on its face when produced by an expansionist. Those on whom the responsibility of governing our new dominions falls are the Executive first, and then, Congress, and they ought to be at work at it now, instead of delivering homilies on the magnificence of the task and urging their neighbors to tackle it.

JUSTIN S. MORRILL.

The biography of Justin S. Morrill will, if it come to be written, embrace a large part of the political and especially of the financial history of the United States during the last forty-five years. He was elected a Representative in Congress in 1854 and has held a seat in one house or the other ever since. No other member now living has sat there so long without intermission. When he entered public life, Franklin Pierce was President and Jefferson Davis Secretary of War. Stephen A. Douglas was the leader of the Democratic party in the North, and Abraham Lincoln, though he had sat in Congress, was little known beyond the borders of his own State. James Buchanan came to the Presidency two years later, and the drama of secession and civil war did not open until Mr. Morrill's third term in the House. Only persons well past middle life can remember the time when he was not in Congress. It was his fortune to represent a State not afflicted with the Boss system. Consequently, there was never any question respecting his seat so long as he cared to occupy it. The office sought him in the beginning and continued to seek him to the end. He never had to fight for his seat, or to concern himself about retaining it; and in this respect, as well as in the length of his occupancy of it, his career has been unique.

A man thus favored by opportunity ought to have made a mark upon the times in which he lived, and this Mr. Morrill has done in two or three ways. His name is coupled with the tariff legislation of the civil war. This may or may not have been wise. History will deal with that question as it has dealt with the corn laws of England and other restrictive legislation of the past. The principle of protectionism was dead when Mr. Morrill entered Congress, and he never thought of reviving it until the war made increased revenues, both by tariff and internal taxes, necessary. Mr. Morrill, while a believer in protection, was not an extremist. The bills later than his own (of which there were two or three while he was still a member of the House) were not at all to his liking, but he went with his party. He could hardly do otherwise, yet his influence was generally given for lower duties than his party associates desired. So well was this known that the protected

classes made it a practice of doubling their demands, because they knew that Father Morrill would cut them down one-half.

Mr. Morrill's best influence upon the financial legislation of the country was negative rather than positive. He was a stubborn opponent of Government paper money in all forms, down to the day of his death, and he never omitted an opportunity to express his opinions. When the legal-tender act was introduced in the session of 1861-'62 he spoke against it, voted against it, and wrote against it. His early arguments on this subject as read to-day do not suffer by comparison with anything that has been said or written since. He held that honest taxation and honest borrowing were the only safe and just methods for obtaining the means to carry on the war, and that legal-tender issues were both dangerous and dishonest. It was largely due to his efforts and his rising influence on the financial side of legislation that a limit was finally put to greenback issues. In the latter part of 1863 that limit was reached and was adhered to. Congress had come to Mr. Morrill's platform, and from that time forward the war was carried on by taxation and borrowing only. Government notes were still issued to some extent, but they bore interest and hence were in the nature of loans, and were as little mischievous as possible. Mr. Morrill, as he had opposed the greenbacks in their inception, was always in favor of their retirement, and in the later struggles over the silver question was always the leading opponent of every form of depreciated currency. The Government credit was ever the object of his solicitude and the very apple of his eye.

Mr. Morrill left his mark in another department of public affairs. He was the author of the Agricultural College act, by virtue of which a large part of the public domain was saved from the grasp of railroad speculators and applied to the purposes of education. This is perhaps the act by which Mr. Morrill will be longest known to posterity. He was distinguished also by his opposition to all kinds of foreign adventure. He opposed the annexation of San Domingo, of St. Thomas, of Hawaii, and of the Spanish colonies in the East and West Indies. His death at this time is a serious loss to those who are opposing the ratification of the treaty with Spain.

Mr. Morrill was not an orator. His speeches were all written and read from manuscript, yet they will outlive most of the random talk of the Senate of the present day. He was a man of spotless character. He was never a place-seeker for himself or for anybody else. Among all the bad appointments that have disgraced the civil service from time to time, nobody can recall one that is associated with his name. No scandal ever came near him. He was modest to a

fault. He had no aim or desire beyond the performance of his duty. He never wore his patriotism on his sleeve. He was of the best type of American statesmanship—one of the old school that we read about in the history of the American Revolution and of the years immediately succeeding—the school of Roger Sherman and Albert Gallatin; and as he is carried to the grave we ask ourselves doubtfully, not whether his successors will be born, but whether they will find their way into public life.

THE SPANISH STORY OF SANTIAGO.

Almost the first full account of the siege and battles of Santiago from the Spanish point of view is to be found in a book published in Madrid by a lieutenant in the Spanish navy, Don José Müller y Tejero. Stationed at Santiago before the arrival of Cervera's squadron, he was personally cognizant of most of the subsequent operations; and from his own diary, and from accounts given him by participants in the land battles and in the sea fight, he is able to give a connected and consecutive story of each day's events. He includes in his book, which he entitles '*Combates y Capitulación de Santiago de Cuba*,' a few official documents—such as reports of the number of troops, the returns of killed and wounded, the paper drawn up by the Spanish officers advising Toral to surrender, etc. None of these throws much new light on the campaign, their chief value, as also that of Lieut. Tejero's records from day to day, being to show under what hopeless disadvantages and mismanagement the Spanish cause labored from the first.

The Lieutenant makes no complaints. He writes with true Spanish fatalism. Yet his narrative avails to set forth the neglect and *insouciance* of the Spanish authorities in strong colors. When Cervera entered Santiago, he knew, in spite of the rejoicings in Spain, that his fleet was doomed. So did all the military authorities at Santiago—at least, as soon as they learned that no more ships were coming to support Cervera. While Madrid was joyful, consternation reigned in Santiago. The naval and army authorities foresaw at once what would happen—the blockade, the siege and its predestined end. Yet what was done? Absolutely nothing, except to prepare to die like Spaniards. The town was but scantily provisioned to begin with. There was a margin of nine or ten days before the blockade began, in which to import supplies from Jamaica, but not a ship's load entered. After it was too late, the attempt was made to run in cargoes of provisions, but, of course, the American blockaders captured them all. Then there was the question of reinforcements. Fifteen or twenty thousand troops were within call at Holguin, Man-

zanillo, and elsewhere; but not a battalion moved. Finally, when again too late, Gen. Escario marched his 3,000 men from Manzanillo, only to arrive after the fighting was over and to hasten the surrender of the garrison by the sooner exhausting their meagre supplies.

As for Cervera's squadron, Lieut. Tejero adds new details to the facts showing the crippled condition in which it went out to be destroyed. Short of coal, short of guns, short of ammunition, with boilers and engines out of order, the ships were lost before they sailed. No one knew this more certainly than Cervera and his men. They went out only on positive orders, and they went out to infallible destruction. The serene courage with which they did it is enough to justify Lieut. Tejero in asserting that July 3, in spite of its disastrous results, was a glorious day for Spain. No country ever saw her sons go to certain death with a calmer bravery. It is a fine picture which the Lieutenant gives us of a gallant gentleman when he describes Cervera on his flagship at the moment of clearing the channel. Already the *Maria Teresa* was under a hail of shot, already the dead and wounded were thick on her decks and in her batteries. But the Admiral coolly stepped to the ship's side to see the pilot off, and called out, smiling, "Good-bye, pilot. Hurry out of this! They mustn't fail to pay you, for you have earned your money."

The fighting on land was clearly as much of a revelation of the American soldier to the Spanish as it was of the Spanish to the American. Lieut. Tejero speaks in warm praise, and with a certain surprise, of the intrepid dash of the American troops charging entrenchments held by men with modern repeating rifles. But the Spanish regulars lived up to that proudest Spanish boast, that they "knew how to die." Out of 520 men in the trenches at El Caney, but 80 came out alive. It was the Twenty-ninth Battalion of the Constitution that bore the brunt of this deadly assault, and Lieut. Tejero says, what we have heard from other sources, that, after the surrender, whenever the American soldiers saw a Spaniard with "29" on his collar, they instantly fell to shaking his hand and offering to treat him. A like agreeable discovery of each other's quality was made in the care of the Spanish wounded who fell into our hands. When told by a Lieutenant of the attentions lavished upon him in the American hospital, Señor Tejero innocently wrote: "So it was only the American Government and the Jingoos who were bloodthirsty."

He closes with a few frank remarks about the causes which led to the Spanish loss of Cuba. Chief among these he places the selfish exploitation of the island, solely in the interest of Spain and of Spanish officials. Then he also admits, while he deplures, the excessive

cruelty which had marked Spanish administration, and especially Spanish attempts to put down insurrection. Outrage provoking outrage, and massacre leading to massacre, the condition of things in Cuba at the beginning of this year was, he confesses, such as to excuse, if not justify, interference by other countries.

THE ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION AT NEW HAVEN.

NEW HAVEN, December 30, 1898.

The eleventh annual meeting of the American Economic Association, held here this week with Yale University, was one of the most satisfactory in the recent history of the Association. Attendance was large and representative. The academic element predominated, and certain familiar figures from the Western and Middle States were absent; but this seems to be remediable neither by variety in programme nor alternation in place of assembly. The simultaneous meeting of the American Historical Association offered pleasant opportunities for joint sessions and personal intercourse, and many will regret the apparent necessity for separate gatherings of the two organizations in 1899.

The characteristic features of the meeting were the successful use of special committees for the investigation of assigned economic topics, and the relative dominance in programme and in discussion of practical economic questions over aspects of economic theory. The first fact represents a further stage in the evolution of the traditional scheme of detailed, miscellaneous papers into a series of general discussions of larger economic problems. The use of special committee reports as a basis for discussion removes the one danger of this plan by assuring active debate and substantial results, and is likely to become the future policy of the Association. The emphasis put upon problems of economic practice as contrasted with economic theory reflects the current phase of economic study. A few years since, the reaction against the historical movement in economic science, accentuated by the acute deductive studies of the Austrian economists, led to remarkable activity in economic analysis. The results can hardly be said to have been commensurate with the effort expended, and the return of the younger American economists to the domain of concrete economic investigation, leaving the field of constructive economic theory, temporarily at least, in the possession of the few mature economists possessing especial fitness therefor, can only be accounted a distinct scientific gain.

Singularly enough, this was foreshadowed in President Arthur T. Hadley's brilliant address on Tuesday evening on "The Relation between Economics and Politics." With characteristic originality of thought and vigor of expression, Prof. Hadley analyzed the palpable phenomenon that, at the present day, with economic science in some respects at the height of its prosperity, the practical influence of the economists on government and legislation is not only less than it should be, but actually less than it many times has been. It is the same circumstance which Prof. F. H. Giddings briefly discussed at the Baltimore meeting two years ago under

the title, "Popular Respect for Economic Knowledge." Prof. Hadley found the primary cause of this condition of affairs to be the fact that the new political economy has substituted a vaguer conception of wealth for the more concrete one, and many of its propositions have suffered a corresponding loss of clearness and precision. With this loss of concreteness of conception has come a loss of definiteness of aim—the almost inevitable result of substituting the principles of a science for the practice of an art. Not only have the utterances of the economists thus lost in precision, but the scope of their influence has been further reduced by the modern development of jurisprudence and administration. The courts have made themselves independent of the aid of the economists by basing their adjudication of distinctly modern problems upon precedent rather than upon scientific analysis. Similarly, the organization of modern representative government, with its neglect of collective interests and its checks upon administrative power, has further reduced the economist to the exercise of an uncertain, spasmodic influence.

Such an analysis affords no warrant for pessimism. It simply emphasizes the message—delivered by Prof. Hadley in no uncertain tone—that at this time, of all others, with new problems at hand of the gravest economic import, the economists should recognize that their largest opportunity in the immediate future lies "not in theories but in practice, not with students but with statesmen, not in the education of individual citizens, however widespread and salutary, but in the leadership of an organized body politic."

The session on Wednesday morning was devoted to the report of the special committee appointed at the Cleveland meeting a year ago to consider the scope and method of the twelfth census. Under the chairmanship of Prof. Richmond Mayo-Smith of Columbia University, the committee have performed a valuable service by securing a series of valuable papers from independent authors upon various phases of the last Federal census, together with suggestions regarding the scope and method of the next. These papers will be printed at an early date as a monograph of the Association. In addition, a circular-letter was sent to all members of the Association inviting specific criticisms and suggestions, and the practical conclusions of the committee are based in part upon the opinions thus received. The desirability of a permanent census organization and its subordination to civil-service rules is noted; and a reduction of the number and variety of the investigations ordered, by the transfer of certain subordinate inquiries to established departments, is advised. Attention is also called to positive defects in census methods, such as the lack of comparability in the data from census to census, the lack of co-ordination, faults of enumeration, and faults in the textual analysis of the figures.

The only two phases of the committee's report discussed by the Association were the attempts to secure statistics of capital in manufacture and statistics of municipal finance. As to the practicability of securing any adequate presentation of the capital engaged in industry, there was marked difference of opinion. As to the painful inadequacy of the statistics of municipal finance contained in the last census, and the importance of sound but simple classification in

the coming enumeration, there was practical unanimity.

A no less noteworthy report was presented on Thursday morning by the committee on currency reform, also appointed at Cleveland a year ago, under the chairmanship of Prof. F. M. Taylor of the University of Michigan. Expressly disavowing any responsibility of the Association for the views presented, and making no attempt to further complicate the situation by the formulation of another comprehensive plan of reform, the committee expressed their own opinions as to the need, objects, and methods of such reform in a series of candid, moderate statements.

The need of reform is found in the insecurity of the standard, the inelasticity of the circulation, and the present peculiar conjuncture of circumstances favorable to reform. The committee admit that to a large number of economists the gold standard, abstractly considered, is undesirable; but the particular substitute which such economists favor, *i. e.*, international bimetalism, is described as no longer a practical issue, and until it again becomes so it is highly desirable, as even the sturdiest international bimetalist will admit, that all uncertainty as to the basis of the currency be removed. This can be effected by an explicit definition of the standard in terms of gold, by devolving upon the banks the task of maintaining the convertibility into gold of other forms of currency, or, if this be found impracticable, by a reorganization of the Treasury Department with reference to the duty of maintaining the standard.

The security of the standard once established, some measure of elasticity should be introduced in the circulating note system and some provision made for the extension of banking into country districts. Note issue based in part upon ordinary banking assets, and a supplementary system of branch banking, seem the best methods for accomplishing these results. Failing these, a number of familiar amendments of the national banking act are suggested.

In connection with the report on currency reform is to be mentioned Prof. F. W. Taussig's striking paper on "Some Aspects of the United States Treasury Situation in the Years from 1894 to 1896." The paper dealt with the manner in which the Treasury accumulated and hoarded legal tender notes in these years, and more particularly during the period from November, 1895, to October, 1896. This process of hoarding greenbacks must have been the result of deliberate policy by the Administration; yet, strange to say, not a word is to be found concerning it in the official Treasury reports. Just as the silver currency, issued under the act of 1878, proved to be excessive during a period of depression, and flowed back into the Treasury in 1884-86, so the legal tenders flowed back in 1894-96. The essential difference was that in 1884-86 the Treasury was so fortunate as to have a large excess of receipts over expenditures, and was able quietly to hoard a large volume of silver currency. This condition was lacking in 1894-96, and the resulting difficulties and disturbances may be expected, in the entire absence of any means of accommodating the volume of the currency to the varying condition of business, to recur with any period of depression.

The only contribution to economic theory, but probably the most important single pa-

per, presented at the meeting, was Prof. John B. Clark's profound study on "Dynamic Standards of Wages and Interest." Both in its interpretation of the classical theory of normal cost and in the analysis of the interrelation of wages and entrepreneur's gain, the essay formed a weighty addition to the modern theory of distribution. It afforded new evidence of the completeness with which Prof. Clark is developing the details of his economic system, and heightened the eagerness with which his long-promised treatise is awaited.

The session of Wednesday afternoon was devoted to papers on American Economic History. In addition to Prof. Taussig's study noted above, Dr. G. S. Callender presented an admirable essay upon the origin of internal improvement enterprises in the United States; Prof. J. C. Schwab gave a further instalment of his laborious researches into the financial history of the Confederate States, in the form of a careful survey of prices and price movements during the civil war; Prof. C. S. Walker reviewed the course of recent economic changes in Massachusetts. The remaining papers were presented on Thursday afternoon by Mr. W. F. Willoughby on the present study of labor problems in France; by Mr. C. W. Curtis on municipal taxation as a means of public control of corporations; by Dr. Max West upon the nature of municipal franchises. In the uniformly high quality of the papers presented, this session was one of the most successful of the meeting.

The arrangement of the programme permitted attendance upon the address of the President of the American Historical Association, Prof. George P. Fisher, on Wednesday evening, and upon the session of that association on Thursday evening, devoted to papers on matters affecting the present foreign policy of the United States. The social features of the meetings were most attractive. Yale University, the New Haven Historical Society, the local committee of arrangements, and resident members of the Association vied in cordiality, while some of the most delightful incidents of the meeting were made possible by the hospitality of the Graduates' Club.

The business transacted by the Council of the Association was for the most part routine. The place and time of the next meeting were fixed, after some discussion—at Ithaca with Cornell University, and the Christmas recess of 1899. The policy of special committees for the investigation of designated economic topics was endorsed, and the executive committee were authorized to make necessary selections and appointments. The affairs of the Association are in a satisfactory condition, and additional members will be welcomed upon the nomination of the Secretary, Prof. Walter F. Willcox, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. Prof. Hadley was reelected President for the ensuing year.

J. H. H.

THE ABBÉ MORELLET.

PARIS, December 13, 1898.

The Abbé Morellet, so well known in the latter part of the eighteenth century among the promoters of the science of political economy, was a great friend of Lord Shelburne, who became Marquis of Lansdowne. His correspondence with Lord Shelburne is now in London, at Lansdowne House. It has just been published by Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice,

author of a Life of Lord Shelburne.* The intimate relations of the Abbé Morellet with English society lend a particular interest to this correspondence.

"The cause of peace," says Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice in a short preface, "and the cause of the abolition of commercial hindrances, especially of those which hamper the trade between France and England, are the causes which Morellet defends always and everywhere. He will say with Talleyrand: 'What is a treaty of peace? It is not a treaty which, regulating the sum of the contested objects, substitutes a state of peace for a state of war; it must besides substitute friendship for hatred.' Morellet thought that he saw such a peace in 1783, when the Treaty of Versailles, negotiated by his friend Lord Shelburne, put an end to war in Europe and recognized the independence of the English colonies in America."

Such a peace, a peace substituting friendship for hatred, is seldom to be obtained, and the close of the present century seems to show us, in Europe, a renewal of international hatred like that which embittered the last days of the philanthropic Morellet. Could he live again, he would also see how little progress those principles of political economy of which he was an ardent defender have made. He had the satisfaction of seeing many barriers to trade destroyed in France, and destroyed for ever; but he would now see international barriers raised all over the world, and protectionism in the ascendant at the end of a century which prides itself on being an era of progress. Some of the letters of Morellet on the question of protection are singularly eloquent. Read, for instance, this written on the 13th of March, 1776, from Paris:

"Our peasants have been delivered of the corvée and do not revolt in order to be subjected to it again. Guilds have been abolished, and we have as good cloth and as good shoes as before, and the workmen have not begun a civil war. We have given liberty to the trade in bread and meat over a territory of four hundred square leagues about the capital; bread and meat abound in Paris more than before. Such is the effect of the plain policy which restores liberty to us; for, as liberty is a natural state, and as all hindrances make on the contrary a forced state, if you give liberty, everything takes its place again and all is at peace."

Morellet, in the same letter, blames the English Government for its behavior towards the Americans:

"You are, unfortunately, still far from the principles I have set forth, though you have already very precious liberties. The liberty of commerce is still wanting. . . . Your Ministers have not seen that by enslaving and ruining the Americans they are drying up an abundant source of wealth and of necessities of which the natural relations between a metropolis and a colony, between people of the same blood and speaking the same language, would assure them the principal part, even if they were left completely free and absolutely independent. The stupid jealousy of trade which, for two centuries, has taken the place of other political follies, makes you to-day increase the burden of the national debt—that is to say, impoverishes you now, and will impoverish you more in the future, by the ruin of a vast country which you ought to regard as land added to your own. Your ministers are like a feudal lord who . . . should make war on his own farmers, and seize their horses and set fire to their barns—which would certainly hinder them from paying their rent the year after. This is the sublime policy against which you and a few sensible people have arrayed yourselves with so much force and reason."

The Abbé Morellet's correspondence with

**Lettres de l'Abbé Morellet à Lord Shelburne.* Paris: Plon, Nourrit & Cie.; New York: Dykes & Pfeiffer. 1898.

Lord Shelburne begins in January, 1772, and goes as far as 1803. We find in it details on Helvetius, Baron d'Holbach, Dr. Priestley, Dr. Price. Morellet takes much interest in English affairs. He gives his friend all the news of Paris, of Madame Geoffrin, of whom Shelburne said that she was the only person "whom he would like to be governed by"; of Mademoiselle de Lespinasse: "She continues to say that you are of all Englishmen the one who pleased her most—I would not say the most amiable, since you have a little aversion to that word."

In 1775 Turgot was appointed Controller-General. France was threatened with famine, and bread became so dear that the people rose in various places against the bakers and the farmers. At Versailles a troop of peasants pillaged the market; in Paris four or five hundred people forced an entrance into all the bakers' shops, and the police did not interfere. Turgot obtained at once from the King the dismissal of the Lieutenant of Police, named Le Noir; he took energetic measures, notwithstanding the resistance of the Parlement, and the King supported him against it. "The King showed himself very reasonable and firm." At that very moment Necker wrote a pamphlet on "Legislation and the Corn Trade," which Morellet sent to Lord Shelburne. In it Necker attacked violently Turgot's administration. Morellet stood by Turgot. "Some," he says, "find the pamphlet excellent; others, among whom am I, find it very bad." Turgot suppressed as fast as he could all privileges.

"He has just suppressed the privileges of the cities of Bordeaux and of Marseilles, which were a great inconvenience to the wine trade. It is to be hoped that this operation will bring agriculture in all the provinces of Languedoc to a high state of prosperity. You will have cheaper wine and our gains will be greater. Turgot continues to destroy all the hindrances to liberty of trade—our guilds, with their privileges always fatal to industry, to the activity and the wealth of the nation; he attacks and suppresses all the rights of way, etc., all the tolls on roads and rivers; . . . he reforms all our municipal administrations, whose expenses were excessive, often without object or utility. . . . In short, we are going in the right direction, and if we have only three or six years of this administration, there will be so much good done that we shall be obliged to continue, and I do not doubt that this will be a memorable time in the history of our monarchy."

When the American crisis became acute, Morellet wrote to Lord Shelburne (January 5, 1777):

"We take much interest in American affairs, and there are more partisans of liberty for Americans in Paris than in the whole province of New York. We have read with much pleasure the letter of Franklin to Lord Howe, and we wait with some impatience for the good news of a defeat of Gen. Cornwallis. You will say, perhaps, that we are less the friends of liberty for Americans than the enemies of Great Britain, and this may be true of many people among us; but I am glad to tell you that everybody is not so anti-British, and that I wish you great prosperity while I want the Americans to be free, and that many of us are of that mind."

Turgot was dismissed in the beginning of 1777. Morellet regrets it, though he confesses to Lord Shelburne that Turgot was very maladroit in persuading men. He announces in the same letter the marriage of his niece to Marmontel and the illness of Madame Geoffrin; a little later the death of this famous "mother of the philosophers."

The American war is the subject of many letters. Morellet never had a doubt as to the final triumph of the American cause; he told Lord Shelburne over and over again

that England could not bear for many years the expense of a war on the continent of America and on the high seas in all parts of the world. He quotes often the French proverb, "*Les plus courtes folles sont les meilleures.*" When war was declared between France and England, the relations of Morellet and Lord Shelburne were not interrupted, though they became more distant and difficult.

"Turgot's rival, Necker, supports himself in a difficult situation. He seems to conduct our finances to the general satisfaction. He has introduced some order and economy into them. He resists with courage the avidity of the courtiers. He maintains the public credit. His principles regarding the administration of commerce are not those of the men who have most reflected on the subject, and I count myself in that number. But he does not much interfere with that object, and leaves things as they are" (July 13, 1780).

We see by this letter that, though Morellet was personally much attached to Turgot, he could be just to Necker. He considered the latter, however, an ordinary man, and he writes that "people must be mediocre to be called to the administration of the state by the sovereign. It is with you as with us. I think that kings have discovered that men of genius can only spoil everything, and that mediocrity of mind and of talent is for them *cumes mediocritas*. It certainly is for those who are endowed with it, and it conducts them surely to wealth and honors."

In 1782 Lord North fell from power, and a new cabinet was formed by Lord Rockingham. Lord Shelburne became Under-Secretary for the Colonies in this cabinet, while M. Dunning and Colonel Barré, both friends of Morellet, became the one Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, the other Treasurer of the Navy. "Yes, my lord," writes Morellet, "though we are divided by war, I am glad to see your country better governed. You know my cosmopolitan disposition."

Morellet has many interesting observations to make on the movements of opinion which preceded the French Revolution. We find in his letters important remarks on the Assembly of Notables, convened in 1787, on the administration of M. de Calonne and of Necker, on the financial situation of France, on the convocation of the States-General. We see him becoming more and more uneasy as the Revolution goes on. Some of the changes wrought by the Constituent Assembly meet with his approval. "I consider," he says, "as established for ever consent to taxation, ministerial responsibility, liberty of the press, the abolition of all privileges, and even the distinction of the three orders; I believe, also, that the old divisions of provinces which, by remaining separate, might have created obstacles to the new constitution, will cease to exist; and, finally, I regard all these changes as the happiest event which could befall a nation." His criticisms are formulated thus: "I consider as defects in our new constitution [of 1791] (1) not to have established two chambers; (2) not to have left to the King an absolute and independent veto, limited only by the obligation of consent to taxation and of ministerial responsibility; (3) not to have given sufficient power to the executive, which is placed in a position of weakness that cannot be remedied." Morellet's fears were not vain; and the event soon proved that the executive power was totally disarmed.

Morellet's relations with England were

long interrupted by the Revolution and by the war; they were resumed only after the peace of Amiens. Morellet early prophesied that the republican form of government would be followed by a military despotism. His letters of December 3, 1802, and of January, 1803, are the last of the volume. He says in one: "You can form only a very imperfect idea of all we have had to suffer." We can imagine it when we contrast the liberal and generous thoughts of Morellet with the doctrines to which France became a prey in the years of the Terror and of the Directory.

Correspondence.

MR. CALKINS'S PROGRAMME.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I wish to suggest that Mr. Calkins, in the *Nation* of December 5, makes some very heavy demands on us. I suppose we must, as he says, "pay the twenty millions to Spain, and then give it all away." And not only that, but if we keep the islands wrested from Spain even for a short time, we buy with the twenty millions the privilege of wasting countless millions more on battle-ships and standing armies; we buy with the twenty millions the privilege of playing the fool. But why must we "secure order, religious freedom, and equality before the law" in those islands? We have neither order nor religious freedom nor equality before the law at home. Hadn't we better first try to secure those priceless blessings for ourselves and our posterity? Is not that the duty that lies nearest to be done? It is a trite saying that the age of miracles is past. For one, I do not see how I can give to islanders half round the globe what I am not able to secure for myself at home.

But admit, for a moment, that we are a civilized nation, and not 70,000,000 savages, or, what amounts to nearly the same thing, men of "dull, commonplace, untrained, incoherent" minds. Admit that we could accomplish what our experience has shown to be clearly impossible; is it our duty to attempt it? What duty do we owe those islanders, other than what we owe the rest of mankind, Spaniards among the rest; that is, freedom? And is not that debt fully discharged when we simply let them alone?

I do not see, then, how I am "bound in conscience and before the world to take care of the helpless people whose cause we rashly took in hand." I cannot take care of myself and my family. Every day my own liberty and those of my neighbors are trampled under foot by war, humbug, and imperialism. But I am surely as much bound in conscience as Mr. Calkins or Dr. McKinley—unless, indeed, they have done the people in question a wrong in overthrowing the Spanish authority; and this Dr. McKinley at least indignantly denies.

It is no man's duty to govern any other man. The affirmative of the proposition is a rank absurdity. It is no man's duty to take care of another man while the latter is learning to govern himself. Our first duty to all islanders and all men is to let them alone. Our second duty is to let them alone. Our third duty is to let them alone. Here we have the great fundamental higher law of liberty, which, to my mind, comprises the

whole duty of man in his relations to his fellow-man.

"Our true country," says Lowell (he puts it in the mouth of the Rev. Homer Wilbur, who never, I doubt not, preached from the text, "I came not to send peace on earth, but a sword")—"Our true country is bounded on the north and the south, on the east and the west, by justice, and when she oversteps that invisible boundary line, even by so much as a hair's-breadth, she ceases to be our mother." The McKinley Administration has overstepped that invisible boundary-line by the width of the seas that wash Cuba, by half the circumference of the globe; and we have lost our country. It is an overwhelming calamity not only to ourselves, but to all mankind.

A. F. HAMILTON.

GRANVILLE, O., December 24, 1898.

THE SUPPOSED LINCOLN PARALLEL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Lincoln became President under pledges not to interfere with slavery; yet within two years he issued the edict of emancipation. This is urged by our imperialists and expansionists as a reason why we may seize Cuba, notwithstanding the solemn pledge made by Congress to Cuba and to the world just before the declaration of war against Spain. Mr. McKelway (who, unfortunately for his past reputation, seems trying to pose as the Ideal Jingo), for one, has publicly urged this argument, and it is of such a popular and taking kind that its fallacy needs pointing out before, by constant repetition, it becomes stereotyped.

The proposition as to Mr. Lincoln is true. He represented the general sentiment of the Republican party. The writer was able to say to one of the most prominent citizens in Lynchburg, Va., after the beginning of the war: "I am a Republican, and live in a Republican town, in a Republican State; my profession makes me acquainted with the ideas of the people; I know what they say at their firesides; and there is not the slightest wish to interfere with slavery in the Southern States, where we believe it is guaranteed by the Constitution. We think it an evil, and are opposed to its farther extension. The Abolitionist candidate for Governor, Gerrit Smith, only polled a little over 5,000 votes in the great Empire State of New York."

The fallacy lies in the application. Mr. Lincoln's pledges were made on the supposition of continued peace. War breaks all bonds and changes all conditions. The solemn pledge made by Congress about Cuba, on the other hand, was made with the full expectation of war, and even a confidence in a successful war. The circumstances have not changed. They are precisely what Congress contemplated when it gave the pledge. Is there any parallel here for a moralist?

W. ALLEN JOHNSON.

MIDDLETOWN, CONN., December 30, 1898.

SENATOR HANNA'S NAVAL IDEAS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It seems to me that the real objection on the part of Senator Hanna of Ohio to the increase of the navy recommended by Secretary Long is not on account of economy, nor on account of the progress made from time to time in ship construction, but because the money asked for the increase of the navy is desired for the shipping subsidies called for

in the measure recently introduced in the Senate by Mr. Hanna himself. An argument against building ships for the navy because ships improve in type and efficiency from time to time, is similar to the objection urged by the small boy to washing his face—because it would get dirty again.

The close of the war with Spain leaves the navy in an absolute sense no stronger than it was before the destruction of the *Maine*, while in a relative sense, with the duties of the protection and defence of our new insular acquisitions, and (above all) with our appearance in the rôle of an Asiatic Power, we are very much weaker as a naval Power than before.

Destructive criticism is of course easy and cheap, while criticism of a constructive nature is difficult to be had; still, it may not be too late for Senator Hanna and others to realize that the only statesmanlike way of avoiding the necessity of a very natural increase of the navy and naval expenditure is to resign the Philippines to their inhabitants, or to exchange them for British islands near our own coasts. By the latter method our naval power and responsibilities will be more self-centred and hence less extravagant in their necessities. H.

THE PROFESSOR AND HIS ASSISTANT. TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The "American Professor" contributing the leading article to the December *Edinburgh Review* claims for his colleagues more liberal salaries, larger authority, and more leisure. He has my hearty support, and I wish his arguments might be brought to the notice of all trustees and others concerned. But another desideratum in university administration has been suggested to me (not for the first time) by his article which has in view the advancement and increased influence of the American university. I refer to the *propræ* use, on the part of the American professor, of such authority as he enjoys. So far as I am aware, the professor in the higher institutions has, as a rule, pretty free control over his own department; but my observation has been that such control is not always exercised for the best interests of the department and of the institution, and, hence, of the higher learning. To make a long story short, human weakness of one sort or other frequently causes the professor to fail either in having the right men appointed as assistants or in sufficiently encouraging the younger instructors to do their share of the higher university work. In the course of years, not one, but many such cases have come to my notice. The failure to get out of the younger elements of the faculty the best that is in them has a retarding influence on university development, quite as much, possibly, as the older professors' poor pay and lack of leisure; it is one of the causes of the continued preponderance of preparatory work even in some of our greatest universities—not in all, and not in all departments alike; the most extreme cases occurring probably in the modern languages, where elementary work is the rule and philological, post-graduate study the exception. Here, then, is an opportunity for many a professor, faculty, and president to use such authority as they have for the advancement of higher education. Greater influence in university management, more money, and more leisure, it is to be hoped, will also be theirs in due time. In regard

to salary, however, the status of the instructor or assistant is also deserving of consideration: but this concerns the trustee. As one of the older, I feel free to plead for the younger. X.

Notes.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. will publish immediately, in one volume at a low price, all the requirements in English for "careful study" for the years 1900-1902, as prescribed by the Joint Conference of Colleges and Secondary Schools on Requirements in English for Admission to Colleges. The contents are from Macaulay, Milton, Shakspeare, and Burke.

Dodd, Mead & Co. have just imported 'The Dreyfus Case,' by F. C. Conybeare. Mr. Conybeare is probably better informed about all the intricacies of the *cause célèbre* than any other Englishman, and his analysis of the documents and of the various stages of trial and retrial is marked by an acuteness and vigor which his unconcealed belief that Dreyfus is innocent does not at all impair. His work is an excellent preparation for an understanding of the further legal proceedings.

'Angels' Wings' is the title selected by Edward Carpenter for a series of essays upon art and life, to be published soon by the Macmillan Co. The same firm will begin publication next month of *Bird-Lore*, a bi-monthly popular magazine of ornithology, edited by Frank M. Chapman. It will be the organ of the Audubon societies for the protection of birds.

A promising offshoot of the admirable 'Encyclopædia of Sport' recently reviewed by us upon its completion is 'The Sportsman's Year-book,' edited by two of the contributors to the 'Encyclopædia,' Messrs. C. S. Colman and A. H. Windsor (London: Lawrence & Bullen). Its aim, as suggested by Mr. Aflalo, is "a Sportsman's Whitaker," and so it embodies the rules of the chief English sports and games, and takes due notice of "events." Inactive games, like cards or chess, find no place here. The arrangement is alphabetical, from Angling to Yachting. Appendices treat of books of the year to November, 1898; and deaths. Typographically the volume is all that could be desired, and it will fit upon the same shelf with Whitaker.

The eighth issue of *Minerva* (Strassburg: Trübner; New York: Lemcke & Buechner) conveys the gratifying editorial assurance that the enterprise is now on a firm foundation. Among the learned institutions either newly admitted or more thoroughly exhibited in their faculties and personnel, those of Canada are remarked. Non-German institutions now first begin to have their various chairs described in the appropriate vernacular, to avoid error in translating; but this change is too extensive to take place all at once. In view of the scientific congresses convoked for 1900, *Minerva* will next year publish as full a list as possible, with particulars as to place and date of meeting and programme. A portrait of the great Russian international jurist Martens serves as frontispiece to this welcome issue of an invaluable clue to the labyrinth of the "learned world."

From Lemcke & Buechner we receive also the second volume of that other important and in a certain sense kindred un-

dertaking, the German Poole—'Bibliographie der Deutschen Zeitschriften-Litteratur,' embracing not only the German periodical literature of 1897, but additions to the 1896 record (Leipzig: Andrä's Nachfolger). The 399 publications here indexed are most conveniently displayed in numerical order on a single folding sheet. This is, we may remind our readers, a subject-index.

Through the Musée Social is published a work on 'Les Industries Monopolisées aux États-Unis,' by Paul de Rousiers. After giving a history of the more important Trusts, interspersed with observations based upon a visit to this country, M. Rousiers concludes that concentration of industry is a perfectly normal movement; but monopoly is based upon some exceptional condition, which always owes something to artifice. The Standard Oil Trust rests upon an element "essentially artificial," the methods of railroad management, a "disorder purely American." In coal the small operator was crowded out by the larger, and the railroads aided. Sugar rests upon the tariff, and iron and steel did derive support from the customs duties, but have outgrown them, and now stand on an abundance of cheap material and highly specialized methods of manufacture. The author expresses surprise at the duties on pig iron and steel rails in the Dingley bill. In the case of the Whiskey Trust, he attributes too much influence to the tariff and the prohibition movement, and not enough to the internal-revenue legislation. In municipal concerns he believes less danger threatens from private Trusts than from such state Trusts as exist in France. Without being a profound book, this essay is pleasant and suggestive reading, and contains not a few remarkable statements. The "big four" become persons, and the early Presidents are made to come from Virginia, Georgia, and Maryland. The earlier work of Von Halle has been liberally drawn upon.

Pope Leo XIII., notwithstanding his nearly ninety years, is still a devotee of the Muses. In honor of the anniversary of the conversion of King Clovis, he has composed a Latin hymn entitled "The Baptism of Clovis." It begins with the line "Vivat Christus, qui diligit Francos," a sentiment that has aroused enthusiasm throughout France, "the most faithful daughter of the Church." Cardinal Langénieux, the Archbishop of Rheims, intrusted the poem to the Paris composer Théodore Dubois, with instructions to convert it into an oratorio. This was done, but not in time for the great celebration in Rheims in December. It will, however, be rendered later by an orchestra of 150 pieces and a chorus of 200 voices, male and female. According to the report of the *Frankfurter-Zeitung*, the oratorio consists of three parts, one treating of the baptism of Clovis, a second of the heroism of Christianity, a third of the triumph of Christ.

The Social Democrats of Germany make ample use of the periodical press and of book concerns in the interest of their propaganda. The chief organ is the *Vorwärts* of Berlin, which has a subscription list of 52,000, and paid a profit during the past twelve months of 53,000 marks into the treasury of the party. In all, the party publishes 68 papers in Germany, of which 37 appear six days in the week and 16 are bi-weeklies and the rest weeklies.

The protagonists of Social Democratic ideas and ideals have united in a literary

venture of an international character, namely, the production of a history of Social Democracy, the propaganda in each country to be treated by separate authors and in separate volumes. The German number of this contemplated series has appeared in the 'Geschichte der Deutschen Sozialdemokratie,' by Franz Mehring, the veteran editor of the Berlin *Volkzeitung*. The work is in two good-sized volumes of 1,136 pages, large octavo, altogether, and is published by Dietz in Stuttgart. Significantly, the price per volume is only 3.60 marks, as the history is evidently intended for wide circulation, and is practically an *apologia pro domo*. The ordinary rules of objective historiography sit lightly on the shoulders of Mehring; and to outsiders his presentation of the immediate past is chiefly interesting and important as an exhibition of how modern political and social developments look through Social Democratic spectacles. The author is himself a representative rather of the older school of Social Democrats, of which probably the best exponent in Germany is Liebknecht, who are characterized more by their bitter antagonism to the existing order of things than by a wise and carefully digested method of effecting a change, which is seemingly the ambition of the newer school. The work is particularly severe in its denunciation of the Hohenzollerns and of Bismarck.

In France the central Government has in recent years taxed bicycles to the extent of ten francs annually for each wheel, receiving from this source a revenue of four millions. Recently the tax has been reduced to six francs. The number of wheels in France is now computed at more than half a million.

By a special ukase of the Czar, the most northeasterly point in Asia, hitherto known as "East Cape," is to bear the Russian name of Cape Deshneff. The object is thus to vindicate for Russia a priority in the discovery of Bering Strait, which was first discovered by the Russian Deshneff in 1648, while the Dane Bering did not arrive in these waters until 1728. The claims of Deshneff in this regard have recently been thoroughly investigated by the Russian Arctic explorer and specialist Ferdinand von Wrangel, on the basis of whose report this new geographical term has been officially introduced by the Russian Government.

The glaciers of North America are described by Prof. I. C. Russell in the opening article of the *Geographical Journal* for December, in which he calls attention to the fact that America is the only continent which "furnishes characteristic examples of all the types of glaciers now known." This is followed by a brief account of two oceanographical expeditions, in which it is said that the material procured by the closing nets shows that "the intermediate waters of the ocean, from about 100 fathoms beneath the surface down to about 100 fathoms above the bottom," are inhabited, contrary to Mr. Alexander Agassiz's observations. Prof. P. Geddes treats of the influence of geographical conditions on social development, and Dr. Sambon, in a suggestive paper on the acclimatization of Europeans in tropical lands, contends that the great obstacle to tropical colonization is not to be found in the climate—that is, heat and moisture—"but it is with living organisms, from man, wild beasts, and snakes to protozoa and bacteria, that we have to struggle for existence." The

achievements in tropical pathology by Pasteur, Koch, and others lead him to believe "that the diseases of the tropics are greatly under our own control."

The *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for December contains an account, by Mrs. Theodore Bent, of a visit to the island of Sokotra, on the east coast of Africa. She dwells particularly on its strange vegetation, especially the dragon's-blood, cucumber, and frankincense trees. In one place the explorers came to a valley entirely full of the latter tree, "with rich red leaves like autumn tints, and clusters of blood-red flowers. No one touches the tree here, and this natural product of the island is completely ignored. There are myrrhs, also ignored, and other gum-producing plants." Some Ethiopic, but no Greek inscriptions were found. The other contents are: the oceanographical results of the Austro-Hungarian deep-sea expeditions, an abstract of a lecture by Prof. Suess on the asymmetry of the northern hemisphere, and a description of the difficulties attending a journey, by sea, from Shanghai to Tientsin and back.

Among the various subjects treated in the Consular Reports for December is "Nuts as food in foreign countries," from which it appears that in 1896 the production of filberts about Trebizond was 38,518,771 pounds, the greater part of which is exported to Marseilles, Trieste, and Italy. There is also an interesting account of Tientsin, which was formerly a military station only, but "to-day it is the home of a million people, with an annual import and export trade aggregating \$42,350,000." It has macadamized streets, on which there are "three and even four-story brick buildings, gas works"; and now pipes (from New York) for a very elaborate and perfect water system are being laid. It is the terminus of the Imperial Chinese Railway, of which 320 miles of road have been constructed (80 miles in double track), and 125 are now under construction. During the eleven months ending in June there were carried 1,216,885 passengers and 1,870,118 tons of freight. "The traffic is rapidly increasing, and already the road is paying handsome dividends."

In a late number of the *Monthly Weather Review*, the probable state of the sky along the path of the total eclipse of May 28, 1900, is shown from observations made by the United States Weather Bureau, according to the method originated by Prof. Todd. Results are given from May 15 to June 15 last, on the same plan as last year, and a third report will be issued in 1899. In general the line runs from New Orleans to Norfolk, with better probabilities in the northern portions of Georgia and Alabama, at the southern end of the Appalachian Mountains, than nearer the coast line in either direction—towards the Gulf or towards the Atlantic. In both years the percentage of cloudiness was three times greater near the coast than in those portions of the track lying in Georgia and Alabama. Stations a few miles southeast of Atlanta will be very favorably situated, and the railway service throughout the totality belt is ample.

—Under the modest title of a "bibliographical note" Miss Dixon has given a sketch of the 'Florentine Wool Trades in the Middle Ages,' issued by the Royal Historical Society. It is a most suggestive paper, imperfect as it confessedly is. Why should Florence, unfavorably situated for war or commerce, and far from any region

where sheep-raising was an important industry, have come to occupy a leading position in the wool trade of mediæval Europe? Miss Dixon shows that it was the energy of the people that overcame enormous disadvantages. Certain Lombards, banished to North Germany early in the eleventh century, learned the art of wool-weaving, and formed an industrial and devout fraternity of the Umiliati. Returning to Italy after a few years, they continued their association, now recognized by the Pope as a religious order, and became influential through their business abilities. The Florentine Republic, alert for commercial advantage, invited them to come to Florence and establish a great training school of industry. Here they formed a local industry under the guilds of *Lana*, or wool, and *Calimala*, or merchants in foreign cloths. As the citizen of the time was bound to live within the city walls, he had a profound contempt for agriculture, and to encourage wool-raising would be beyond his comprehension. Hence it is that the laws of these republics bearing upon industrial life are full of foresight and good sense, while those bearing on agriculture or rural life seem dictated by prejudice and jealousy.

—Fine cloth could not be made from the coarse wool of Italy, and commercial conditions forbade the importation of fine wools from Spain, Flanders, or England. The Florentines began by buying the coarsely worked cloths of North Germany, and brought them home to refine and redye. "Before very long the merchants of *Calimala* were doing a brisk trade in cloth of excellent quality. Torselli, or great bales of rough foreign cloth, poured into Florence from Northwestern Europe, and were carded, sheared, cut, and dyed. By the preliminary operations the exterior roughness or outside layer was skillfully removed, and the result was a woollen cloth much finer than any of native Italian manufacture, capable of taking a most delicate dye. And in this latter branch also the Florentines speedily outdistanced all rivals. The cloth was now stretched, calendered, and rolled, and returned upon the market with a greatly enhanced value. At once it was in high demand in Italy; next it was exported to the East, and there exchanged for dyes, chemicals, and other products of Asia; and at length reappeared in the very markets of Northwestern Europe from which it had originally come." The rules of the guild were expressly framed to interfere with the liberty of the subject to cheat, and, with stringent police regulations against fraud or imperfect workmanship, the industry thrived. With the increased demand it became profitable to import fine foreign wools, and the guild of *Lana*, forbidden to touch foreign fabrics, brought in the raw material which the *Calimala* was forbidden to fabricate. The trade in wool and cloths thus enabled a local manufacture to grow which soon overflowed the limits of the Republic, and controlled the wool trade of Europe for centuries. Had the Florentines imposed a prohibitive duty on wools and woollens to encourage the raising of sheep and the manufacture of cloths, they would never have enjoyed more than a local market. These *Arti* or guilds were not suppressed until 1770.

—Stopford Brooke's 'English Literature from the Beginning to the Norman Conquest' (Macmillan) is something better than a mere condensation of his 'History of Early

English Literature.' The later work presents 338 widely leaded pages to the 500 closely printed pages of the earlier; includes prose as well as poetry; and covers an additional period of a century and a half. Yet, through the exclusion of otiose matter and through observance of the laws of literary perspective, a cumbrous book has been made a well-regulated book, and there is no sense of loss. The main defect of the earlier work was the incessant outcropping of suggestive but frequently questionable speculation. We will not say that this abuse is entirely done away with in this volume, but it is very largely abated. The author is doubtless well-advised to centre the interest on the historical background and on the coloring of the sagas in the earlier period, where the materials are fragmentary, but the treatment here is still a bit too discursive and vague. We doubt, too, whether it is advisable in a work of this kind to make so much of the theory of the season-myth in the interpretation of "Beowulf." Two things in Mr. Brooke's treatment of Old English literature are conspicuous—insistence upon the feeling for nature in Anglo-Saxon poetry, and upon the importance of the Celtic element in English literature. To this last point the author recurs in the present volume with redoubled confidence and emphasis, placing the Celtic influence in importance far above the later French or Italian influence. Most readers will turn to the discussion of the question (throughout chapter I., and at pages 293 and following) as the matter of greatest actuality in the book. The speculation is ingeniously presented, but it still remains speculation. Mr. Brooke's style is sometimes dull, and there is a good deal of awkward English in the book: "refuged" (at pages 16 and 214), "delightsome" (23), "over-worked" (for worked over, 44), "longish" (47), "couraging" (50), "as he tops the hill" (71), "ganging" and "gangers," *passim*, "ulcerous welter" (75), "peopleship" (78), "weirded" (79), "hosters" (90), "fleetingness" (158), "roomed" (169), "to ready" (178), "a recklessness all round of the present" and "a fierce and *claiming* individuality" (296), are locutions not to be encouraged. At the bottom of page 76 appears a sentence of uncomfortable levity, and misprints or other errors are to be noted at pages 204, 249, 250, and 296. A history of the Middle English period, to follow, is hinted at on page 35.

—Dr. Brandes's two new books—the one a volume of verse, 'Ungdomsvers,' the other a warm tribute of friendship to the late Julius Lange, the art historian—have each in their way been events of the season in the Scandinavian literary world. Indeed, the latter volume has already reached a second edition, no small tribute to a book in a little country like Denmark. In the charming letters which form the greater part of it, there is much pleasant and always original talk on art questions, there are interesting glimpses of people and places, and, above all, a delightful picture of a man of genial humor at the most interesting period of his life. Julius Lange, who died in 1896 at the age of fifty-eight, was one of the defining forces in modern Danish aesthetics and art criticism; these letters, however, come from a period anterior to his principal academic and literary activity. Those who may have tried to distill the Danish national character from the modern literature of Denmark will find something

typically Danish in Lange. There was, as Dr. Brandes says, "something about him which might perhaps be described as the finest flower of the Danish nature, something very difficult to define, something which is bound up in the character of our language and our ideals, a concentrated essence of Danish earnestness and Danish playfulness, of Danish melancholy and Danish irony—something which is on that account never found outside of Denmark." It would be impertinent to say anything at this late date of Dr. Brandes's masterly power of making the people of whom he writes live again for us; but almost nowhere has this plastic, artistic side of his genius shown itself in such attractive colors as in this volume on his dead friend. With exemplary self-effacement, where self-effacement was difficult, he seems to have concentrated all his effort on painting an unforgettable portrait. One could, indeed, have wished that he had at times been less self-effacing; it would, for instance, have given the little book a new value had it been possible to publish the editor's share in the correspondence. But, with the exception of one letter, Lange had destroyed all Brandes's letters to him which might have been included here.

—In the volume of youthful poetry, whose appearance we have already mentioned, it is also the personal element that attracts us most. One misses in the majority of these little poems the singing qualities of the born lyric poet; only occasionally do we feel that the poet's inner life has found its happiest mode of expression in the lyric. But, none the less, these poems have a deep interest for us as the personal "confessions" of an intellectual leader of men. They, too, mirror the struggles of the young Denmark of thirty years ago to get out into the main stream of European thought. The note that recurs most frequently in these poems is a note of defiance: "Trods alt!" (In spite of everything!). No one in our time has earned more worthily the honor to be numbered among Heine's "soldiers in the Liberation War of Humanity" than Georg Brandes. But there are fighters and fighters. In the modern world there are still plenty of soldiers of the old Thirty Years' War type, soldiers to whom fighting is the business and joy of life. But there are others upon whose nature battle is forced as a kind of Hamlet task; every blow they strike leaves a furrow upon their souls, every battle won is won at an inner sacrifice. Is it too much to see in the personality these lyric confessions disclose, one of these essentially modern "Ritter des heiligen Geistes," fiery and highstrung, but with the sensitive soul of the poet and the artist?

LOWELL, PAST AND PRESENT.

Loom and Spindle; or, Life among the Early Mill Girls. By Harriet H. Robinson. Boston: T. Y. Crowell & Co. 1898.

This little book makes its appeal to many classes of readers. It tells a tale which is quite true, in a style which is as attractive as it is sincere and unaffected; it describes a very curious phase of factory life in this country which is likely to remain unique; and it adds some characteristic traits and glimpses of the New England spirit and manners in the early part of the century. Its vivid reminiscences of Lowell sixty years ago will also, of course, especially appeal to the recollection of those who knew that

town before the fifties, or those who are interested in its chronicles and antiquities.

Mrs. Robinson was one of that remarkable band of young women who came to Lowell when the cotton manufactory was first started in this country. She thought Lowell a small Utopia at that time, though Mr. Bellamy would have severely criticised many of its regulations. On the other hand, the girls themselves would have been very much astonished at Mr. Bellamy's notion of an honest day's work. They came from homes in the country, "the flowers gathered from a thousand hill-sides and green valleys of New England," as Whittier called them in a flowery rhetorical burst; but these lilies of the field were more than willing to toil and spin, and relaxed themselves with literary labors when their long day's work was over. They were mostly of a strong and superior Yankee stock. Mrs. Robinson came of a family of Quakers who settled first in Dover, N. H., in 1705; her great-grandfather, William Brown of Cambridge, sold to the corporation of Harvard College a large portion of the present site of the university buildings. She had, therefore, in common with many of her mates, that strain of blue blood which is not recognized in the peerage lists, but which has left its positive trace in so many Western hamlets and institutions, and which contributed so profoundly to the success of our early experiment in democracy. This class of girls—a picked class—dropped down into the midst of an artificially protected life, which happened to suit, in some respects, their previous training and habits. They were a community under special rules and control. The boarding-houses were provided by the manufacturing company, whose officials claimed and maintained a semi-autocratic oversight over the habits and morals of their employees. These officials were, however, educated and able gentlemen of high character, and the general intent of their despotism was judicious and benevolent. The corporation required children under fourteen to attend school three months in the year. The girls were required by their contract to attend some religious service regularly; they were even at first obliged to contribute a small monthly sum towards the support of the "Established Church" (the Episcopal); and finally, when they quit work, they received an honorable discharge.

These somewhat intrusive regulations worked well enough, because they fell in with the temper and bringing up of the girls, who were disposed to carry them out obediently. The boarding-houses were comfortable, and were at first subsidized by the corporation; the life in them was moral and marked by a certain degree of refinement. "The young ladies," says Dickens, "had the use of pianos." They had also the characteristic Yankee thirst for knowledge and self-culture. They snatched a moment from their work at the loom to read or to commit to memory a poem; they were not too tired in the evening to attend lectures, and to flatter the lecturer by taking notes assiduously. They founded the earliest women's clubs in the country for mutual improvement, and they edited and published for some years the *Lowell Offering*, a periodical which was noticed in England and France, in which Mrs. Robinson first practised her skillful pen, and which was quite as good literature as the "Friendship's Garlands" and the "Elegant Extracts" that were current at the time. A large part of this exuberant intel-

lectual activity was undoubtedly due to the natural bent of Puritan strain and Yankee energy. It was in the blood. One might still board the train from Lowell to Boston a few years ago, and hear the ancient pop-corn peddler inquire, "Wa'al, how did you like the lecture last night?"

Mrs. Robinson fell in love with her life on the Merrimack, and apparently even with the factory régime. She thinks that the present factory-girls might renew the same intellectual interests which she and her friends once pursued, and that the Utopia of her recollections might be charmed into existence once more. She tells of a visit made to Lowell not long ago. She found the boarding-houses rather dilapidated, the work in certain rooms trying on account of the heat. She thinks the status of the factory population is reduced from what it was in her time. She addressed the young women at the "People's Club." She thought they looked tired and hopeless; "it was plainly to be seen that they did not go to their labor with the jubilant feeling the old mill-girls used to have; that their work was drudgery done without aim or purpose." She believes that the present "corporations" are at fault, and recommends as a solution of the perplexities of the cotton factories the system which prevailed in her own time. "It embraced the then novel idea that corporations have souls and should exercise a paternal influence over the lives of their operatives." This, indeed, is the thesis of her closing chapter. She speaks of the factory as her "alma mater," and of her life as a "lost Eden," which she wishes she could restore to the workers of the present day.

A year's residence in Lowell and some accurate observation would give Mrs. Robinson good reason to change her opinion, and to take a very different view of the situation. Times have changed since she lived in this city of spindles, but they have changed almost exclusively for the better. We are convinced that the present factory-girls would not tolerate the Eden which she recommends. Its enchantment lives largely in Mrs. Robinson's memories of the distant morning of youth. The wonder is, in fact, that she and her mates could stand such work and such play, and where they got their nerves of steel and their Amazonian constitutions. The secret, however, is a simple one. They came fresh from the country, they took long vacations, and, as a rule, they did not come to stay. Their labor in the factory was only an episode. Mrs. Robinson, when she was ten years old, began work at five in the morning and quit it at seven in the evening; she complains that she never could make up the sleep which that little girl of ten lost in the mornings. The actual working-day was then thirteen hours—it is now ten; the time for meals is longer now; no work at all is done on Saturday afternoon. No child under fourteen is allowed by law to be employed at all. Thoughtful employers have seen that it pays to keep the operatives physically and mentally fit for their work. They have co-operated in securing the enactment of enlightened legislation which applies not only to hours, but to safety and sanitary measures. The boarding-houses have fallen into decay because the boarding-house system has fallen gradually into disuse. Instead of these, the tendency—an entirely natural and proper one—is for families to make homes, and these homes are, as a rule, detached and surrounded by a plot of ground.

The danger of overcrowding which Mrs. Robinson apprehends, exists in only one spot in Lowell, and that is in the settlement known as "Little Canada"; but this place is really only a half-way house for new arrivals. Of this spot a French Canadian house-builder observes: "A Canadian family moves in there and sleeps all together till they have a hundred dollars; then they buy a cottage and move out and another set moves in." Even in this crowded spot, the pitched battles which Mrs. Robinson describes so truthfully as once taking place every day on "The Acre," would not now be tolerated by public sentiment, not to speak of the police. That Irish settlement, "The Acre," its shanties and its riots, are things of the past. It is now built up with decent habitations, and its occupants are as a rule decent and orderly citizens. The fact is that the process of education and amelioration which Mrs. Robinson so earnestly and honestly desires (and all of us too, for that matter), is steadily going on and showing itself in the younger generation. They do not go in for literature, perhaps; but their energy and enterprise are shown in other directions; they have an honorable ambition and self-respect, they like their children to dress better and to stand higher in the social scale than they did themselves. Any one who lives in the city and keeps his eyes open, will notice these changes going on in his neighborhood. The Canadians, in particular, are thrifty, industrious, and clever; one sees among them often the employee transformed into employer, the mason or carpenter into the builder and contractor, the laborer into the capitalist. The partition that divides these two characters is in our country very thin and removable; both are, in fact, often taken by the same man, and it cannot reasonably be supposed that, in such cases, he plays alternately the part of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde.

Yet this is exactly what Mrs. Robinson implies in her appeals to mill-owners and managers. She entreats them to beware of strikes, to avoid "degrading their working-people to the level of the same class in other countries, and to mix a little conscience with their capital," as if mill-owners and managers lived in another sphere, and were made of different flesh and blood from the working-people; whereas, they have in most cases sprung from the ranks themselves. In point of fact, next to his business (or, rather, as a vital part of his business), the manager of a successful mill must nowadays study human nature—the nature, the needs, and the feelings of his employees. If he does not do this from humanity, he must do it from policy. He must study his employees as he knows and studies the market. If he fails to understand them sympathetically, he is apt to knock his head against a wall. The manager is constantly beset with two problems, how to keep the factory running with a return to the stockholders, and at the same time to be fair—to be liberal, if possible—to the employees. The skilful manager knows perfectly well the constant menace and peril of strikes; he must study constantly the character and wishes of his "hands," who are really, in a sense, his hands to work out the designs of his brains. He must be keen and shrewd and close if he is to run his mill and make dividends; he must at the same time be as liberal to his workmen as the markets will permit. If he oversteps his line on either side, he comes to

grief—he must either shut up his mill for want of a market, or have it shut up by a strike. This is the real state of things; employers and employed all turn round and move geared to the same iron wheels of necessity. We have in mind at this moment a large woollen manufactory which is closed for three months. The shut-down brings distress and privation upon the population of a small town. Yet it is owned by a family of most genuine philanthropists, who deeply sympathize with their people and have an enlightened aim and desire to improve their lot. They dare not make up goods which they cannot sell.

Those who have had most experience know best the difficulty of exercising "a protecting care and parental influence over the operatives." What the operatives want first and foremost is just and fair dealing; what they want next is to be let alone. They love independence, they dislike interference, they tolerate benevolence only in misfortune, and in its most disguised and delicate forms. Some years ago there was in Connecticut a manufactory which in various ways seemed to offer an ideal pattern of the sort which Mrs. Robinson is seeking. The building and the grounds were decorated with flowers, the skylights were of stained glass, lunches were provided for the younger people, and all this was done by the manager with the best intentions. Yet, strange to say, these arrangements were a failure—the results were as unsatisfactory to the operatives as to the stockholders. The operatives felt that they were on exhibition, and their pride was offended, and the régime did not pay the stockholders. Something of the same feeling mingled with the various grievances at Pullman. The workman hated the Platonic tyranny of this neat and convenient Utopia that thrust its regulations so persistently upon his domestic life and privacy. It sat upon him as uneasily as an evening suit might, when he wanted to smoke his pipe in his shirt-sleeves.

The problem of the cotton-mill, which Mrs. Robinson thinks may be solved by the operation of the golden rule, is really very much like that of the deserted farms in New Hampshire. Who would have thought, thirty years ago, of Southern competition in the print manufacture? Yet if the New England factories hold their own at all now, it is because they have the "right of way"—the possession of the market, the control of abundance of skilled and highly trained labor, the momentum of enormous capital, the inertia of heavy investments in costly plants. The Southern mills have, in many cases, coal on the spot at one-third the price in Lowell, and cotton on the spot, the fibre of which remains one "grade" higher than after packing and transportation to the North. They have laborers who are at present glad to work longer hours for lower wages; they are less trammelled by Legislatures and the meddling of guilds. Who can fight long against the bounty and the favoritism of nature? The New Hampshire farms no longer raise wheat; the New England factories may have to abandon cotton.

But if they do give up this manufacture, it will not be because of any deterioration in the fineness and quality of their goods. Mrs. Robinson misses the old-fashioned calicos which "wore like iron" and lasted in Protean forms through several generations. The very same quality could be furnished by the calico-printers in endless bales on two

months' notice, and no one would be better pleased than the printers themselves. But the printers are slaves who wait on the caprices of fashion. Nobody wants this class of goods now. The ladies want variety, they want new styles, they would be alarmed at the prospect of a gingham's wearing them a lifetime. They demand the tasteful fabrics and designs which have been multiplied within the last twenty or thirty years. They can afford to wear two or three new dresses for the price of the single gown of their grandmothers. If the people look to England for woollens, as Mrs. Robinson says, and for silks to Lyons and Zurich, the question is, Why should they? There is more silk and less lead in a pound of American silks than in the silks of Lyons or Zurich; there is less shoddy in our inferior woollens than in the same class of English goods. Our manufacturers have never taken kindly to shoddy and pipe-clay. This is the sober truth and is certainly not discreditable.

Our remarks apply strictly to the social conditions of Lowell, and our criticism solely to some unguarded statements and generalizations of Mrs. Robinson's final chapter. Her reminiscences form, as we have said, a particularly vivacious and accurate sketch of an experience that was well worth recording. Such a picture of hard and honest and cheerful toil, combined with self-respecting independence, forms a charming and suggestive contrast to those lurid diagnoses which Mr. Wyckoff has lately been giving us of the agonies and the vicissitudes of the amateur workingman.

LANE'S LATIN GRAMMAR.

A Latin Grammar for Schools and Colleges.

By George M. Lane, Professor Emeritus of Latin in Harvard University. Harper & Bros. 1898. Pp. xvi, 572.

It has been said that the desire to write books is immanent in every Latin teacher. The number of Latin grammars, large and small, of Latin primers, readers, lessons, and foundations, which are constantly appearing seems to bear out the assertion. The late Prof. Lane was a great teacher rather than a great writer. He left his impress upon hundreds of pupils, who respected the accuracy and breadth of his scholarship and felt the charm of his personality. For thirty years, during the intervals of teaching, he was engaged in the preparation of a Latin grammar considerable portions of which were in print many years before his death and subjected to repeated revision. The appearance of the work was awaited with impatience by many scholars who knew the superior qualifications of the author. Unhappily, it was not permitted him to give it the finishing touch, but it was so far advanced towards completion that one of his younger colleagues, a former pupil, Prof. Morris H. Morgan, has with loyal devotion carried the book through the press within a year after the author's death. The chapter on versification was written at Prof. Lane's request by a former pupil, Dr. Herman W. Hayley, but was not revised by Prof. Lane. Parts of the book—namely, pages 303 to 373 and 387 to 436—were left by Prof. Lane only in the condition of a first draught. Here the editor has conscientiously kept, so far as possible, the original language of the statement of syntactical principles, but has made some additions and modifications for the sake of complete-

ness. Some seventy sections are due wholly to him.

It need hardly be said that the work bears upon every page the evidence of Prof. Lane's accurate scholarship, and of his constant endeavor to make the statements conform to the actual facts of the language as represented in the existing monuments. Forms found in inscriptions are given as well as those occurring in the literature. Statistics of usage, often stated very briefly, bear witness to a microscopic examination of various authors. It is to be regretted that Prof. Lane could not have written a preface explaining more fully the scope of his work, and the extent to which he had endeavored to represent the usage of different periods. The list of writers given on pages 486 and 487, although it includes Macrobius, shows that he did not intend to go much below Tacitus and Suetonius. Indeed, in section 777 the term "late writers" is applied to Lucan, Quintilian, Tacitus, Juvenal, Martial, and Pliny, whereas we should prefer to reserve it for a still later period. We must not, then, expect to find here the deviations in later syntactical usage which ought to have a place in a complete historical grammar. All the passages quoted in illustration are translated, and there is a charm and exquisite flavor about the versions which bespeak the finished scholar. Indeed, the excellent treatment of syntax might be read purely for literary enjoyment by one not especially interested in syntax.

Although the book is admirably printed, its attractiveness is marred by the predominance of fine type, necessary for the inclusion of so much matter. It is not a grammar for beginners, but will be most valuable for advanced students, and indispensable for teachers. The very full index referring to the sections, 2745 in all, makes it very convenient for reference. It may be noted here that the terminology often differs from that current in the ordinary grammars. We have "person endings" and "gender accusatives." One will look in vain for the "ethical dative" or the "historical infinitive," which have been newly dubbed "the emotional dative" and "the infinitive of intimation." A nice distinction is drawn between the Present of Vivid Narration (1590) and the Annalistic Present (1591). The Vocative gets scant recognition as a case. In 419, nouns are said to have five cases, but immediately afterwards, with a slight inconsistency, we are told that "All cases but the nominative and vocative are called *Oblique Cases*." That there should be some inconsistencies and errors in so comprehensive a work is not surprising. Glaring mistakes are not easy to find. Great care has been taken to indicate the quantity wherever long; and while one may question sometimes the accuracy of the hidden quantities assigned, which the reviewer is disposed to do in more than one instance, yet one is glad to have upon this difficult point the opinion of so careful a scholar as Prof. Lane. When *classis*, however, is printed in 521 (so Bennett) and *classe* in 555 (so Marx), one is left in doubt as to Prof. Lane's real opinion. The index, prepared by Dr. Walden, gives *classis*.

To sound-change more attention than usual is given. The statements, however, are brief and sometimes lack scientific precision, while the explanations and discussions which make Lindsay's work on the Latin Language so valuable, are of course wanting. The dates given (28) for the

doubling of vowels to indicate length, namely, from 134-74 B. C., need modification in view of the Curubis inscription of the year 49 B. C., discovered in 1894, in which both *VAAARVS* and *POSTEICVVS* occur. Examples, moreover, of *uu* occur much later; e. g., *FVVCO* in a *tessera lusoria* of the Imperial age.

In 30, the apex (') is said to have been turned by grammarians into the horizontal mark (—), but that this is actually found in inscriptions (e. g., Corp. VI. 8979) is not stated. The statements in 65 relative to the retention of final long vowels in early Latin need to be entirely revised. Evidently older authorities are here followed, and the views of Klotz and Lindsay are not recognized. To speak of *o* being weakened to *e* in *bellus* from *bonus* (76) is not scientifically exact, nor is the *e* of the vocative *serve* specifically Latin. In 81 it would have been well to indicate that the change of *au* to *u* in *cludo* is not direct, but rather due to the analogy of the compounds. In 86 the explanation of the future *regemus* from **regaimus* is unsatisfactory. *Nolo* in 100 and 775 is said to be from *non volo* instead of from *ne volo*. In 103 *socors* is given with the first *o* long. Havet and Solmsen regard it as short, as it certainly is in Prudentius. Exception may be taken to the form of the statement in 118: "Initial *ð* sometimes comes from *r*, before which a *d* has disappeared, as, *dronos bonus*." In 130 nothing is said about the aversion of Latin to two *r*'s in successive syllables. *Muliebris* is not from *mulierbris*; *praestigiae* for *praestrigiae* furnishes a better example.

In 139 and 747 the old second singular of *sum* is given as *es* for *ess*, but probably it was never pronounced *es* in early Latin, but rather *ees* before vowels. A similar explanation applies to *milēs* given in 2465. We question the propriety of speaking of final *s* being lost in *iste*, *ille*, *ipse* (142), or of *abs* becoming *ab*. The statement in 146 and 350 that *t* of the suffix *-timo* sometimes becomes *r*, as in *pauperrimus*, sometimes *l*, as in *humillimus*, is misleading, and the assertion (148) that *n* becomes *m*, as in *acumbo*, *rumpo*, certainly needs further explanation. *Publicus* can hardly be regarded as coming from *poplicus* (151). Under the first declension, forms like *drachnum* and *amphorum* should be distinctly mentioned. *PROSEPNAS* (443) ought not to be given as a genitive form, for the *s* formerly read in the inscription is now recognized to be a lock of hair, as Prof. Lane knew perfectly well, for he used to say wittily that the form turned upon a hair. The genitive in *ā* is said to occur once in inscriptions, *COIRA*. A second instance, *VESTA*, occurs in a similar inscription first published in 1895. The form *Sardis* cited in 461 is by no means certain as a nominative. In 478 *lact* should also be given, the form being attested for Varro. In 663 it is implied that the forms *hucce*, *huncce*, and *haruncce* are frequent in the dramatists, which is not the case. The derivation of *nuper* in 698 from **novomper* cannot be defended. In 749 *insens* from *insum* found in an inscription should be added to *absens* and *praesens*.

The list of verbs with the principal parts actually found in use is quite complete, although forms found in the later period, and some of those attested by grammarians for the early period, e. g., *meminens*, are not included. Dependent verbs receive rather scant treatment in 798 ff. and elsewhere, and not

sufficient attention is given to the active forms found. In 1006 *absorpsi* should be credited to Lucan and Macrobius, and *exsorpsi* to Seneca. In 1092 Afranius's use of *absorpsi nobis* should be noticed.

In 1146 the range of usage of expressions like *id genus*, *hoc genus*, originally appositives, which are wholly wanting in some writers, is not indicated; *e. g.* they are not found in Plautus and Terence, and occur first in Cato and Lucilius. The dative of purpose deserves a fuller treatment than it receives in 1223-25. The dative of comparison with *inferior* found in Sallust is not mentioned. In the treatment of the Ablative of Comparison in 1320, no mention is made of the ablative after *malle* as in Horace S. 2, 8, 79. To the genitive of comparison and the ablative with *ad*, no reference is made, as these belong to a period later than the one surveyed.

In 1380 Cato should be named as using the accusative with *abutor*. The example of *clam* (1415) with the ablative in Cæsar B. C. 2, 32, 8, is called in question by Wölfflin, who, however, is wrong in denying the construction for later prose. Lactantius has *clam Nefarno*, and Macrobius has *clam ceteris* and *clam vulgo*. For the use of *absque* with the ablative, no examples are given in 1421. To the passages given for *noenu* in 1444, Tyrell would add Cicero *ad Att.* vii, 3, 10, but Mueller, in his edition just published, does not admit it. The historical infinitive, happily named (1534) "the infinitive of intimation," might be treated more historically. It is wholly lacking in Suetonius. Although it is true that two or more infinitives are usually combined, Fronto even using seventeen in succession, still Tacitus uses sixty such infinitives singly, and once he uses it with *donec*, a fact not stated in 1539. In 1551 no sharp distinction is drawn between the use of the present and perfect subjunctives in prohibitions. The use of *accrescat* with *ut* and the subjunctive is not recognized in 1709 or 1965.

A good example of the concise statement of the usage of different writers is found in 1427: "With *quippe* qui the indicative only is used by Sallust, and is preferred by Plautus and Terence. Cicero has, with one exception, the subjunctive, Tacitus and Nepos have it always, Livy has either mood. Not in Cæsar." As Tacitus and Nepos have each only one case of *quippe* followed by a relative, the word "always" is a little misleading. Moreover, the *quippe* qui of Plautus is different from the *quippe* quem of Nepos. It might be added that *quippe* qui occurs once with the subjunctive in the 'Bellum Africum.' In 1879 *utpote cum* is said to be used twice in Cicero's Letters, but in one of the passages, *ad Fam.* 10, 32, 4, Pollio is the writer. The treatment of conditional periods is somewhat disappointing, although the possible varieties of protasis and apodosis are fully illustrated by examples. Here we miss the author's final revision.

The treatment of the infinitive used as a substantive in 2205 and 2215 should have more illustrations. That Cicero was the first to use it with *inter*, and Horace the first with *præter*, might well be mentioned. In 2254 *quisquis* for *quisque* is illustrated by a Ciceronian passage in which the more common *quidquid* occurs. *Quisquis*, however, is found in Cicero *ad Fam.* vi, 1, 1 (Mendelssohn).

The chapter on Versification is excellent. Both theories of the Saturnian verse are

given, but no attempt is made to decide between them. In the list of authors and their works (pp. 486 and 487) there are many slips of quantity. *Vidularia* has the support of the dictionaries, but the *i* is long. Other errors of quantity elsewhere might be pointed out, but the wonder is that they are so few.

We cannot close this notice without giving some specimens of the translations which lend the book a distinct literary value. In 1450 a line of a well-known inscription, *hic est sepulcrum huius pulcrum pulcræ feminae*, is rendered "Here is the site not slightly of a slightly dame." In 1620 Chaucer is pressed into service, *cantabit vacuus coram latrone riator*, "The pourè man whan he goth by the weye, biforn the thevès he may syng and pleye." Under the emotional dative, 1211, *at tibi repente, cum minime cœspectarem, venit ad me Caninius manens*, "But bless you, sir, when I least dreamt of it, who should drop in on me all at once but Caninius, bright and early." In 1352, *quæ hic monstra fiunt, anno vix possum eloqui*, "What ghost transactions take place here, I scarce could tell you in a year." In 1319, *curatus inæqualis tonsore capillos*, "My locks by unsymmetrical barber trimmed." In 1216, *nulla placere diu nec rirere carmina possunt, quæ scribuntur aquæ potioribus*, "No verse can take or be long lived that by teetotalers is writ." This rivals in brevity even the Latin.

THE CALIFORNIA HISTORIANS.

History of California. By Theodore H. Hittell. San Francisco: N. J. Stone & Co. 1897. Four volumes, pp. 799, 823, 981, and 858.

The completion of Mr. Hittell's interesting history is a literary event of importance to all students, especially in these days of territorial expansion. Those who wish to know more about Spanish methods of governing colonies, and also about American methods of dealing with people of Spanish stock, will do well to refresh their memories of the California records. Mr. Hittell's first two volumes were duly reviewed in these columns in March and July, 1886. The two volumes since added carry the story to the close of Gov. Bartlett's administration in 1887, with allusions to events as late as 1895. The fourth volume concludes with a very complete general index of 134 pages. It is evident that Mr. Hittell has done much and faithful work for many years upon his book, which probably represents the largest result yet obtained by any one man's unaided work in historical writing about California.

Although the methods of Bancroft and Hittell are very different, no review of the present work can be complete without a brief comparison of their results. It becomes more necessary from the fact that both Bancroft and Hittell, though fellow-workers in the same ample field, have ignored or decried each other. The saddest thing in Mr. Hittell's book is his reference to the attempt made in 1887 to have the State purchase the Bancroft library. Here he notes as legislative history the mere appearance of a bill soon withdrawn and never voted upon, in order to call the manuscripts of the Bancroft collection "of little value" and "unreliable." Few Californians favored the purchase of the Bancroft collection, and the futile effort to sell it does not deserve any place in a dignified history of the State, while any attempt to belittle the importance of that col-

lection, so rich in original documents, can only injure Mr. Hittell's own standing. There seems to be no reason to think that the older historian of California can be superseded by his rival, although it is plain that students must consult both, and will find Hittell particularly useful for the period after 1850. Mr. Bancroft's seven regular and several supplementary volumes, such as "California Pastoral," "Inter Pocula," and much of his "Popular Tribunals" taken collectively, form a great storehouse of historical material. It is unfortunately true that large portions of Bancroft's history are not easily readable, while a much greater offence against sound literature results from the composite nature of the authorship. For these and lesser, more local, reasons a somewhat unjust but very natural reaction against Bancroft has taken place, especially in California itself. After this generation has passed away, the great wealth of material accessible to and used by Bancroft, especially in relation to the period before the Conquest, will certainly give his work (despite its lack of personal unity) a place of primary importance for students of early California history.

But Mr. Hittell's peculiar virtues, which show to better advantage in the later than in the earlier volumes of his book, will probably attract more readers than Bancroft's, and will make at least his later volumes indispensable to the historian. Briefly, these virtues are those of a trained lawyer, unusually well versed in land-matters and in legislative proceedings. His accounts of mission secularization and of Spanish and Mexican land-grants constitute some of the most valuable portions of his two earlier volumes. So also, in the last two, whatever touches upon law or the administration of law is told in a quiet, careful, deliberate, and wholly convincing way. In this extensive field, therefore, the present reviewer, after re-reading the greater part of Bancroft and Hittell, in order to refresh his memory and compare style and methods, must rank Hittell as easily Bancroft's superior. With a few exceptions, Mr. Hittell's entire fourth volume on State administrations, and large parts of his third volume, are models of trustworthy, impartial historical writing. His account of the pioneer California of the gold-miners, and of the two vigilance committees, deserves more extended notice than space will permit. We quote his description of the manner in which the vigilantes, on Sunday, May 18, 1856, surrounded the jail, after James King of William had been shot:

"The different companies started about noon, and, marching by different routes, took up their various positions. There were about fifteen hundred men under arms. Some marched up Kearney Street, others up Dupont Street, and still others up Stockton Street. When they halted, most found themselves upon Broadway Street in front of or near the jail. They came together with admirable, almost mathematical precision; and, as they fell into position, they of course understood what was intended. It was an extraordinary spectacle. The whole place was closely invested by armed men, not, indeed, in uniform, but with muskets and bayonets flashing in the brilliant sunlight. Some few had hunting-rifles or shotguns, and one tall Nanucket whaler, besides a navy revolver in his belt, carried a harpoon and several fathoms of rope on his shoulder. Around, and as it were hemming in all, crowding the streets, covering the summit and vacant slopes of Telegraph Hill and the neighboring roofs, and filling porticoes and windows, were dense masses of people, eager to see what was to be done and hushed in expectation."

Although we find Hittell's narrative generally clear, interesting, and reliable, and though we often prefer his conclusions to those of Bancroft, there is yet a certain quality of distinction lacking in both alike. In truth it is more or less lacking in many other ponderous and authoritative histories and is often found in less pretentious volumes; the quality which Prof. Wilson of Princeton once called "mere literature." Royce's little History of California, for instance, raised a storm of criticism west of the Sierras when it first appeared, and indeed it is only what it purports to be—a study of American character as shown in California during the ten years after the Conquest. Certainly, then, it cannot be reckoned with as a complete history. But it contains some word-pictures of men and scenes that should long live in California literature; it brings home to the meanest understanding such merciless analyses of motives, such brilliant generalizations, that the whole story is illuminated. Note this, for instance, written by Royce some time in 1884, and observe the historical foresight. (It is apropos of the Bear Flag episode):

"For my part, if ever I hear in future of our great national mission on this continent as civilizers of the Spanish-American peoples, if ever I find that this mission has come once more, as it surely some day will come, to the surface of our vainglorious national consciousness, I shall be able to think of nothing but poor Ide, the self-appointed Yankee captain of a chance crowd of marauders, standing benevolently in the 'calaboose,' before the forty or fifty innocent and imprisoned citizens of Sonoma, and feeling in his devout kindness that he does God service while he bellows to them an unintelligible harangue, 'not a twentieth part interpreted,' about man's inalienable rights to liberty and equality, and while he concludes with a reference to Washington, believing himself meanwhile to be the Father of the Bear Flag Republic."

Not only the general reader, but the historian as well, must find in Royce's brief accounts of the first constitutional convention, of the vigilance committee of 1856, of land-title troubles and other things besides the Bear Flag, two especial virtues, the literary quality and the courage to draw striking conclusions. Therefore in Royce, more than in Hittell or Bancroft, and much more than in the yet unpublished 'California History to 1849' of the late Gen. Halleck, there are living men such as Ide, Gwin, Semple, Frémont, Broderick, Terry, and a score of others. One may, and often does, differ with Royce's views of these men, but his character-sketches are not easily forgotten.

Returning to Mr. Hittell's work, it is a pity that the earlier volumes, stereotyped in 1885, could not have been rewritten. Revision should have modified the romantic view of Rézanoff's courtship of Señorita Argüello, and could hardly have failed to improve his unsatisfactory account of the Portola expedition of 1769-70, chronicled by Father Crespi. Even Bancroft's incomplete geographical note on this expedition leaves room for considerable original investigation hereafter. The interesting exploring expedition of Capt. Luis Argüello in 1821 up the Jesus Maria (Sacramento) valley nearly or quite to the Shasta and Trinity region has been entirely overlooked by Hittell. Padre Blas Ordaz was the chaplain and historian of this journey.

Mr. Hittell's views as to what does or does not belong to a history of California are sometimes eccentric. His nearly 3,500

pages are none too many to contain a complete narrative upon the scale he has attempted, and he should have no room for the irrelevant. Perhaps he may be excused for digressing to summarize the events of the Coronado expedition, or even to describe the capture of Guayaquil by Cavendish, and the South Sea Bubble, though a trained literary conscience would have discarded these outside particulars. But by what logic does he include the story of the captivity of the Oatman girls, and why, in the chapter devoted to Col. Mason, does he minutely review the events of the Mexican War? Lastly, and chiefly, why does he, in volume iv., in chapters ostensibly devoted to the administrations of Governors Stanford and Lowe, give the reader upwards of twenty-eight pages upon the campaigns of the Civil War? Here, under page-headings of "State Administration," one can, for ten pages at a time, look in vain for a single word referring even remotely to California. It seems hardly necessary to say that sound literary judgment would have clung closely to the work in hand, avoiding these curiously useless notes on the campaigns of Grant and Lee.

It follows, perhaps inevitably, from Mr. Hittell's division of his subject into books as well as chapters, that some material falls into the wrong places. The worst case of this occurs in chapter x. of book x., "Agricultural and Horticultural Advance." The first three pages of this chapter relate to such discoveries as that of the Geysers, and have nothing to do with the title. When new plates are called for, there should be a thorough revision of several chapters so as to bring into closer relationship materials that belong together. If Mr. Hittell could have had some editorial training and sat in judgment upon other men's articles, his own arrangement of topics would have been better than it is. Lastly, when Mr. Hittell, or his publishers, decided to bring out these four stately volumes without even one map, a serious blunder was made.

The Control of the Tropics. By Benjamin Kidd. Macmillan. 1898.

The argument of this little book, by the well-known author of 'Social Evolution,' may be summed up briefly as follows: The trade of the world, and especially of England and the United States, with the tropics is of immense importance. By "the tropics" the author expressly wishes to have understood (p. 8) the belt of territory on either side of the equator within the parallels of 30° north and 30° south. The trade of the United States with the countries lying within this belt he puts at £70,000,000. The trade of the United Kingdom with the same region he makes £138,000,000, the sum total of the two being £208,000,000. The combined trade of the United Kingdom and the United States with the remainder of the world outside English-speaking lands he puts at £473,000,000, so that their combined trade with the tropics is about 44 per cent. of their trade with the rest of the world. The "complex life of the modern world," therefore, "rests upon the production of the tropics to an extent which is scarcely realized by the average mind." Now the existing relations of all civilized nations to this important region "may be resolved into three types" (p. 20). The first is that of which the best example is furnished by the Dutch and Spanish possessions in the East and West Indies. Here the ter-

ritory is regarded as an estate—a plantation of the mother country, to be worked for the largest profit it will bring, mainly irrespective of other considerations. This system is wholly wrong, according to our ideas, but we must admit that, "given the conditions which allowed of capital being invested and of labor being applied to tropical regions, even under this system there are unmistakable proofs of a large production and a large resulting trade" (p. 24). The second type is that of French and German colonization, which is also based on the estate or plantation theory, but which is peculiar in having for the principal field of development the continent of Africa, where expansion for white races is impossible.

We do not ourselves perceive any substantial difference between Mr. Kidd's first and second types, but there is an undoubted difference in the results—the Dutch and Spanish Indies having turned out revenue-yielding estates, the French and German experiments in Africa having proved very unprofitable investments; but this is immaterial to our author's argument, which is really based on the essential difference between both the first types and the third or English system (Mr. Kidd, without explaining the grounds of his assertion, says that this is, or will be, also the system of the United States). In this the idea of working a colony as an estate or plantation is abandoned; it is governed by a small staff of experts in its own interest, and it is allowed to trade with all the world. A generation ago there was an idea prevalent in England that its tropical colonies would become self-governing, but the native races are incapable of self-government. The United States has also been a victim of the same mistake, for it has allowed (in South America) the establishment of several so-called nations which are incapable of good administration of the functions of government, and consequently "the resources which their inhabitants have in charge remain undeveloped and practically beyond the reach of civilization" (p. 44).

The world is filling up with population, and "the rivalry and struggle for the trade of the tropics will, beyond doubt, be the permanent underlying fact in the foreign relations of the Western nations in the twentieth century," and any future policy as to the tropics must be based on a recognition of the following facts: first, the attempt to acclimatize the white man in the tropics must be abandoned as a blunder; second, the management of any tropical region as an estate must be given up; third, we must admit that the tropics cannot govern themselves; fourth, the tropics "can only be governed as a trust for civilization and with a full sense of the responsibility which such a trust involves" (p. 58). But the only race which has shown any capacity to govern these regions in such a way as to promote the interests of civilization is the Anglo-Saxon race, e. g., in India and Egypt. The conclusion would seem to be that the Anglo-Saxon race ought to control the tropics, or that portion of the world between 30 degrees north and 30 degrees south latitude.

The map of the world shows that what Mr. Kidd calls "the tropics" embraces the following countries or parts of countries—a southern fraction of China, most of India, Siam, French Indo-China, the Dutch and Spanish East Indies, the larger part of Australia, most of Mexico, Central Ameri-

ca, the West Indies, part of the United States, most of South America, a slice of Persia, and most of Arabia. His argument appears to relate to "colonies," but this is a term which he stretches so as to cover the South American states, which were formerly colonies, but are so no longer. We are to understand, therefore, that whenever in these regions it appears that a country exists the resources of which are not developed, as they might be, according to their highest standards of production, the United States or England, or both, are to supplant or override the existing government, and assume control of it as "a trust for civilization."

We confess we are unable to perceive either continuity or coherence in this argument. It rests on three premises—the overcrowding of the world with population, the consequent necessity of expansion for trade, and the unfitness of any government in the world except that of England or the United States to be a "trustee for civilization" between 30 degrees north and 30 degrees south latitude. But so far as this country is concerned, the world is not overcrowded, but underpopulated, there being room in it for the entire population of England several times over. Mr. Kidd may not know it, but he can easily rent an excellent farm in Illinois (or, if he prefers the Eastern States, a farm with good buildings in Massachusetts) almost on his own terms. But if it were overcrowded, how would the expansion of trade with countries in which the white races cannot permanently settle cure overcrowding? The trade of England with India expands, but it does not relieve the pressure of population. In the third place, the unfitness of other governments to be "trustees for civilization" between 30 degrees north and 30 degrees south latitude is not admitted by them.

The only sense in which England is better fitted to be a "trustee for civilization" is that, under English rule, trade is free; there is greater freedom politically, and better security for life, liberty, and property. But should such blessings be confined to "the tropics"? Russia is in a sadly backward economical condition; internal administration is very corrupt, liberty is unknown. Would it not be a good thing for England to overrun and conquer and administer the affairs of Russia as a "trustee for civilization"? The idea is not preposterous; Napoleon made the attempt eighty-six years ago, and, had he succeeded, he would have extended his trust and taken in England too.

It by no means follows that because a nation is to-day capable of governing dependencies well, or, on the other hand, incapable, this state of things must continue indefinitely. It is only within the last fifty years that English administration has become so good. Fifty years hence, who can say that this superiority will be maintained? A hundred years ago German government was almost a laughing-stock. To-day German administration and police are of the first rank. Twenty-five years ago the whole Christian world looked upon Japan as unfit to administer ordinary justice according to civilized ideas. To-day Japan is admitted to the family of nations, as a self-governing, equal, and independent Power. Mr. Kidd's argument is really nothing more than this: "We are better and stronger than you, and can manage your property better than you can yourselves; therefore we shall

take it from you." This used to be called spoliation; to make it sound moral, Mr. Kidd calls it establishing a "trust for civilization."

Semitic Influence in Hellenic Mythology. By Robert Brown, Jun., F.S.A. London: Williams & Norgate. 1898.

Mr. Andrew Lang, who is himself on the other side of the house, once observed that nothing is so galling to philological mythologists, nothing injures them more in the public esteem, than the charge that their rival etymologies and discrepant interpretations are mutually destructive. Mythologists are a sensitive tribe; and the *odium mythologicum*, a special product of this century, is as bitter as any of those grammatical antipathies which we associate with the savage encounters of the Bentley period of criticism. We may, however, safely assert that in the liveliest passages of the 'Phalaris' dissertation, Bentley failed to compass the colloquialism of Mr. Brown in the work before us. As his title indicates, the author's aim is to insist on the importance of the influence of Egypt and Western Asia on Hellenic mythology; in particular instances he gives detailed evidence of Semitic sources for Greek divinities.

The rival schools of philological and anthropological mythology, as represented by Prof. Max Müller and Mr. Lang, furnish little support to the "Aryo-Semitic" theories of Mr. Brown. Max Müller, with an obstinate prepossession in favor of an Aryan Pantheon, "almost absolutely ignores the vast force and extent of Semitic influence in Hellas" (p. 30). Hence, though Mr. Brown is an enthusiastic advocate for Max Müller's linguistics as opposed to the anthropological theories of Mr. Lang, and devotes some twenty pages to his defence, his admiration is tempered by regret that the Oxford professor refuses to make more concessions than are inevitable in his recognition of Semitic influence. Mr. Brown tells the amazed reader (p. 21) that "Fifty years of strenuous and sagacious effort have placed upon Müller's brow a crown which the whirligig of time will be powerless to remove, let Carp and Pike try their best or their worst," and with that characteristic burst of rhetoric he turns to demolish Mr. Lang. Not even the surprises of the author's style—like Hudibras, he "cannot open his mouth but out there flies a trope"—can impart interest to the next sixty pages of mythological horseplay. Matthew Arnold said that on an opponent one never does make an impression. Mr. Brown's jocularly, his favorite comments—"Umpe" and "Who denies of it?"—his address to the reader "O vain man," his frequent references to himself as "R. B., Jr.," are in the worst possible taste; nor are his arguments, so far as we have been able to comprehend them, likely to make much impression on his anthropological adversary. Mr. Lang, *ondoyant et digne*, may be trusted to defend himself and his totems in the next edition of 'Custom and Myth.'

The third section of the book is more interesting. In it the author tries to support his claim for Semitic origin or affinities in the case of Heracles, whom he identifies with the Phœnician Harekhal; so Kronos is identified with the Semitic "Horned One"; Athene, Poseidon, Aphrodite, and others are furnished with a Semitic pedigree. In the matter of such Greek and Semitic equations, Max Müller, in his 'Contributions to the Science of Myth-

ology,' has lately remarked that "there is really no evidence to lay hold of and to examine." Where Max Müller fears to tread we have no desire to rush in, and content ourselves with the comment that if Mr. Brown wishes to be intelligible to those who have not access to his evidence, he must rewrite his discussion of the signs of the zodiac and the Homeric constellations; at present they convey such confusion to the mind that "two tablespoonfuls of Lethe water before breakfast" and a fresh start are what we should desire for ourselves before we again consider the question of Semitic influence.

Mr. Brown's industry and learning are undeniable. But that he rides his Semitic hobby too hard is obvious even to those whose wits are not sharpened by mythological controversy. Moreover, there are few causes that would not be damaged by poor rhetoric, confused statement, and persistent abuse of one's opponents.

Il Principe di Niccolò Machiavelli: Testo critico con introduzione e note, a cura di Giuseppe Lislò. Florence: G. C. Sansoni. 1898 [1898].

It seems odd that the classical work of an author whose life fell wholly within the practice of the art of printing should only now have its text critically established. This however, is what has happened to Machiavelli's 'The Prince,' of which the first edition appeared five years after his death. The original manuscript is undiscovered if in existence. The Roman and the Florentine editions of 1532 bear every mark of liberties, rhetorically pedantic and other, taken with the great Secretary's abrupt, tumultuous, and nervously flexible style, and exhibit many variations from each other and from the several manuscript copies preserved. The difficult task of collating all these and the great number of minor and more or less servile imprints (down to 1564 in Italy, when the papal censor prevailed) has been undertaken by Giuseppe Lislò, whose labors have been published in the 'Raccolta di opere inedite o rare di ogni secolo della letteratura italiana.'

Lislò's introduction fills nearly a third of the handsome volume, and is a fine example of discussion of material, exposition of critical principles, and scholarly judgment. He premises that 'The Prince' has suffered more than all the other works of Machiavelli from unfaithful treatment, and then passes in review the half-dozen sources which compel consideration, and constructs a tentative genealogical tree for them. The nominally first edition printed at Naples in 1532, while Machiavelli was yet living, is not one of these, except to a very limited extent, being a bold working over, in a sort of macaronic Latin. The first editions professing to present the author in his original vernacular, we have already named. What is specially interesting in their infidelities is the schoolmasterly correction of Machiavelli's dialectal forms and Latinisms, transpositions of words and phrases, and other dressings up. Thus, in the dedication to Lorenzo de' Medici, where Machiavelli wrote "*prete prezioso*," Antonio Blado (Rome, 1532) prints "*pietre*," "soggetto" for "subietto," "nondimeno" for "tamen"; interpolates in "con quello [poco] animo"; omits in "io [indignamente] sopporti"; changes "le quali" into "la quale," with the corresponding participial regimen, etc. Where Machiavelli, in Shaksperean

fashion, uses France, Spain, England for the sovereigns of the respective countries. Blado rounds out "re di Francia," etc. A like polishing was attempted in the nearly simultaneous Florentine edition of the Giunta, which appears to have relied upon a manuscript as well as upon Blado, and became in turn the basis of the numerous Venetian editions from Aldus to Domenico Giglio. The so-called Testina edition (Geneva, undated, but early in the seventeenth century), was arbitrarily eclectic from the foregoing; and, coming down to the present century, the Capolago edition of 1849 was derived from Blado, the Testina and the "Italy 1813"—strange bedfellows, as Liso remarks; yet, for some unexplainable reason, this was chosen for the text edited by L. Arthur Burd for the Clarendon Press in 1891. Finally, all the more recent popular editions have gone from bad to worse, adding fresh errors of the printing-office to those borrowed from the editors who corrupted the fountain-head.

All this, with the examination and weighing of the manuscripts, makes very interesting reading. Liso in fairness considers whether Machiavelli did not perhaps revise his work, but concludes that he would have made far more extensive changes had he made any, and in particular would have corrected some anachronisms engendered by the lapse of time. He then lays down the lines of his own reconstitution of the text, and is led into this notable characterization of the two periods of his author's prose, of which the extremes are marked by the 'Letters' and the 'Principe' on the one hand, and by the 'istorie' on the other, with the 'Discorsi' and the 'Dialoghi dell' Arte della Guerra' in the middle:

"There is a family air about them, but the individuals are not identical. In the three writings of the first group you will observe the frequent employment of Latin sentences, of Latin conjunctives—remnants of a tiresomely obsolescent court jargon; a quite appropriate number of vigorous Latinisms and idioms in words, phrases, and constructions, a greater license in graphic forms and endings; a vivacity of inversions, ellipses, thought constructions, loose references, forcible anacolutha; a more lively and bounding movement of the intellect; a recurrence of the same conceits, frequently incomplete; a cropping up of thoughts not obviously connected—marble blocks rough-hewn like Michelangelo's, not finished and polished in Canova's manner. Then if you observe with a sharp eye the latest writings, you will see still the same man, the same writer, but with a spirit (I should say) more

tranquil, with garments (I should say) less dishevelled, more orderly. It seems, in fine, that whereas formerly he was more vivaciously Italian in substance and Latin in form, he afterwards became more Italian in form, but more Latin and sometimes lumbering in substance. The streams of thought descend with greater continuity and fluidity; less frequently so-called irregularities mar the often polished surface; idioms and Latinisms, though proudly resistant and enduring to the very last—Latin conjunctives and sentences gradually disappearing—give place to the purest current Italian; and the waves of the period, less uneven, not seldom take on a sonorous amplitude, especially in the 'istorie.'"

Of no other great writer, then, could it more truthfully be maintained that the style is the man, and that the rectification of his text—above all in that work which has made Machiavelli's reputation hinge upon a personal adjective, become a universal counter of speech in an evil sense—is a pious service to letters and to history. Liso appends at the foot of every one of his critically composite pages the variants of the group he has placed under contribution; and in a lower basement, so to speak, he discusses instructively the most noticeable of them, with precious observations on Machiavelli's usage, and with constant revelation of this conscientious editor's grounds of discrimination for or against the locution in question.

Home Life in Colonial Days. By Alice Morse Earle. Macmillan. 1898.

Early in the present century a song was current, extolling the charms of life "In good old Colony times, When we lived under the King." After reading this attractive book, one begins to think that the poet, Tory though he may have been, was not altogether wrong, and that life in those days may have had a certain charm, dignity, and educational value that are wanting in these days of steam, electricity, and the insoluble servant problem. Every household was an abode of cheerful industries; and the young ladies who carded, spun, wove, dyed, knitted stockings, made "brooms of Guinea wheat," and so forth, were no whit the less ladies for that, as Nausicaa was none the less a princess when, with her maidens, she did the palace washing. Nor did it in the least seem degrading drudgery to them. When charming young Abigail Foote, in 1775, in one day, as her diary records, "carded two pounds of whole wool, and felt Nationly,"

because home manufacture of cloth was one of the steps towards independence, she had as good grounds for her patriotic glow as if she had attended a Woman's Club and signed a string of resolutions.

Every feature of domestic colonial life is here represented; the homes, furniture, and utensils of our ancestors, their occupations, and to some extent their recreations, all minutely described and copiously illustrated, largely from photographs of objects now preserved in museums. One only thing we miss, that most primitive of fire-dogs, made by the local blacksmith out of a single flat bar, split at one end, and ingeniously doubled, bent, and twisted, such as may now occasionally be seen in ancient farm-houses, where it has carried the burning logs for a century or more. The cover of the book, representing such a sampler as our great-grandmothers used to sew in their school-days, is particularly appropriate.

We recommend the study of this volume to those novelists who attempt to revive for us colonial life. He who shows us the lover "kissing Mistress Polly when the clock-reel ticked," will catch a touch of local color that he never could have evolved from his imagination.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

- Ash, Mark and William. The United States Internal Revenue Laws, Statutes, Decisions, Rulings. Baker, Voorhis & Co. \$5.
Belloc, Emile R. Historic Nuns. London: Duckworth & Co.
Crane, Walter. A Floral Fantasy. Harpers \$2.50.
Denobos, Rev. Thomas. Popular Progress. Buffalo: Murray & Dawson.
Field, Edward. Book Hopkins, Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Navy. Providence: Preston & Rounds Co.
Gell, Hon. Mrs. Lettison. The More Excellent Way. Words of the Wise. Henry Frowde.
Hall, Rev. Newman. An Autobiography. T. Y. Palace. Providence:
K Study of "In Memoriam."
L on Politique de Louis
M Tales. Spanish. Phil-
Co. \$1.25.
P Saga. San Francisco:
B Reading. American
S Girls and I. New
Semple, H. C. Hank, and Other Poems. Louisville, Ky.: G. G. Fetter Co.
The American Church Almanac and Year-Book. James Pott & Co.
Wallace, Prof. William. Lectures and Essays on Natural Theology and Ethics. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde.
Whitcomb, W. W. The Rights and Duties of American Citizenship. American Book Co. \$1.
Ziegler, Prof. Theobald. Die Geistes- und Sozialen Störungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts. Berlin: Georg Bondi; New York: Lemcke & Buechner.

"No teacher of any grade can possibly afford to go without reading it."—*The Dial*.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 12, 1899.

The Week.

Senator Hoar's call for light on the treaty may or may not meet with a response from the President, but it is eminently proper. To ask eighty-seven Senators to take three Senators' word for it, and leap into the dark, is neither dignified nor sane. Evidently, the eighty-seven thought so, as, in spite of the protests of Senator and Commissioner Davis, they adopted Mr. Hoar's resolution calling upon the President for his instructions to the Paris Commissioners. If the Senate is to ratify a treaty intelligently, it must know all the steps leading up to its negotiation. In such a case preliminaries are as important as the final contract. Not only what the Commission got, but what they set out to get, what they were instructed to try for, in what respects and for what reasons their demands were increased, if they were increased—all this is essential knowledge for Senators really desirous of passing upon the treaty as Senators should. Senator Hoar is, therefore, standing, not simply for the Senate's rights and dignities, but for common sense and the public good. For more than a year now our great, frank, and people-trusting President has kept the country in the dark. He has not yet given us the correspondence leading up to the Spanish war. He might at least begin by giving the correspondence leading up to the treaty of peace. There is no question of delay or obstruction. Mr. McKinley is going ahead in the Philippines just as if the treaty were already ratified. His proclamation bluntly said that he regarded the signing of the treaty as transferring the Spanish sovereignty over the archipelago to us. This is a tremendous assumption—illegal and unconstitutional. But if he is determined to act as if the treaty were already law, a little deliberation, a little calling for light, on the part of the over-ridden Senate, can do no harm.

For its purpose, a vigorous reminder of the place the American republic occupied in its own estimation and in that of the world only a year ago, Senator Hoar's speech on Monday could hardly be surpassed. It was a fine description of those really "glory-crowned heights" on which we not only picnicked, but lived, for the first century of our existence as a nation; of the period when we had a soul, when we worshipped great principles, and made it our mission, for the first time in the world's history, to exalt the arts of peace and to find satisfaction in domestic happiness, in secu-

rity, equality, and justice. The transformation of the last year has been so astounding that mere contrast was eloquence. Mr. Hoar touched "the mystic chords of memory," too, as effectively as Lincoln. He must have moved the American soul of many a hardened expansionist with his pictures of that old America which did so much to raise the hopes of mankind about their possibilities. Ay de mi! as Carlyle said. Emerson has become a German corporal.

One of the most masterly summings up we have yet seen of our relation to the Philippines is that by Mr. Edmunds of Vermont in the *World* of Sunday. He may be said to complete the list of American men of light and leading who have put themselves on record as opponents of this enterprise. We think we can safely say that there is not a single American who can lay claim to authority on statecraft or political morality, whose name is not to be found among the opponents of the Philippine folly, and there are thousands of smaller men among its advocates who secretly condemn it, but have been driven over to the McKinleyites through fear of "getting left." On the 19th of April, 1775, there occurred a little affair at Lexington, Mass., which so strikingly resembles the situation in the Philippines to-day that it is worth recalling. On that day a body of British troops commanded a small force of Massachusetts militia to lay down its arms for precisely the same reason given to the Filipinos by the revered President McKinley for laying down their arms, namely, that the sovereignty of America was vested in King George, and that the Americans did not know how to govern themselves; that King George knew what was good for them better than they themselves, and, therefore, they must lay down their arms and return to their agricultural pursuits, while the King was engaged, with his cabinet, in drawing up rules and regulations for them. They refused to do so, and then the English commanding officer, whose name was Pitcairn, not Otis, determined to punish them, but not "severely," for their recalcitrancy. He, therefore, killed only eight of the militia and wounded only nine, when he might have killed them all. This remarkable moderation produced no effect, and we know what followed.

The order of December 21, 1898, sent by command of the President to Gen. Otis at Manila, inspires one to ask whether or not there is in the War Department, or in any other department at Washington, an officer, "learned in the law," who thinks and writes as good lawyers should and do. What, for

example, is the meaning in law of "practically effected," as used in the first sentence of that order? What did the draughtsman mean by "conquest" of all the Philippines, as the word was employed therein? Can there be a military "conquest," within the meaning of public law, if there is not an actual military occupation? What sort of a "conquest" is recognized by the law of nations as one "practically effected," as distinct from actually effected? How could the military occupation of Manila, and nothing else, suspend Spanish sovereignty in all the other islands of the archipelago? It could not and did not. The President declared to Gen. Otis that "with" the signature of the treaty, and "as" the result of what had been done at Manila, the Philippine archipelago has been ceded to the United States. But what will happen if the Senate shall not ratify the treaty? The President cannot by himself enlarge our boundaries. Spain has not yet ratified the treaty, any more than has the United States.

And then, too, if there has already been the occupation needed for "conquest," why does an "actual occupation" become "immediately necessary," and a military government instantly "extended" outside of Manila? The answer is that the President has not yet made, in law, a "conquest" of the Philippines. He proclaims that all the municipal laws of the Philippines respecting private rights and crimes will be maintained. If the draughtsman of the order intended exemptions, he should have expressed them. And what is meant by protecting private property "except for cause duly established"? "Duly established" by whom, by what, and where? Which "measure of individual rights and liberties" mentioned in the order "is the heritage of free peoples"? Who knows? What a blessing it would be if Mr. Choate, before going to London, could be in Washington for a few weeks, and practically put knowledge and accuracy into the law-offices of the Administration and its military orders! Or, better still, if he could for six months be the Attorney-General!

We entirely agree with ex-President Cleveland, that if the Filipinos offer any opposition to the landing of our troops on their soil, they must be slaughtered. No more daring and dangerous opposition to sound principles has ever been offered. These Filipinos have been bought by a perfectly fair sale. True, their price has not yet been paid over, but no one doubts the ability and fixed intention of the United States to pay it. They are therefore lawful property, not only under

the law of nations, but under our law. In the case of *Scott vs. Sandford* Chief Justice Taney held that, historically, men of this color had no rights that white men like us were bound to respect. To permit for one moment resistance to such a claim would unsettle the title to all property. No man would feel safe in the ownership of his horse or his cow if property like this, created by a treaty of the most solemn nature, could be set aside by a parcel of half-savages. If they persist in resisting the landing of our troops, we would open on them with our quick-firing guns, which will soon, we warrant, bring them to see the matter in its true light. President McKinley, with that goodness of heart which distinguishes him, has enjoined our troops not to treat them with "severity." We presume he means by this that our soldiers on reaching the shore should make good their landing simply by pushing, in which, owing to their superior stature, he thinks they would get the better of the natives. But is not this a perfectly chimerical idea? We ask any one who has ever landed on conquered soil in the teeth of native opposition, if he thinks a landing can be effected by pushing. No; the true remedy, the most humane for the natives themselves, is what Bismarck called "blood and iron."

It means something when a politician who cherishes an ambition for the Presidency, denounces the expansion policy of the McKinley Administration, and seeks to constitute himself a national leader against the Trusts, and a Republican rival of the Democratic Bryan in his assaults upon the courts. It signifies that one of the shrewdest judges of public sentiment to be found in the Middle West believes that, by the fall of 1900, there may be a reaction against the expansion policy, and an uprising against the Trusts that thrive under Republican rule, which will be strong enough to make its leader the next President. Gov. Pingree of Michigan may be "all off" in this view, but the fact that he holds it and acts upon it is a sign of the times that should not be overlooked by any careful observer of our politics.

One of the earliest blessings of our civilization to be extended to Hawaii is an attempt to harry the Chinese. A clause in the joint resolution annexing the islands provided that "there shall be no further immigration of Chinese into the Hawaiian Islands except upon such conditions as are now or may hereafter be allowed by the laws of the United States." Acting under this, the United States inspector of Chinese in Honolulu caused the arrest of a party of Chinese residents of Hawaii returning from a visit to China. Some of them were men of property, and all had originally come to Hawaii under the treaty with that

country allowing a restricted immigration. Their counsel sued for a writ of habeas corpus before the Hawaiian Supreme Court, and Chief Justice Judd granted it and ordered the discharge of the Chinese. He held that the act of Congress of July 7, 1898, did indeed repeal *ipso facto* all the Hawaiian legislation relating to the Chinese as respects future immigration. But he was resolute in maintaining that the law could not have a retrospective effect; that it could not destroy the validity of permits issued before its date of enactment. The Chief Justice, in fact, paid a high, unless it was a sarcastic, tribute to the humane intentions of the American Congress in its legislation concerning the Chinese. He held, against the arguments of learned counsel, that such an "obvious injustice," such a clear case of "oppression," as would be involved in deporting these Chinese residents could never have been intended by Congress. Mr. Justice Judd will learn more of Congress, in this and other capacities; but it is at least gratifying to know that the power of declaring the law in Hawaii is still in the hands of so humane a man as he, and that he was able to frustrate this particularly mean effort to persecute.

The annual raid upon the merit system was made in the House of Representatives on Friday. While that body was in committee of the whole, a Republican member from Kentucky moved to strike out the appropriation for the expenses of the Civil-Service Commission; Grosvenor of Ohio, Hepburn of Iowa, and other Republicans of some prominence made speeches in favor of this motion; and on a rising vote, with only about a third of the Representatives present, the motion was carried, 67 to 61. Nothing was settled by this, however. Moody of Massachusetts, one of the several earnest defenders of the reform, gave notice that he should demand an aye-and-no vote in the House. It has happened, over and over again, that absurd propositions were carried on a rising vote, when no record could be made of their supporters and opponents, and defeated as soon as the roll was called. This is what has since happened in this case; still, it is discouraging and disreputable that 67 out of 128 Representatives should be willing, even in this irresponsible fashion, to declare themselves in favor of "starving out" the Civil-Service Commission and restoring the spoils system.

The caucus of Republican members of the Pennsylvania Legislature to select a candidate for United States Senator was held at Harrisburg on January 3. There were present 109, as nearly as possible two-thirds of the 164 members of the party. Of these 109, all but 11 voted for Matthew S. Quay, and the leader of

those 11 moved to make the nomination unanimous, so that all 109 can be counted upon to cast their ballots for him in the Legislature. A majority of the Legislature, which is necessary to election, is 128. There are two ways of looking at this result. In one aspect it represents the lowest depth yet touched in American politics. Quay is, on the whole, the most disreputable man occupying high position in the United States. He has been open and cynical in his contempt for public morality. He has reduced corruption in politics to a fine art. He has made bargain and sale the rule of action in government. He has openly admitted that he speculated in stocks affected by his attitude as Senator at a time when he was voting upon a tariff bill which involved them. Finally, he was exposed as having tampered with State funds which he had caused to be deposited by a State Treasurer whom he owned in a bank which he controlled; he was indicted for the crime; he sought to evade a trial by raising technical objections to a prompt hearing; and he may very probably be sentenced to the penitentiary for a series of years before the term of the next Senator begins. Yet two-thirds of the Republicans in the Legislature entered a caucus and bound themselves to support him, and he needs but 19 more votes to secure an election. On the other hand, the fact that one-third of the Republican members of the Legislature resisted all these influences, is the most encouraging incident in Pennsylvania politics for many years.

Quay must stand trial in the Philadelphia court. The Supreme Court has refused to interfere in the case. This is a serious blow to the boss. It would seem as though it must prove fatal. The voting for United States Senator in the Legislature will begin next Tuesday, and it seems hardly possible that a man under trial on an indictment which may land him in the penitentiary can force his election to the Senate.

The quiet way in which the politicians at Albany and elsewhere receive Gov. Roosevelt's unpalatable views about the proper use of offices, shows that they will be very cautious about antagonizing him openly. They would be very short-sighted if they were not able to perceive the superior advantages of position which he occupies. He not only has the confidence of the people in larger measure than any Governor whom we have had in many years, but he has in office with him a Legislature which can do little to hamper him seriously because of the lack of a safe Republican majority in the Senate. The Republicans have only 27 members, and it requires 26 votes to pass a bill. There are 23 Democratic members, and a

change of three votes will give them a majority at any time, while the refusal of two Republicans to vote with their associates will prevent the passage of any partisan measure. This, it will be seen, is not a safe basis upon which to make a fight against the Governor on either appointments or legislation. There are several Republican Senators, furthermore, who will welcome an opportunity to side with the Governor in a struggle for honest government, and the machine men are fully aware of this. They will not provoke a conflict in which they would be certain of defeat.

The most important action which Gov. Roosevelt has taken since his inauguration is his appointment of Franklin D. Locke of Buffalo as his special representative in the conduct of whatever prosecution may be authorized against Aldridge and Adams, the Superintendent of Public Works and the State Engineer under whom the canal frauds were perpetrated. Republicans were responsible for these frauds, and the strongest argument in the last campaign against the continuance of Republican rule at Albany was the Democratic claim that the party guilty of such corruption could not be trusted to punish it. This argument would have been fatal against any ordinary Republican candidate for Governor. All that saved Roosevelt was public confidence in his promise that he would pursue Republican rascals with even greater rigor than Democrats. He has now redeemed this promise by turning over the prosecution of Aldridge and Adams to an eminent lawyer who is an active Democrat, and who consequently cannot be even suspected, as the ablest Republican lawyer might be, of any disposition to "go easy" on partisan grounds. The Republican professional politicians will fume over the performance, but time will show that it is as wise from the party point of view as from the public; that, to quote from Gov. Roosevelt's inaugural, "in the long run, he serves his party best who most helps to make it instantly responsive to every need of the people, and to the highest demands of that spirit which tends to drive us onward and upward."

The extra session of the Kansas Legislature which ended on Friday, furnished the most striking example of recklessness in legislation regarding railroads that the Populist agitation in the West has yet begotten. There was no necessity for any new legislation and no warrant for any. But the Populist managers resolved to pass a new law. They secured pledges from Populist members of the Legislature that they would vote for any bill which the managers should submit, and such a bill was passed by both branches of the Legislature and signed by the Governor. It

substitutes a so-called "Court of Visitation" for the present Board of Commissioners; it invites frivolous and malicious complaints against the railroads by a provision that the State will pay all costs in case the complainant loses his suit, whereas if the railroad loses its case, it must pay the costs; and it does not afford as good facilities for the redress of just grievances as the law which it supplants. It seems more than doubtful whether this outrageous measure will stand the test of the courts. Good lawyers hold that various provisions of it are unconstitutional, to say nothing of the question whether any action taken at the late session is in compliance with the Constitution.

It is impossible to avoid the belief that President McKinley, great a man as he is, has descended so low as to treat the Hon. Whitelaw Reid badly. We say unhesitatingly that, under the accepted rules of politics, Reid was entitled to the English mission. He wrote or caused to be written in his paper two articles which would have secured the mission in any State which lived under our system. We mean the article on the President's "Utterances," and the article on his "Silences." We have some small familiarity with the mode of addressing monarchs or powerful persons in Oriental countries, and we say without hesitation that Mr. Reid's mode of describing not only what his master said, but what he did not say, was a perfect model of the way of approaching great personages who had something to give away. It did Mr. Reid great credit, considering how long he had been living in a Western country. From the account given in those eloquent and courtly papers, we do not see how Mr. Reid consents to live away from his godlike chief. Were we a dispenser of great offices we should be ashamed to look Mr. Reid in the face. Were such a man to publish to the world that what we said on any subject surpassed all previous efforts of human genius, and not only this, but that what we did not say was even better than what we did say, there is no honor we should deny him. We should not think the English mission good enough for him. We should make him Governor of a province, with some such title as the Chinese Kwang-seu, or "Succession of Glory."

The *Textile Record*, the Philadelphia organ of the manufacturers of woven fabrics, quotes from the Treasury statistics to show that "while imports of manufactures have since 1880 largely declined, exports have largely increased." Imports have fallen from \$268,333,432 to \$226,212,635, while exports have risen from \$102,856,015 to \$291,208,358. The object of the writer is, he says, to warn the manufacturers that the tariff is in

danger from these figures, which will surely be produced at the next election, and in his opinion cannot be answered by the friends of the tariff. What is even worse is, that wages are declining in several of the trades protected by the Dingley tariff. The *Record* is not disposed to give up the fight. It maintains that "the home market is worth more to us than all the other markets of the world," and it denounces the "open-door policy." We do not see what course is open to the manufacturers under these circumstances, except to raise the tariff on the articles which the present commercial movement threatens. The *Record* says the manufacturers must have this or lower wages. We would try both. We would put up the tariff and put down the wages. We see clearly the dangers of the latter. The argument that the object of the tariff was to raise the wages of the poor man would have to be abandoned, in spite of the fact that it has been freely used on the stump by the revered McKinley, and the Cobden Club would have to be set to work at some of its old tricks with our politics. But we advise the *Record* not to be too much frightened by the exports to the savages of the world. It is from the rich, civilized peoples that the danger comes. The savages will have to be made to buy, which is very expensive, but the civilized rascals buy of their own accord if the goods of a friendly nation are cheap.

The French have just been giving, in Madagascar, another specimen of their capacity for colonial government. The Governor of the island is, of course, a general, and he arranges all things to suit his own notions on every subject. It appears that there are gold mines in the island, and recently the Conseil d'Administration, which assists the Governor, passed a law which "permits the Malagassies to carry on mining operations, with the permission of the governors of provinces and the approbation of the resident general." This promptly raised a tremendous uproar, as it threatened Frenchmen with the competition of cheap labor. They say that if this is permitted, it will be impossible for Frenchmen to undertake the expense of machinery and the importation of European labor, etc., particularly as the law is likely to be changed by each new Governor-General. If they cannot have a monopoly of the money-making enterprises, they will not come out. One would say that, in the interest of the colony and of its civilization, everything should be done and permitted to tempt the natives into the paths of regular industry, yet this law has been abrogated. In the number of the *Temps* which lies before us there is still news of fighting in various parts of the islands, posts cut off, houses burned, settlers assassinated, and so on, but Frenchmen must have the trade and industry.

THE OLD CONSTITUTION.

During the whole of the century which is just expiring, the reverence of Americans for their Federal Constitution has been the marvel of publicists. Its success, in fact, in securing the attachment of the people has, as is well known, much surpassed the expectations of its framers. It has long been held up to admiration as the crowning proof of the political capacity of the Anglo-Saxon race. The wonder has been, too, not solely that the American people devised it, but that they obeyed it and lived quietly under it. We have no doubt that some, at least, of the Spanish-American republics have constitutions, which seem as good as ours on paper, but the people do not respect them in practice. They revolt every now and then, when the Constitution stands in the way of some ambitious politician. In fact, ever since Tocqueville began to write about the American Constitution in the thirties, our adoration of it has puzzled Europeans. A great many Englishmen treated it as a kind of superstition. At the outbreak of the civil war, one English writer of eminence explained that one of our great difficulties was "that we had a false bottom to our political thought"—namely, the Constitution. For seventy years it furnished protection to an institution which disgraced us in the eyes of the world, and shocked the moral sense of the most intelligent portion of our own community. It was worshipped because it furnished for the first time in history an effective and enduring federal bond.

As the democratic spirit spread, and wealth increased, and we saw what was happening to private rights, even in England and in France, where there was no such institution, it was valued by the lawyers especially, because it furnished complete protection for property-holders against popular craze or greed. There have been many illustrations of this in the decisions of the Supreme Court. After the civil war, we had still enough reverence for it not to take any step which seemed seriously to violate its provisions, without amending it, so as not to disregard it. We even took the trouble to make slavery formally unconstitutional, after we had abolished it by military force. Artemus Ward's joke that "the earth revolved on her own axle-tree subject to the Constitution of the United States," was hardly an exaggerated expression of the popular feeling about it.

The first real breach in it was made by the invention of the "war power" to enable President Lincoln to abolish slavery. No one would now say that this was not at that time necessary, but it made it possible for any President practically to suspend the Constitution by getting up a war anywhere—that is, by calling into existence and activity the

most anti-social and anti-legal and most judgment-disturbing of all the influences by which men are swayed. There is no way of making a President account for what he does in time of war except by very uncertain processes which cannot be brought into play until long after the event. President McKinley, for instance, has been exercising powers during the last nine months which have been bringing the Constitution more and more into contempt, and to which some portion of the nation disputes his right, and there is no practical means of checking him; and a sort of flattery has sprung up about him which not long ago would have been thought impossible in the case of a ruler elected under a Constitution for a short term. What his career has most distinctly brought to our notice is the rapidity with which a very ordinary man, elected for a purpose to which he paid no attention, may turn opinion away from the Constitution and its necessities and its value. If any one had predicted even ten years ago that such a person by the aid of (for us) a trifling war, could in so short a time not only make the Constitution seem of small consequence, but bring the great men of our heroic age into a sort of discredit, so that he would make it easy for any "space writer" to pooh-pooh George Washington, who would have believed him?

The second great breach in the Constitution was the legal-tender decision. That so plain an intention of the Constitution with regard to the national money as it expressed with regard to State money, could be explained away so easily, was a serious revelation to the vast multitude of "have-nots" poured into the United States after the war of the rebellion. To it we soon owed the "greenback craze" and afterwards the "silver craze." In truth, it was the beginning of a whole series of attempts on property of various kinds, and it culminated in the Bryan movement, which seemed an attack on all our institutions, including the Supreme Court, and frightened us terribly.

For the last year the men who got McKinley elected under pretence of reforming the currency, have been trying to divert attention from the Bryan spectre by a war, and the war has helped them a good deal. But in so doing they have given the Constitution another tremendous kick. They have done much to destroy all respect for it among the large body who voted for Bryan in 1896, and who will doubtless vote again for somebody like him. The great McKinley, whom we are asked so glibly to accept as a better adviser than Washington, will not be with us always. Two years, we hope, and six years, we are sure, will see the end of him as a public man. He will retire, and his wisdom with him, to Canton, O., and leave us to face the mischief he has worked. That

mischief is the destruction, even among a large portion of our most intelligent class, of all sense of the value of our old Constitution as a defence of property and order, a great diminution of the sense of its value, in comparison with that of England, in placing bounds to any possible excesses of universal suffrage, of which we get plenty of specimens from our State Legislatures. Fancy the silver or greenback majority in the House and Senate in 1874 armed with the power over taxation, and currency, and wills, and legal procedure of the British Parliament; and yet that is apparently what a good many of us are driving at in order to have freer scope in climbing "glory-crowned heights" and ruling distant brown men. How long this madness will last it is impossible to say. But as long as it lasts, those are foolish who, with the example of Croker before their eyes, suppose that the Altgelds and Tanners and Debsses and Bryans will not be delighted to find that, after a century's trial of constitutional government, we have at last been willing to take off of democracy the only bridle it has ever borne with patiently.

THE GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE.

Gov. Roosevelt's first message is thoroughly characteristic, and is especially strong upon the issue which, more than any other, decided his election, that of good government. The passage devoted to the question of civil-service reform is a sufficiently notable deliverance to constitute by itself a formal declaration of the intentions of the new Executive. It is an argument in favor of good government of the kind which has appeared hitherto only in the addresses and declarations of professional civil-service reformers. Furthermore, it is an unflinching demand by an incoming Republican Governor for the repeal of a law which had been enacted under the personal inspiration and at the personal solicitation of his immediate Republican predecessor in office. Gov. Roosevelt is probably the only Republican in the State capable of an act so contrary to party amenities as this.

If this passage in his message could be placed in deadly parallel with that upon the same subject in Gov. Black's first message, it would be seen how carefully the new Governor traverses the famous reasoning of his predecessor on the question of "starch in the civil service," answering it at every point, and demanding finally the unconditional repeal of the starchless law. There is in this act alone an assurance of fearless conduct upon the part of the new Governor which could have been supplied in such large measure in no other way. The spoilsmen of his party will not fail to note the significance of this deliverance. If they will read it carefully and then compare it with the language used

by the civil-service reformers who investigated the workings of Gov. Black's starchless law after it had been in operation for six months, they will be alarmed to notice how completely Gov. Roosevelt and the "hypocritical" reformers agree in their views. They will be convinced, we are confident, that in signing petitions to the Governor, beseeching him to make a "clean sweep" in the State service, they are wasting their time.

Gov. Roosevelt's language on the situation created by the Black law is studiously plain. He says that the inquiries he has made have satisfied him that the "present law works badly from every standpoint," that the pet Black idea of a half mark for "merit" and another for "fitness" is not a competitive examination at all, but a "farce," since the "so-called fitness test represents not a competitive examination, but the individual preference of the appointing officer, or rather of the outsider who has requested the appointment." That sounds like a deliverance from an incurable Mugwump. The Governor not only favors the repeal of the Black law, but the passage of a law "introducing one uniform practice for the entire State, and providing, as required by the Constitution, for the enforcement of proper civil-service regulations in the State and its subdivisions. This law should be modelled in its essential provisions upon the old civil-service law which was repealed by the civil-service law now upon the statute-books." The need of this is imperative, for, as the Governor says, the "methods of appointment to the civil service of the State are now in utter confusion, no less than three systems being in effect—one in the city of New York, one in other cities, and one in the State at large."

Scarcely less courageous and promising is the stand which Gov. Roosevelt takes in favor of biennial sessions of the Legislature. In this, as well as in relation to the civil-service laws, he takes issue squarely with the machine. An amendment to the Constitution providing for biennial sessions had been passed by one Legislature and was to come up again this winter, after which, in case of passage, it would go to the people for adoption. At this critical point in its progress the machine, after favoring it for several years, suddenly turned its back upon it, leaving all mention of the subject out of the platform upon which Roosevelt stood. He supplies the omission now by strongly recommending the passage of the amendment this winter, as a means for checking the evil of over-legislation. What he says on this point is well said, and is in strict accordance with the teachings of experience:

"The tendency to pass laws which are utterly unnecessary, even when not pernicious, or which are enacted purely to favor certain private interests, seems to grow instead of

diminish. It is difficult to devise an efficient check for it, but strenuous efforts should be made to find out and put into operation some such check. The State suffers very much more from over-legislation than it does from lack of legislation."

Another portion of the message deserving of high commendation is that which relates to the National Guard. Probably never before have the soldiers of the State received such intelligent criticism, or had the benefit of such excellent recommendations for their improvement. First and most important of these is the Governor's announcement of his decision to place the entire responsibility for the Guard's administration and efficiency in the hands of one man, Major-Gen. Roe; and with it goes the warning, unnecessary in this case, that a failure of the commanding officer to do his duty, or to bring the troops up to their proper state of efficiency, will lead to his immediate removal from office. Gov. Roosevelt's intention to refrain from undue interference with the commander of the troops will redound to his credit far more than his recommendations for improved arms and ammunition, however necessary these may be.

What the Governor says about other matters requires little comment. He reserves canal matters for special treatment later, and intimates that he may take up specially also the subject of police legislation for this city. That is a subject he does well to approach with great deliberation, for it is an extremely difficult and dangerous one to meddle with. Yet no one will deny his peculiar qualifications for a just understanding of it.

SPAIN'S RECUPERATION.

One of Valdés's novels has a picture of a decayed Spanish grandee. The poorer he got, the fiercer the pride with which he bore himself. As long as he had a shirt to his back it seemed impossible to do anything for him, for he would have slain any man daring to offer him assistance. But finally a donkey ate his last shirt, as it was flapping in the courtyard, and this at last opened the eyes and lowered the crest of the haughty Don. He discovered that he lived in a modern world, where pride was not negotiable; and slowly pulled himself together to accept his real situation and make the best of it.

Spain has now lost her last shirt, a bigger donkey than the one of the novel having eaten it. The question is if she, too, will now begin to think clear and see straight, and set herself valiantly to the work of national recuperation. There are some gratifying signs that she means to do so. If the country could rid itself of the incubus of its political little-great men, its prospects would be thought good. The voice of Spanish business men has made itself heard, to good effect, in the Saragossa congress of cham-

bers of commerce. No better statement could be asked than they made of the reforms necessary for Spain—rigid economy, reduced expenses, especially for military purposes, cure of a disordered currency, and a severance of the demoralizing relations between the Treasury and the Bank of Spain. And too much cannot be said in praise of the thrift of the hardy Spanish peasantry. The elements of national restoration and revival are certainly present in the qualities of the people and the natural resources of the Peninsula. Will Spain's statesmen be wise enough to develop and build with them?

One of the first things they must do is to stop talking as if there were something in a Spaniard, *qua* Spaniard, which makes him superior to other mortals. It was an extraordinary fact, but it undoubtedly was a fact, that Spaniards had an implicit trust in the purity of their race and blood as the great thing that was to give them victory over the United States. Admiral Montojo announced beforehand that he was going to annihilate Dewey's ships because they were manned by mixed nationalities. How could they possibly conquer pure-blooded Spaniards? Capt. Mahan reproduces, in his latest article, an interview held with the Spanish Secretary of the Navy just before the war broke out. One of the reasons which Señor Beranger gave for his calm prediction that "we shall conquer on the sea," was that "as soon as fire is opened, the crews of the American ships will begin to desert." Why was he so sure of that? Because "we all know that among them are people of all nationalities."

This is a castle in Spain in which Spanish public men must not longer dwell if they expect to save their country from further disasters. It is somewhat discouraging, therefore, to read of Gen. Polavieja's complacent views about the necessary superiority of Spaniards to Americans as colonizers. That is the one subject on which Spaniards should be dumb, or else make a clean breast of national incompetence. No such sudden and complete crash to ruin of a great colonial power as Spain's has been was ever known, and if there is one thing on which Spaniards cannot afford to patronize Americans, or even Turks or Hottentots, it is their own assumed skill in governing colonies.

But we refer to Gen. Polavieja's silly talk mainly to say that he and his class of political generals are the very thing to be reformed. They are part and parcel of the vicious system which has brought Spain low. The chief exponents of Spanish maladministration in the colonies have been her generals at the head of it. They have typified the blind greed which exploited the colonies for the sole benefit of the mother country. Returning with suspicious wealth from their posts, they have set up as political

leaders in Spain, and have done more than any other class of men to make Spanish politics the fierce and pitiful scramble it has been. Some way must be found of eliminating or muzzling these political generals, or the work of Spanish recuperation will be slow indeed. The dread of a military dictatorship has passed away for the present, largely through Sagasta's address in striking up an alliance with Gen. Weyler; but political regeneration cannot be had at the hands of these worst of all sinners.

How desperate is the plight of Spanish finance and currency is clearly shown in an article by M. de Foville, translated for the last number of the *Journal of Political Economy*. The details are stupefying, almost incredible. Spain's metallic currency was so stupidly inflated that the royal impress on a coin actually took from instead of adding to the market price of silver. Says M. de Foville: "It would be hard to imagine, in the whole range of monetary phenomena, a more depressing and disgraceful situation than that the value of a silver coin of full fineness should fall below that of the silver bullion it contains, when silver bullion itself is at a discount of 55 per cent." As for the tremendous expansion of the note issues, under the act of 1891, it is sufficient to quote Leroy-Beaulieu on this madness, apropos of which he wrote last August that "the man who really dug the grave for Spanish greatness was Cánovas, who, in point of financial ignorance and presumption, by far surpassed the limits allowed to a modern head of the state."

For Spain to climb out of this slough will require the greatest and most heroic efforts. In her financial rehabilitation, however, she luckily will have the active aid of France. French capital to the extent of \$400,000,000 is invested in Spanish railways alone. They have been almost ruined by the depreciation of Spanish currency. Having to pay interest in gold, they have had to accept progressively depreciating money in their receipts, while by law forbidden to increase charges for freight or passengers. Here then is a very powerful interest which may be counted upon as a steady influence, and which will contribute much towards Spain's getting her currency on a sound basis.

CHANGES IN EGYPT.

Lord Salisbury declined, in his Guildhall speech, to assert a formal British protectorate over Egypt, or even over the Sudan; but he has since practically done the thing. In the address to the sheiks at Omdurman, which the British agent in Egypt, Lord Cromer, made last week, he said to the natives: "For the future you will be governed by the Queen and the Khedive." Here was no mention at all of the Sultan, whose sovereignty over

Egypt is still theoretically perfect. The order of the names is also significant—the Queen first. Lord Cromer at once added that no attempt would be made to govern the Sudan from Cairo, so where the Khedive comes in it would be hard to say. By a polite fiction, he and the Queen are supposed to have agreed on Kitchener as the man to put in supreme control of the Sudan. The Sirdar is to administer the Sudan, therefore, not as an Egyptian province, but as a country for the proper government of which he is answerable to the Queen. This is, for all practical purposes, an assertion of British sovereignty in the Sudan.

There has undoubtedly been from the first both a legal and moral ambiguity attaching to the British position in Egypt. Mr. Gladstone's promise to withdraw the English troops, when once the country was pacified, was absolute, but has remained unredeemed for nearly twenty years. He it was also who described the Dervishes as "brave men fighting for their liberty." This was an awkward expression to fall from the lips of a Prime Minister dispatching a military expedition at the very time against these very men. Yet Lord Selborne, then of Gladstone's Cabinet, and assenting to his Egyptian measures, says in his 'Memorials' that the phrase, though embarrassing, only represented the embarrassing English attitude at the moment. But the awkwardnesses and embarrassments did not end there. The present Government distinctly asserted that Kitchener's expedition was undertaken to restore to Egypt her ancient Sudanese provinces. In his correspondence with the French Foreign Minister, Lord Salisbury at first rested British claims to the Sudan on the ground that it was an Egyptian province. Afterwards, when M. Delcassé was not satisfied with that argument, he shifted his ground, and asserted the right of conquest. That is where he appears to stand now, as Lord Cromer's speech at Omdurman is tantamount to the declaration of British sovereign rights in the Sudan. These, if they exist, are born only of conquest.

At the same time, it is clear that the English Government intends to give the natives the largest measure of home rule possible. Lord Cromer said that they were not to be governed from London any more than from Cairo. The Moslem religion is to be respected. The Gordon Memorial College, named in honor of a man who carried his Christian belief to the point of fanaticism, is not to meddle with religion. Its official language is to be Arabic, it is now announced, though English will be taught to the sons of sheiks in order to make them better fitted to understand English rule, and perhaps take office under it in the future. What the English have done with the natives in the army they hope to do with them also in civil life. The fighting of the native regiments at the At-

bara and at Omdurman was magnificent. The very men who used to throw away their guns and grovel in the sand in tears before a Dervish charge, now meet its fearful onslaught with courage and coolness equal to those of the Highlanders. Discipline, training, and the prestige of success have wrought these wonders in fellaheen and negroes from the desert, and discipline and training may do as much for them in making them capable civil servants of the Queen.

In line with the enlargement of native rights and privileges in Egypt are certain changes just made in the jurisdiction of the mixed tribunals. An international commission began sittings in Cairo last spring in order to consider modifications of the powers of these anomalous courts. They have been asserting and exercising jurisdiction over all questions concerning real property, even when both parties were natives; they had allowed natives to transfer their claims to foreigners, so as to take their cases away from native courts and bring them before the mixed tribunals, and in many other ways had been extending their original and intended province as the courts with exclusive jurisdiction in all causes affecting foreigners. The international commission, at the request of the Egyptian Government, has now shorn away most of these dubious powers, and has restored to the native courts full jurisdiction in all cases affecting natives exclusively. This is an important recognition of the increasing competence of the Egyptians to manage their own affairs, and is in keeping with the promises made to the Sudanese by Lord Cromer.

HENRY CLARKE WARREN.

By the death of Henry Clarke Warren, which occurred at his home in Cambridge last week, Harvard College loses a loyal and devoted son and benefactor; the American Oriental Society, a faithful officer who had served for years as its Treasurer and as a director; and American scholarship one of its distinguished ornaments. He was born of sturdy New England stock, and was wholly unspoiled by wealth inherited from a father to whom it had come in return for substantial services to society. In his early childhood an accidental fall from a vehicle produced an injury by which he was physically disabled for life and forced to pass his days in seclusion. It was, therefore, a happy thing, not only for him, but also for the cause of science, that he became interested, already as an undergraduate at Harvard, in the study of Sanskrit, which he began with Prof. Greenough. After taking his bachelor's degree in 1879 (Prof. Taussig of Harvard and President Hyde of Bowdoin were among his classmates), he continued this study at the Johns Hopkins University, first with Prof. Lanman, and then, after the latter was called to Harvard, with his successor, Prof. Bloomfield. Later he took up Pali, the sacred language of the Southern Buddhists, and, establishing his residence at Cambridge, devoted himself to the study of the religion and literature of Buddhism.

The fruits of these labors were embodied in a volume entitled 'Buddhism in Translation' and published by Harvard University in 1896. It is based upon an exceedingly wide knowledge at first hand of the Pali scriptures in the original, and consists of more than one hundred selections therefrom done into English, and so chosen and arranged as to give a systematic account of the picturesque legend of Gotama Buddha, of the monastic life of his order, and of the philosophical conceptions which underlie the Buddhist religious system, with the doctrine of Karma and rebirth and the scheme of salvation from misery. Mr. Warren's purpose was not to reproduce what Western writers have guessed or supposed about Buddhism, but rather to make the native Buddhist speak directly for himself; and for this reason his work has an abiding value and authority. It is by all odds the best that has ever been written upon the subject in this country, and the merit of the achievement has been duly recognized not only by scholars in Europe, but also by genuine Buddhists in the Orient, among others by the King of Siam, who sent to Mr. Warren a splendid set of the royal edition of the Buddhist scriptures in thirty-nine volumes, recently published in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession to the throne.

Mr. Warren next set himself to make an edition and translation of 'The Path of Purity,' or 'Visuddhi-magga.' This is an extensive and systematic treatise or cyclopædia *raisonnée* of Buddhist doctrine, composed by the famous Buddhaghosa, who flourished in the fourth century of our era and might perhaps be called the St. Augustine of India. For Mr. Warren's purpose an important Burmese manuscript was loaned him by the British Government from the library of the India Office, and others (Sinhalese) were furnished him by the eminent English scholars Rhys Davids and the late Dr. Richard Morris. The text is not far from being in a state of readiness for the printer; but the English version is done only in part. Mr. Warren saw that the critical value of his edition would be greatly increased if he could trace all of Buddhaghosa's quotations from his predecessors and from the canonical books back to their sources—as an editor of Augustine might do. This plan also has been carried out in large part.

It is hoped that the volume can be completed and issued in due course. If this proves to be the case, the work will be not only an honor to the University, and a noble memorial to the scholar who has achieved it, but also one of the greatest direct contributions that American learning has yet made to a most important chapter in the history of human thought. For it is already clear that the historians of philosophy can no longer ignore the Asiatic systems. Some of the most striking phases of European speculation have their earlier counterparts in India. And now, especially, when so many facile tongues are wagging with half-knowledge or worse about the fables of the "Land of the Rose-apple," it is indeed well that some sober-minded scholar should undertake to find out for us what the wisdom of these wise men of the East really was.

To many, the news of Mr. Warren's death will be the first knowledge that they ever had of him. Nevertheless, it is an event in the history of American learning. His was the modesty of the true scholar. In his daily life, as in his public benefactions, he shrank from notice. His good deeds were a fine ex-

ample of what his ancient Hindus called the *nirvritta* (roughly, "the disinterested"). In living and in dying he triumphed over death. And the patient and cheerful courage with which he toiled beneath the yoke of his infirmities was heroic. Some of the old Buddhist ideas about personality are almost startling in their modernness, wholly at variance with the views traditional among us, and of altogether fundamental importance as the basis of a religious system. And so it is an interesting example of the utter non-dependence of religion upon dogma, or (if you will) of the good life upon religious theory, that this man, who was so deeply impressed on the one hand by what he calls "the strangeness of the intellectual landscape" of Buddhism, and on the other by the spotless life of the gentle teacher Gotama, should himself lead a life which came so beautifully near to the best ideals of the high-minded Christian gentleman.

IMPERIALISM VS. THE CONSTITUTION.

BRUNSWICK, Me., January 5, 1899.

Among the many questions to which the discussion of "imperialism" has given rise, that of the bearing of the Federal Constitution on the new policy of territorial expansion is certainly one of the most important. That the question has not received, as yet, anything like the consideration it deserves is, indeed, a striking illustration of the present national temper. Of late, however, the constitutional aspects of the issue which more than any other in our day strikes to the foundations of our political well-being, have with some emphasis been brought to public attention. The paper of Judge Simeon E. Baldwin, read at the recent meeting of the American Historical Association at New Haven, was a forcible presentation of the legal and constitutional phases of "expansion," and a thoughtful examination of the difficulties in the way of such a policy. On the other hand, Prof. Harry Pratt Judson of the University of Chicago, in an article in the current number of the *Review of Reviews*, addresses himself with somewhat of assertiveness to the task of showing that the alleged constitutional difficulties, including those dwelt upon by Judge Baldwin, are really not difficulties at all, and that our fundamental law offers no insuperable obstacle to the acquisition and administration of any part of the earth's surface we may desire.

With writers and students of prominence occupying such opposite positions, the question would clearly seem to be open to debate. That the Constitution affords, at best, but an uncertain light to the feet of the expansionist is, doubtless, evident enough. There is, however, a way of disposing of the difficulty, in evidence even among some who ought to know better, which could be dismissed as trivial did it not contain the germ of far-reaching danger. Granted, say these advocates of imperialism, that the Federal Constitution, even by liberal construction, presents serious difficulties when sought to be applied to the present emergency; but what then? The Constitution exists for the benefit of the people of the United States, and can have support only in their approval; and if, in conformity to an unmistakable popular demand, our boundaries are now to be enlarged, and alien peoples brought under our control, the Constitution, in so far as it does not permit of such action, must give way. The Constitution cannot stand in the

way of national progress. We have disregarded it in the past, yet without harm or loss of strength. We have acquiesced in judicial interpretations of it whose chief defence was later seen to be national exigency. So may we safely do now. In other words, since the Constitution and our desires conflict, we will relegate the former to the background. As for amending the Constitution, that is difficult and uncertain; better quietly allow its scope to be "enlarged" to suit the present need. Even an unconstitutional policy, vigorously executed and sedulously adhered to, may, after all, lead us into no evil.

Such specious argument, as has been said, would be trivial if it were not dangerous; if it did not, under a semblance of historical truth, make for revolution. On the other hand, the real difficulties of the situation are not, I think, met by dwelling upon the remarkable development of the Constitution by both interpretation and usage, or upon the practical success with which its broad and general provisions have been adapted to conditions for which they were never designed, and which their framers could by no possibility have foreseen. It is true, as has often been pointed out, that the Constitution is not all-comprehensive, and that its omissions and deficiencies, though somehow "got around," have often proved extremely embarrassing. For example, the Constitution does not provide for the annexation of territory; yet we have enlarged the area of the United States to more than four times its original size. The Constitution does not provide a form of Territorial government, or define the relations between the Territories and the United States; yet we have erected Territorial organizations, and laid down the principles governing the application of Constitution and laws within their jurisdiction. The Constitution does not provide for corporations, or authorize the issue of legal-tender paper money; yet the United States has chartered corporations from the first, and the issue of legal-tender paper has been upheld by the Supreme Court. There is this difference, however, between the extra-constitutional proceedings at these and other similar points and the questions raised by the new issue of imperialism. With hardly an exception, the constitutional applications and interpretations such as have just been cited, not only have involved questions to which no other reasonable answer was to be found, but have also been in line with a national policy whose necessity, appropriateness, and consistency were, even at the time, fairly obvious; while the policy of expansion, especially as regards the Philippines, stands for a departure from our uniform historic policy, and the assumption of obligations which not only have not been laid upon us of necessity, but the reasonableness and propriety of which are widely questioned. If we bargained for Louisiana because we had to, it is also true that we have bargained for the Philippines because we wanted to.

While, however, our previous "enlargement" of the Constitution, when viewed in the light of the attendant circumstances, hardly affords a satisfactory answer to some of the constitutional questions now under discussion, certain points may, by the uniform action of Congress and the Executive and the decision of the Supreme Court, be regarded as settled. The right of the United States to acquire and retain territory on this continent, though nowhere expressly given by

the Constitution, is no longer open to judicial inquiry. Judge Baldwin points out, further, that since islands fringing a continent are properly to be considered a part of it, our right to acquire territory may, with propriety, be extended to Porto Rico, Cuba (if that shall eventually come to us), and, perhaps, to Hawaii; for the acquisition of the Philippines, however, we find no warrant save in the right to take them as spoils of war, while for their permanent retention it is difficult to find authority anywhere. Further, the right of Congress to erect Territorial governments of such form as it deems fit, and to continue the Territorial status for considerable periods, is settled, as is the right of the Executive, pending the decision of Congress, to administer annexed territory under military government.

On two or three other points, however, of grave importance in view of the character of our new possessions, the provisions of the Constitution raise serious questions on whose solution the course of judicial interpretation, notwithstanding the confidence of Prof. Judson, seems to throw an ominous shade.

The provisions of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, relating to citizenship and suffrage, raise two kinds of inquiries. Judge Baldwin discusses at some length the meaning and scope of the term "United States of America," and is inclined to doubt whether territory not, even in the broadest sense, a geographical part of America can become a permanent part of the United States at all. Prof. Judson, while likewise devoting much space to the question, dismisses the contention at last as not among the obstacles to expansion. Still, though the discussion over the name be set aside as merely academic, other problems raised by the two amendments remain:

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States. . . . The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

The first of these provisions, according to Judge Baldwin, "would seem to make every child, of whatever race, born in any of our new territorial possessions after they become a part of the United States, of parents who are among its inhabitants and subject to our jurisdiction, a citizen of the United States from the moment of birth"; while by the fifteenth amendment such of these persons as are civilized "must have the same right of suffrage which may be conceded in those Territories to white men of civilized races." A citizenship of the United States for Filipinos and Hawaiians, with the further privilege of attaining State citizenship as well, is a possibility which few of us can contemplate with satisfaction, and in regard to which our enthusiastic expansionists are silent.

A second constitutional difficulty arises over the application of certain provisions of sections 8 and 9 of art. I. Section 8 declares that "all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States"; while by section 9, "no tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State," nor shall there be discrimination between different ports in the matter of trade regulations. If our new possessions are to be reck-

oned as parts of the United States, within the meaning of the Constitution, it seems impossible, without violating the whole intent and spirit of these sections, to have different rates or kinds of taxes for different localities—one tariff for continental America and another for the Philippines, export duties in one place and not in another. How we can get on with a protective system in America and an "open door" at Manila is not very clear; but Judge Baldwin does not hesitate to suggest that, under the present Constitution, the two are, in his opinion, incompatible. A fair and logical interpretation of the Constitution at this point would appear to necessitate one of two courses: either an "open door" for the present United States, Porto Rico, and Hawaii, if there is to be one for the Philippines, or else the extension to our new dominions of our own tariff system, whatever that may be.

A further question has to do with trial by jury. The provisions of the Constitution in regard to the right of jury trial are explicit, and are couched in terms not easily misunderstood. That the constitutional guarantees of personal liberty serve as limitations on the power of Congress in dealing with Territories as well as with States, and that they may be claimed by any person anywhere within the civil jurisdiction of the United States, is a doctrine supported by judicial sanction. It should not be forgotten, however, that the maintenance of the jury system in purity and efficiency presupposes a political point of view and habit of mind by no means universal as yet, and practically unknown outside of English-speaking countries. I can but feel myself in accord with those who would regard the extension of the jury system, as we have it, to the conglomerate and backward populations of our new acquisitions as a calamity only equalled, if equalled at all, by the establishment among them of universal suffrage. Yet how, again, under the Constitution, trial by jury could be denied to the people of Hawaii and the Philippine Islands, if those regions are held to be parts of the United States, does not yet appear.

Lastly, the incompatibility between a constitution and the political actions of the people who live under it need not consist solely in the defectiveness of the instrument at this point or that, or in outgrown statements of prohibition and command. It consists as often in a general lack of fitness for the work it is expected to do, a pervading want of harmony between the constitutional structure and the temper and purpose of the national life. Viewed in this light, the constitutional status of imperialism seems to me to raise many questions of grave concern, not the less important because their answer works a subtle modification in the national attitude. The sources and methods of national revenue and taxation, the extent of the war powers, the participation of the House of Representatives in the conclusion of treaties, the status of the civil service, and the lack of uniformity and continuity in foreign policy incident to frequent changes of administration, are some of these questions. To none of them is the answer easily to be read in the volume of judicial decision thus far; yet the adoption of the policy of expansion cannot fail to force them more and more upon our attention. I can but think that our present schemes of territorial enlargement, particularly that for the acquisition of the Philippines, bristle with dangers which will

increasingly appear; but of the many dangers, that of insensibly losing the distinct type of national character contemplated by the Constitution, and imagining ourselves to be what we are not, seems to me many degrees the greatest.

I have commented on these opposing views of Judge Baldwin and Prof. Judson, not for the unimportant purpose of expressing approval of the one or doubt about the other, but because, as it seems to me, they serve very well to call attention to a cardinal point in the whole expansionist position. That point is that the policy upon which we have, to all appearances, entered, is opposed to the spirit, if not to the letter, of the Federal Constitution. Even though we admit, if only for the sake of the argument, that every previous enlargement of the scope of the Constitution is defensible upon reasonable grounds of national necessity, the contention has little application to conditions in which, as has already been said, we are governed, not by our necessities, but by our desires. To the sincere imperialist, in other words, the logical accompaniment of his doctrine is an amended or revised Constitution, and it is for this that he ought forthwith, and in good faith, to strive. There are, I take it, but three courses open to us. The first is to admit the disparity between the Constitution and our wishes, and seek a revision of the Constitution in harmony with our aspirations. This is dangerous, but it is honest. The second is to uphold unconstitutional acts by arbitrary and forced interpretations of constitutional provisions. This is lawlessness in the garb of "progress." The third is to "let the Constitution go," and give the people what it is said they want. This is revolution.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

Correspondence.

OUR DEAREST FOE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the present agitation of the question of territorial expansion, it may be of interest to your readers to recall the following passage, written fifteen years ago by one of our foremost historians. It sounds a significant note of warning. In the closing paragraph of Parkman's 'Montcalm and Wolfe' the author says:

"Those who, in the weakness of their disquisitions, needed help from England against the savage on their borders, have become a nation that may defy every foe but that most dangerous of all foes, herself; destined to a majestic future if she will shun the excess and perversion of the principles that made her great, prate less about the enemies of the past, and strive more against the enemies of the present, resist the mob and the demagogue as she resisted Parliament and King, rally her powers from the race for gold and the delirium of prosperity to make firm the foundations on which that prosperity rests, and turn some fair proportion of her vast mental forces to other objects than material progress and the game of party politics."

Very respectfully yours,

PERCY F. BICKNELL.

MALDEN, MASS., January 7, 1899.

PICTORIAL ENJOYMENT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your reviewer of 'How to Enjoy Pictures,' in the issue of December 29, seems

to me to take too scornful a view of average men and women. "People," he says, "not too uneducated to read a book, who yet need to be told that the way to enjoy a picture is to look at it more than once, . . . to try to understand . . . the character in a portrait, even the general lines of composition in a landscape or figure subject." The implication of the review seems to be that if people do not already have a thoroughly sympathetic and appreciative way of looking at pictures, they are not worth considering at all.

I believe this is a wrong attitude to take. The average intelligent American, either man or woman, has necessarily grown up with very few chances to see the original work of great painters or to hear artists discuss such work. Books on art are plenty, to be sure, but these are full of technical terms and phrases which no layman understands, and, being published for those already rich in money and opportunities, their price is usually prohibitory to people with moderate means. And what is the result? Look at the average man and woman when visiting a picture-gallery or running through the pages of a well-illustrated magazine, ninety-ninths of the pleasure they might derive from the pictures is lost because they have never had any adequate help from parents or friends or school-teachers as to the way to look at such things. They are not stupid; they are not hopeless cases. Give them a hint or two of what you yourself see to admire in the picture at which they have been gazing blankly, and they are quick to follow its lead for themselves, discovering more and more of what the artist put into his work. It is no disgrace that they did not know it all at first and by instinct. Most of us are ignorant enough in one direction or another; it is not the mark of a truly wise man to despise another's beginnings in a line where he himself may have been specially favored by fortune and circumstance.

Nor is this all. When the MS. of Miss Emery's unpretentious little volume was offered to me for publication, I at first supposed it would prove readable mainly by persons quite unused to looking at pictures:

or feeling for art is concerned. But we must think that a better book could be written for those who need it.—ED. NATION.]

TO TALK LIKE A BOOK.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Looking through a file of the *Nation* for 1898, I came upon the following statement (in a review of some recent Italian publications, in the issue of September 1, 1898):

"Signor Avancini, on the other hand, is a Milanese writer of both prose and verse whose earliest volume appeared in 1888, and who is therefore quite of the *fin-de-siècle* school. In fact, some of his expressions are startlingly modern, as for instance where a younger brother replies to the reproaches of an elder with a 'Tu parli come un libro stampato.'"

Permit me to say that the reviewer was needlessly startled by the phrase quoted. In the libretto of Mozart's "Don Juan," by Da Ponte, *Leporello* says of *Donna Elvira*: "Parla come un libro stampato." Da Ponte, of whom Mr. Krehbiel has recently written so entertainingly, was in his way a clever man, but not exactly what we now understand by *fin-de-siècle*.

As a matter of fact, "You talk like a book" is an old and common expression in more than one European language.

Yours truly,

J. R.

JANUARY 2, 1899.

Notes.

Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. have in press for early publication 'How Count Tolstoy Lives and Works,' by P. Sergeyenko, translated by Isabel F. Hapgood, and fully illustrated; 'Between Cæsar and Jesus,' by George D. Heron; 'Municipal Monopolies,' by M. N. Baker; John R. Commons, and others; and 'Contemporary French Novelists,' by René Doumic, translated by Mary D. Frost.

'Great Books as Life Teachers,' by the Rev. Newell Dwight Hillis, is in the press

Francis A. Walker, and 'A History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century,' by Prof. Henry A. Beers of Yale.

A holiday book which arrived too late for notice before the holidays is Walter Crane's 'Floral Fantasy in an Old English Garden' (Harpers). It is in Mr. Crane's best vein of dainty fancy and delicate line and color, and when Mr. Crane is at his best he is very good indeed. The text is little more than a string of puns upon English floral names, and is not very successful in rhythm; but no one will care much about the text.

A holiday book of very different quality is 'Ten Drawings in Chinatown,' by Ernest Peixotto (San Francisco: A. M. Robertson). This is published in a limited edition with a good deal of pretension, the drawings being printed on Chinese (?) paper and mounted on loose boards, while the text (by Robert Howe Fletcher) is printed, Chinese fashion, on one side only of the paper, and each page is surrounded by a yellow line. The drawings themselves are not, however, above the average of magazine work in technical merit, and have no great interest of subject and no charm of any sort.

The story of the Sepoy Mutiny has been often told, but there is still room for the personal experience of any who were sufferers from its horrors. Col. Edward Vibert (late of the Fifteenth Bengal Cavalry) was a young lieutenant in the Fifty-fourth Native Infantry in the cantonments at Delhi when the mutineers, who had made their first outbreak at Meerut, marched over the bridge of boats across the Jumna and were fraternized with by the garrison of Delhi. Vibert was on duty in the Main Guard at the Cashmere gate, saw the troops hesitate a moment, then with crazy excitement join the mutineers and turn upon their officers. These and the civil officials, their wives, and children were nearly all massacred, but a handful of officers with a few women rallied at the Main Guard, dropped from an embrasure into the ditch, and made their way to the cantonments. But here also the mutiny had spread, and again little parties fled from their blazing quarters, shot down and sabred as they

Vibert was in a group of ten of both who managed to elude their pursuers, after some days of fearful experience, in an English garrison. The circumstantial account of all this is the basis of the book, and it is thrilling to the last degree. An appendix gives Col. Mackenzie's narrative of like personal experience of outbreak at Meerut, and a lady's of her escape to Kurnaul. The illustrations are photographs of palaces, mosques, residences, some with the visible effects of a cannonade. Charles Scribner's Sons, American publishers.

A volume of reprints from the *Journal of Education* is issued by Whittaker & Co., New York, under the title 'Essays, Mock-Essays, Character Sketches.' These pieces may be said to range "from grave to gay, from soothing to severe," and are altogether readable. Some of them are of solid value from an educational point of view, and few of them are without appreciable merit. They show that the *Journal of Education* is a publication calculated to stimulate teachers and broaden their culture.

An afterglow of 1898, or a foretaste of 1899, Mr. Lyman F. George has written an entitled 'Falling Prices and the Remedy' (Boston: George Book Publishing Co.). It tends that prosperity depends on ris-

ing prices, that rising prices are caused by inflating the currency, and concludes that the currency ought to be inflated. He contends that "the American dollar should be made of paper, and should be stamped thus: One Dollar, United States of America. This is all that a gold dollar has on it, and it is all that is necessary for a paper dollar." He informs us that the panic of 1893 was brought on by a conspiracy of twelve of the largest national banks in New York city, and that they invited all the financial institutions of the city to join them. Some other statements of equal veracity are added, and on these premises the author's argument for inflation rests.

The view of political economy which is based largely on the doctrine of "marginal" or "final" utility is presented in 'Economics,' by E. T. Devine (Macmillan). As a general account of social activity the book is not without interest, but we can hardly regard the presentation of the subject as the best "for the class-room of the college and high school."

In 'Home Economics' (The Century Co.), Miss Maria Parloa furnishes to housekeepers a veritable encyclopædia of their difficult and important art. This has now become so complex as to demand systematic study under intelligent guidance, which Miss Parloa provides. In discussing the subject of building in such a manual, however, she undertakes too much. That subject requires more detailed treatment than can be given within her limits, and general principles are of slight practical value. But in what relates to the care of the house and to the commissariat of the household, her precepts are excellent. Her ideals are, to be sure, unattainable by ordinary housekeepers, but they show them the end towards which they must struggle, and her recipes are invaluable for every-day use. The chapters on foods and on marketing and carving will be found useful by men as well as women.

The 'Concise Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities,' edited by F. Warre Cornish, Vice-Provost of Eton College (Henry Holt & Co.), though derived from Sir W. Smith's larger dictionary, is no mere abridgment of that well-known work. Mr. Cornish has naturally recast, and in many cases rewritten, articles that modern research in classical archaeology had rendered in part obsolete. A great improvement in method is the grouping of articles under one head, e. g., Architecture, Coinage, etc. The addition of over 200 fresh illustrations increases the definiteness of the book. Students of Cicero and Demosthenes will be grateful for the appendices of Greek and Roman law-terms. In the article on the theatre, Mr. Cornish discusses, with a bare mention, Professor Dörpfeld's theory that the Greek stage was on the same level as the orchestra until Roman times. Though a dictionary of antiquities is not the field for archaeological controversy, we think it would have been instructive at this point, in so important a work, to give very briefly the literary evidence—or at least the titles of the plays—in support of Dr. Dörpfeld's view. Mr. Cornish's volume is likely to supersede Smith and Rich in general school and undergraduate use. The Greek, Latin, and English indices are excellent. The book has a pleasing and scholarly exterior, and, though it contains more than 800 pages, is not cumbersome.

We have received the third edition of

Mau's 'Führer durch Pompeji' (Leipzig: Engelmann), which, besides additions to the old text, contains plans of the forum, the theatre, and the streets of tombs, together with some account and a plan of the newly discovered Villa Boscoreale. The little book has long been known as the traveller's best guide through the ruins, but it is naturally too brief to be of much interest on this side of the water. All students of Roman life, however, must be looking forward with interest to the same author's new book on Pompeii, which is announced by the Macmillan Co.

In connection with the foregoing we may fitly mention an enterprise to which the libraries of this country alone might give all the support needed. We mean the publication of the copper-plate engravings of the Temple of Isis at Pompeii now in the archives of the Royal Academy of Archaeology, Letters and Arts at Naples. This body is the successor of the Herculaneum Academy, which in 1851 published a first and only Part of these ninety plates, political troubles preventing a completion. The century and a third which has elapsed since the temple was uncovered has wrought a considerable deterioration in it, and these admirable engravings are the best evidence extant of what it originally was. Their publication (entire) has been strongly recommended by Prof. Mau, and is to be superintended by A. Sogliano. Subscriptions may be sent to the Secretary of the above Royal Academy, Prof. Michele Kerbaker. The price of the large folio will be twenty dollars, and there must be thirty subscriptions to guarantee the undertaking.

It is now nearly twenty-five years since Halm edited Velleius Paterculus, and in the meantime little has been done to improve the text of that historian. The new edition by Prof. Robinson Ellis (Oxford: University Press; New York: Henry Frowde) is, therefore, a welcome contribution. It is a purely critical edition, with preface, apparatus, and commentary written in Latin. The text is based upon the Basle manuscript of Amerbach. This copy, made before the *editio princeps* appeared, was not, in Prof. Ellis's opinion, the *exemplum properanter ac infelicitate descriptum* made for Rhenanus by a careless friend. Nor was it either, as he thinks, a copy of that copy (as Fechter and Halm held); but it was written, he believes, by Amerbach for his own use, and transcribed directly from the now lost Codex Murbacensis. We cannot say that we are convinced on this point by Prof. Ellis's arguments, which, especially on page xiv, seem to us illogical; but neither is he altogether convinced himself, for two pages later he seems willing to grant that Amerbach may have worked from a copy. But we do think that Prof. Ellis has shown that the Amerbach, whatever its origin, represents the lost Murbacensis much more closely than does the *editio princeps*, added though that is by the collation of M. made by Burer. The very errors of the Amerbach are in its favor, for they are of just the sort that Rhenanus tells us he found in M., and which he smoothed away in his edition into what he thought Velleius must have said. We cannot enter into the details of Prof. Ellis's arguments: they are chiefly orthographical. The result of his work shows a great many differences between his readings of the text and those of Halm. We have noted about twenty in chapters 9-12 alone of the first book. It is

obvious that students of Velleius cannot afford to be without this new edition.

After many days we have once more an edition of Cæsar's Gallic War in which the great author is treated as a historian, and not as a medium for the study of the Latin language or the niceties of grammar. To Mr. St. George Stock we owe this boon, and to the munificence of the Oxford Clarendon Press (New York: Henry Frowde), which has presented it in a large and handsome octavo. Seven long introductory chapters precede the text, their titles being: The Commentaries, The Character of Cæsar, Wars with the Gauls; Gaul, Britain, Germany; and The Roman Army. The Latin text is that of Hoffman, which is now, it seems, the *textus receptus* at Oxford. Each of the books has prefixed to it a full summary, and the notes, at the foot of each page, are brief and helpful to one who is reading Cæsar to find out what he has to say. Several excellent indexes close the volume. Mr. Stock has here put students under a great obligation by his faithful presentation, between two covers, of the results of the best researches on Cæsar's campaigns, and on the condition, in antiquity, of the countries which he visited. The book certainly ought to be found in every good school library.

The cheaper magazine is to be tried here by the English promoter, C. Arthur Pearson, editing it in person. It will cost eight cents, against the sixpence asked for it in England.

At the opposite pole from such an enterprise is *Ercyna*, a projected periodical "devoted to the purpose of conveying to the Greek public a knowledge of Western progress and ideas," under the editorship of Platon E. Drakoules, author of 'Neohellenic Language and Literature,' favorably reviewed in these columns. The place of publication will be Oxford, and the annual subscription four shillings, or five drachma. It will for the present be published only in Greek, and will thus have an interest for scholars and instructors the world over. Yet one thousand subscribers are needful to justify beginning the issue. The editor's address is No. 148 Kingston Road, Oxford.

Petermann's *Mitteilungen*, number eleven, opens with a monograph upon the lakes of the Black Forest, with tables and sections showing area, temperature, and depth. There follows a description of the glaciers and vegetation of a little-known region in the northwestern Caucasus. Among the shorter articles is one upon the anomaly of the temperature of the surface water of the oceans, with a colored temperature and current chart.

The German Government has appointed Prof. Dr. Sachau, the well-known Syriac scholar and professor in the University, director of the Oriental Seminary in Berlin. Fully a decade ago, when the German colony scheme began to develop rapidly, the Seminary was opened as an experiment, the object being to make it primarily a practical and not a scientific (*wissenschaftlich*) institution, in which young men would acquire Oriental languages for use in their callings in the colonies as missionaries, merchants, travellers, representatives of the Government, and the like. A double course was established—one, in which the scientific principles of the languages, as also the literature, were taught by European specialists; and a practical department, entirely in charge of native teachers, in which the students learned to speak, read, and write these

languages. The average attendance at the Seminary has been continuously a hundred and more, and the authorities have determined to make it a permanent institution. Prof. Sachau has been in temporary charge from the beginning, and now has been made the permanent Rector. He does not sever his connection with the University, nor has the Seminary any special connection with the University. The Seminary is the only one of its kind in existence.

An architectural problem unprecedented in its magnitude and restrictions combined is approaching its solution at Munich. The vast new building of the National Museum is so far completed that the extensive historical collections are in part installed in their new quarters, and in part will be removed there in the near future. Its architect, Prof. Gabriel Seidl, had, in the words of Dr. Striediger (in the *Neueste Nachrichten*), to build the Museum *around* the existing collections. A large number of carved and panelled ceilings belonging to several centuries called for rooms of diverse sizes and heights; wall space, of proper dimensions, shape, and exposure to the light, had to be provided for valuable tapestries. The effective disposition of friezes, columns, capitals, doors, inlaid floors, of numerous complete apartments decorated and furnished in styles of various periods, and of many other collections and separate objects, presented extraordinary difficulties to artistic combination in the architectural designs and decorations. The successful overcoming of these is an event of great interest to architects.

The sixth annual Conference of Teachers of Chemistry of the Northwest was held at Ann Arbor, Mich., during the holidays; Prof. William McPherson of Ohio State University being temporary chairman, and Prof. A. B. Prescott of Michigan University (who, with Prof. W. W. Daniels of Wisconsin University, was responsible for the order of business), temporary secretary. The previous sessions have been held in Chicago. The Conference is unique in that it has no constitution, no dues, no permanent officers, no set papers, and in that it publishes no proceedings and sets forth no approved scheme of instruction. The entire time is spent in discussing questions left over from the preceding meeting or proposed by a committee appointed for that purpose. These questions have reference solely to instruction in chemistry in high school and college. At previous sessions the place, length, and character of the course in chemistry for the high school have received attention, especially the number and order of students' experiments; whether the work should be wholly qualitative or wholly quantitative or a mixture of the two; whether analysis, so called, should form any part of the course; and how to organize research work for high-school teachers in conjunction with the staff of the affiliated colleges. At the Ann Arbor meeting, questions pertaining to college chemistry were taken up—how to fit the instruction to high-school work; courses in physical chemistry, and courses in organic chemistry. The discussions have always been characterized by unusual freshness and vigor, and it is a pity that some permanent record of them has not been preserved and made public.

—A correspondent writes:

"Having had much experience of the difficulty of consulting the card catalogue of a large library, it has occurred to me that

it might be an advantage if the main-title cards should be colored, the cross-reference cards remaining white."

—In the *Century* for January the commander of the *Maine* brings his "personal narrative" to an end, without, however, throwing much light on the explosion; and Lieut. Hobson adds an instalment to his graphic but quiet story of the sinking of the *Merrimac*. An article on the "Advantages of the Nicaragua Canal" is contributed by another naval officer, Capt. A. S. Crowninshield, who makes the extraordinary statement that the present Nicaraguan concession "will expire" in October, 1899, "should Congress [that is, the Congress of the United States] fail to pass the bill" now pending before it. This was, of course, written before the granting of the new concession to the Cragin-Eyre syndicate, but it is strange that Capt. Crowninshield should share the politicians' delusion that the control of Nicaragua over her territory depends on the passage of any particular bill at Washington. If the matter is under our jurisdiction, we can make Nicaragua do what we please at any time. The granting of a new concession while the bill in Congress is still pending, is Nicaragua's reply to the allegation that by passing the bill we obtain the benefits of the old concession. A clever prize essay by Miss Florence Hotchkiss (a Vassar graduate) discusses Carlyle's "Dramatic Portrayal of Character," while John Patrick writes about "The Carlyles in Scotland." Much of what the former says is just; she perceives that Carlyle's character-painting belongs often to a somewhat sensational species of art. Is there not, after all, at bottom a literary connection between the French Revolution and the eternal spirit of melodrama? Do not the constant insistence upon the one carefully selected trait; the startling shifts of scene; the sweep of the whole to the climax, occasionally recall this "transpontine" stage? Why is Maillard always "shifty Maillard," why is Pétion always "virtuous Pétion," and Robespierre never anything but "sea-green" or "incorruptible"? Is it heresy to say that Carlyle's so-called characters of the 'French Revolution' are rather stagey portraits?

—The *Atlantic Monthly* has for its leading paper an article by President Eliot called "Destructive and Constructive Energies of Our Government Compared." He institutes a comparison between military and naval expenditure on the one hand and expenditure for the advancement of science, the development of technical skill, the saving of life, the improvement of industries, and the support of education on the other, without, however, suggesting that expenditures on military and naval preparation be diminished, much less stopped. He conservatively maintains that while we ought to have "the most perfect instruments and appliances of war" and "adequate bodies of men," we ought to make "much freer expenditures than our nation has ever made" in the other direction. The article intentionally avoids the questions, "How many perfect instruments and appliances of war do we need?" and "What are adequate bodies of men?" Yet it is these questions which must be answered before we know that any money will be left for "constructive energies." For it is the Imperialists, and not Mr. Eliot or his friends, who have got hold of the Treasury. Their first aim seems to be fostering destructive energies, and they are able to

determine that money shall be destructively used until they see fit to stop. Still, they will all agree enthusiastically with what he says, and will be ready enough to vote some money for his programme out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated—when the proper time comes. The article is full of curious and instructive facts, as, for instance, the table of expenditures for the improvement of Columbia River at the Cascade Gorge. The original estimate in 1877 was \$1,459,136; the amount expended has been \$5,007,742, and after twenty years' work the improvement is still unfinished, and of no use to anybody. Norman Hapgood contributes an article on "The Actor of To-day" which lovers of the stage will find worth reading. The demoralization of the theatre is summed up in the epigram, "The Phillistine who once condemned the play-houses, now chooses the plays," which may or may not be accurate, but is a fair hit at a generation of Phillistine theatre-goers more or less the descendants of a Phillistine generation of theatre-scorers. A remarkable "signed statement of a variety actor" is quoted as follows: "I think the day is not far distant when it will be a common occurrence to see 'Julius Caesar' or 'Hamlet' played by variety actors at continuous performances. I am busily engaged, at present, reconstructing Shakspeare's plays, as there are lots of lines in them that I do not like, and I think by careful pruning and rewriting I can improve on them so as to make them acceptable to a vaudeville audience." Speaking of "The School for Scandal," as brought out here, he says: "Sheridan, in giving an admirably balanced dramatic action, entirely overlooked the necessity of glorifying one actor. There was, therefore, nothing open to Mr. Daly but to supply Sheridan's oversight, which he did with astounding frankness." But adaptation is an art by itself.

—*Scribner's* contains the first instalment of Stevenson's letters, contributed by his authorized biographer, Sidney Colvin. Their interest is mainly biographical, as they were written by Stevenson to his parents in 1868 and 1869, when he was in training for an engineer. The accompanying illustrations help to make them attractive. Mr. Roosevelt begins his account of the "Rough Riders," but gets no further in this number than raising the regiment, of the composition of which he gives a minute account. "The British Army Manœuvres" is another illustrated article, contributed by Capt. W. Elliott Cairnes. For manœuvres on a large scale in a thickly settled country like England, a Manœuvre Act, to authorize the Government to move troops over a selected area, has been found necessary. By giving a few months' notice, territory can be "proclaimed," and, on proclamation, the Government acquires the right to move troops, close roads, forbid access to certain points, and to make all ordinary civilian traffic of the district subservient for the time to the military requirements of the situation. On the other hand, compensation for injury and disturbance is provided for. Without some such legislation, it would soon become necessary, in England at least, "to abandon all attempts to train an army for war." The difficulty of getting perfect training for war in time of peace has always been felt by experts, and perhaps we shall soon hear of the necessity of proclaiming parts of Greater New York for the purpose. There are large

areas of the remoter portions of the city said to be admirably adapted for it. The most ambitious literary performance in the current number of *Scribner's* is Mr. Robert Grant's first "Search-light Letter." It is addressed to the youth of both sexes in search of the ideal, and is occupied with initially jocular and finally serious reflections on life, democracy, and the ideal. For ourselves, we like Mr. Grant best when he is least serious; when he is solemn, we still like him, but find him hard to follow. He does not seem to perceive that his difficulty lies not in any opposition between democracy and the ideal, but in an inherent opposition between excellence and equality. A letter showing how to reconcile the longing for excellence with actual equality would do more to help forward Mr. Grant's philosophy than any statement of what it is.

—*Harper's* opens with the necessary illustrated naval article by Mr. S. A. Staunton, Flag Lieutenant to Admiral Sampson, who gives a straightforward account of last summer's operations in the West Indies. Journalists will be interested in what he tells of the *Squadron Bulletin*, the daily newspaper printed on a hand-press on board the *New York* during the campaign. Every evening, it seems, the chief of staff dictated to a stenographer the main facts relating to military and naval movements which had been reported during the day, and the next morning a copy of the *Bulletin* was in the hands of men and officers throughout the fleet. The tone of the *Bulletin* was satisfactory to all its readers, none of whom felt any inclination to "stop his paper." On the *Montpelier*, if we remember right, Capt. Reece served out a copy of the *Saturday Review* to every man; the idea of his creator being that there was something very ludicrous in the conception. Thus are the jokes of one generation turned into the realities of the next. There are a number of solid political articles, among which perhaps the most noticeable is Sidney Whitman's "The Sultan at Home." Mr. Whitman's view of the Turk and the Turkish Emperor is such that "Abdul the damned" will derive much satisfaction from the article. The picture drawn of the Turk is almost identical with that which used to be drawn by Englishmen fifty years ago. He is every inch a gentleman, rather humane and tolerant, and, if anything, too indulgent to Christians. It is impossible to understand why, if this view be correct, he is made to decamp from Crete. But an enthusiast like Mr. Whitman must be allowed to color his picture a little. He notes the strength of the German hold upon Turkey—German and Austrian goods pouring into the markets, a German and Austrian post open on Sunday, the Teutonia the great Constantinopolitan club, and so on. Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart writes an historical account of "Brother Jonathan's Colonies," and, by making the word "colony" cover everything he pleases, proves that we have always been a colonial power. It is curious to see a professor of history falling into the common error of identifying the little knot of politicians who forced on the war and the cession of the Philippines as "we," i. e., the American people. So far as is known, we have never been consulted at any stage of the game.

—In the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for December 1, "Th. Benton" chats to the extent of forty pages about her experiences in eastern Massachusetts in the early summer

of 1897. She was for some weeks the guest of Mrs. James T. Fields at Manchester, and appears to have been accompanied by her and Miss Jewett to such places as might be supposed to be interesting to a student of American literature. Concord and Salem have each several pages, the luxurious country-houses of the "North Shore" are described in an appreciative manner, and glimpses are given of a Harvard commencement, the inauguration of the Shaw monument, and the pure country near Miss Jewett's home on the western border of Maine. Our traveller wonders, naturally enough, what the Puritans of two centuries since would have thought of the modern denizens of Beverly. These, it seems, are so thoroughly Europeanized that, in spite of the carved wood-work from papistical conventicles, which, along with altar-cloths "ravished from convents," adorn their houses, they no sooner are settled therein than they begin preparations for returning to the Old World. Another reason why they are not contented in these parts is the inadequacy of the English language to express their ideas or emotions, and their dependence on French and Italian. Mme. Blanc's errors of fact and spelling are not more numerous than those of previous French writers, but a few of them are amusing enough to deserve mention. Thus, at Salem she is struck by the "gambrel and linfoo [lean-to] roofs," and the Harvard Glee Club is explained to be "le Club de la Jole." One would have pardoned many worse blunders in return for greater vivacity and originality of view.

—Preparations are being made to celebrate with unusual splendor the semi-millennium of Gutenberg's birth in his native city Mainz in the year 1900. The chief festivities will take place on Sunday, June 24, to be followed on Monday and Tuesday by functions of a less ambitious kind. The centre of the first day's ceremonies will be an academic convention in which some prominent specialist, yet to be selected, will deliver a formal address on Gutenberg and his invention. This will be followed by a banquet. The second day will be marked by an historical parade with special ceremonies before the Gutenberg monument, and the third day will be devoted to festivities of a more popular kind. To mark the significance of the day, the city of Mainz will publish a scientific work on Gutenberg, to which contributions from noted specialists of Germany and other lands are promised. A second and more popular work for general circulation on Gutenberg is also being prepared, which will contain a full description of the condition of education and culture in Mainz in his day. Last and not least, it has been decided to arrange for a typographical exhibition, which will illustrate in all its details the historical development of the art of printing from the days of Gutenberg to our own time, in which exhibit the publications between 1460 and 1470 will be represented in the greatest fulness. A Gutenberg endowment is also planned for the purchase of the incunabula of Mainz and of all the works pertaining to the history of the art of printing for the city library, and in connection therewith a Gutenberg Museum. The Grand Duke of Hesse has accepted the patronage of these festivities; and the selection of an advisory committee from among the noted scholars of Germany and abroad promises to give the Gutenberg semi-millennium international prominence.

HENRY DRUMMOND.

The Life of Henry Drummond. By George Adam Smith. With portrait. Doubleday & McClure Co. 1898.

The choice of Mr. Smith, the well-known expositor of Isaiah, as Drummond's biographer, is amply justified by his completed work. This is not of that kind which latterly has had the best repute—the self-effacing kind, which gives the story as much as possible in the words of the person whose biography is written, and as little as possible in the words of the biographer. Mr. Smith has used Drummond's letters but sparingly, and mostly in the form of extracts. It does not appear that Drummond had a talent for letter-writing equal to his average ability. His letters from Central Africa are given here more fully than others, but have more the interest of a remarkable experience than any purely personal. His notes of travel in the New Hebrides are mere jottings without continuity or any literary character. In reporting Drummond's addresses, Mr. Smith has sometimes given his own summaries, and in these we miss the characteristic note. What makes his biography admirable is his fairness in dealing with Drummond's intellectual product and in his loving appreciation of the man. So far as the former is concerned, there is not the least exaggeration, and full scope is given to the adverse criticisms that have been made on Drummond's "Natural Law" and "Ascent of Man." Mr. Smith's own criticism of the former is decidedly adverse. Something more of purely scientific confirmation of Drummond's "struggle for others" in his "Ascent of Man" would not have been difficult to find. As for Drummond the man, there is nothing fulsome in Mr. Smith's appreciation, but it is extremely cordial and well borne out by the facts which are in evidence. We lay down the book with the feeling that nothing that Drummond wrote is so morally inspiring as his character, and especially the simplicity with which he met more than once the temptations of a great and sudden fame.

Drummond was born in Stirling, Scotland, August 17, 1851. From his sixth or seventh till his thirteenth year he went to the Stirling High School, where he was more efficient on the playground than in the class. He was good at cricket and never lost his love of manly sports. We find the mature man rushing off from his revival meetings to see a game of football. He was rather more than less a boy as time went on, seeing that, as a boy, those of his own age did not like him so much as did the older boys and men. His love of boys was one of the most vivid characteristics of his maturity, and his attraction for them was immense. He was not himself a model boy in all respects—was generally late at meals; and the grown man was more interested in boys "without souls and without soap" than in the model kind, and watched the pranks of ragamuffins with an unflinching joy. To go a-fishing was the chief pleasure of his boyhood, and the one that persisted through his life without any compunction as to whether it was right for him.

"To mix his pleasure or his pride
With sorrow of the humblest thing that feels."

From the Stirling High School he went to an academy at Crief, leaving there in 1866 with prizes for Latin and English and for an essay on "War and Peace," and matriculat-

'ng at Edinburgh University, being at the age of fifteen, very small and with a fear of keeping so. He had a passion for chaffering and bargaining, and the Edinburgh auction rooms were the main haunt and region of such recreations. Disliking the classics, he took an erratic course in "Arts." It was Prof. Tait's course in natural philosophy that first woke him up to something more than a perfunctory performance of his duties. Yet in a class of a hundred and fifty he gained only the fourteenth place, and he left the University without a degree, a successful friend addressing him as "two thirds M.A." During his divinity career he came back to the University for botany, chemistry, and geology, and in the last won a class medal—a fact which signified much for his future in more ways than one. During his University course, and for some time after, his interest in mesmerism betrayed a certain openness of mind and his inability to confine himself to beaten tracks.

To enter the Divinity Hall of the Free Church of Scotland he must first be examined by the Presbytery of Stirling, and he got through all right, with his companions, by first hiding the Presbytery's Hebrew Bible in the coal-scuttle and so avoiding an examination in Hebrew. Strangely enough, the Divinity Hall had its chair of natural science, and upon this Drummond attended so cordially that he carried off the first prize. He wrote essays on Creation and Evolution which were significant as showing the preoccupation of his mind with these problems. He got no further than the puerility that evolution is a process to which God assigns its place and directs its operation; but it was something to hail Darwin as "also among the prophets" of Christianity. At this time his scientific studies did not affect his view of the Bible in the least degree. "He stood," says his biographer, "on the ground of the older orthodoxy, with its doctrine of literal inspiration and its blind belief in the absolutely divine character of everything in the Hebrew Scriptures." Nothing could better indicate the length of the road he travelled to reach the 'Ascent of Man' than the fact that he was, as a student, warm in his defence of Henry Rogers's 'Eclipse of Faith,' which opposed revelation to nature and reason as violently as possible. A term in Tübingen was an incident of his theological course; and this, probably, had some effect upon him.

Returning to Scotland, he resolved to postpone his fourth session at New College in order to devote himself to natural science and to regular mission work. Retaining, however, his position as President of the Theological Society, he read before it an essay on "Spiritual Diagnosis." The idea was, that personal contact with individuals is the most important element in religious instruction and persuasion. There was in this essay much forecasting of the methods that subsequently made his own mission work successful to a remarkable degree, and almost immediately the opportunity was afforded him to make a practical trial of his principles. Moody and Sankey came to Scotland and he went and joined himself with them. From Scotland he followed them to Ireland, where they were warned that "all these revivals end worse than they were before they began," and from Ireland to England, where there were tremendous meetings in Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, and London. Moody valued him highly and

put him in positions of great responsibility. He developed a remarkable faculty for addressing monster meetings, but it was in the class-room meetings with young men that he made full proof of his ministry. The confessional has never had a more pronounced believer in its efficacy than was he, nor one whose belief was better justified than his by sympathy and tact. Receiving thousands of confessions, he kept their secrets as inviolable as the Roman priest. He could adapt himself to the most various needs. The richest and the poorest found him equally at home, and college men not less, the class that tested most severely his ability to cope with it. His biographer devotes an elaborate chapter to "The Great Mission" of Moody and to Drummond's part in it. He deals frankly with its limitations, but is favorable to it upon the whole. For Drummond it was the greatest danger of his life. He was only twenty-three, and the wonder is that he was not spoiled by his success. On the contrary, he was not hurt at all. His simplicity was as perfect at the end of his thirteen months' campaign as at the beginning, and he went back to New College and took up again the work of a student as naturally as if he had been off on a vacation of the usual kind.

The range of Drummond's thought was never wide. His addresses at this time were afterward developed into some of his most famous publications, such as 'The Greatest Thing in the World.' He made them effective by repeating them and making them better with each repetition. After his return to college, Moody wrote him from America, begging him to come over and help him: "I think you would get a few thousand souls upon these shores if you should come." A sprained ankle and the advice of a sensible woman came timely to his aid. The advice was that an evangelist's career was generally a failure: "Perhaps a few years of enthusiasm and blessing, then carelessness, no study, no spiritual fruits; too often a sad collapse." But what to do with himself?—that was the question, and it was not an easy one to answer. Evidently the ministry, in its average form, had for him slight attraction, but for a few months he associated himself with an elderly minister. An involuntary vacation followed, after which he found that he had "really forgotten all the more important words of his ecclesiastical and theological vocabulary." In 1877 he was appointed for one year to the chair of natural science in New College, Glasgow (his theological school), and held it for nineteen. With his lectureship he soon associated the management of a mission-church in a Glasgow precinct, and gave to this for several years as much care as if it were his only charge.

In 1879 he made a geological expedition to the Rocky Mountains with Prof. Geikie. He had five days in Boston before setting sail for home, and he was invited to dine with Longfellow and Holmes, but he cut away to meet Moody and Sankey at Cleveland—a sad mistake, thinks his biographer. He found Moody "free from superstition," but, on his return to Scotland, took sides with Robertson Smith against his prosecutors, and gradually assimilated the new criticism of the Bible in its length and breadth, proposing to write a tract in which Moses should confront a certain bishop in the Elysian fields with the question, "How dared you say that I did write the Pentateuch?" Yet when Moody re-

turned to Great Britain, Drummond found that his admiration for him had increased a hundred fold, and just before his own death he said: "Moody was the biggest human I ever met."

Meantime, several chapters of 'Natural Law in the Spiritual World' had taken form in his Glasgow mission, and he sent them to one London house after another only to have them "returned with thanks"—an interesting beginning for a book of which 123,000 copies have now been sold in Great Britain, and many more than that number in the United States. Finally he got a publisher, or rather was sought out by one who had seen some of the lectures in the *Clerical World*. By the time it reached the bookseller, the author was steaming down the Red Sea, and it was in the heart of Africa that he woke up about midnight, November 22, 1883, to find himself famous in the *Spectator* and in various letters reporting the astounding success of his book. Mr. Smith subjects it to a criticism that is at once kindly and severe. It was, in fact, something very different from what Drummond himself imagined it to be—a working out inductively of certain laws common to the natural and spiritual world. Instead of being this, it was a piece of brilliant apologetics, endeavoring to bring certain scientific principles to the rescue and defence of the traditional Christian dogmas, some dubious analogies being mistaken for the existence of a single law upon the natural and spiritual plane, while the most striking feature of the book was its comparison of the unconverted soul to dead matter, with an inability, like that, to have any life without a supernatural descent upon it. But the book had qualities that went far to make up for its defects, and its popular success was very great. It left Drummond as simple and unspoiled as his success with Moody and Sankey. It brought him letters of all kinds, ranging from valuable criticism to offers of marriage from America and Australia. All the cranks and faddists hailed him as "one of themselves." This experience was renewed by the 'Ascent of Man,' one correspondent assuring him as "Heaven's Vicegerent" that "the Coming Woman was a Man," while another, a widow, thinks her one boy "promises well, and could be secured for the Kingdom if you would send him an autograph copy of your sweet hymn, 'Are they safe with Him?'"

Africa, which at first seemed to Drummond "one continual picnic," ultimately gave him some deeper apprehension of life's tragic elements, and sowed in his constitution the first seeds of the disease which brought his life to an untimely end, after two years of increasing helplessness and agonizing pain, March 7, 1897. Besides matrimonial opportunities, and the praise of orthodox theologians, hugging the Danaan who brought them such unexpected gifts of scientific confirmation, the book induced the offer of a place on the staff of the Earl of Aberdeen, then Viceroy of Ireland, and later, from Mr. Gladstone, an urgent request for Drummond to stand for a parliamentary election in Lanarkshire. There were other singular requests, but they were all modestly but firmly waived aside.

During the next few years, and for the remainder of his life, Drummond was much engrossed by "the student movement," which extended from Scotland to America and Australia. In Oxford it had the least suc-

cess, though he had good talk with Jowett, "also occasional silences." Liddell he found "very appalling," though "he thawed a little after twenty minutes over tea." He was told that it would be impossible for him to do anything at Harvard, the college being "under Unitarian auspices"; but "the work was really better than anywhere." An incident of his Australian journey was a visit to the New Hebrides, and some attention to the importation of the Kanakas into Queensland. He found the Kanakas themselves much better masters than Australian Englishmen, an omen which our expansionists should attend to, but they will not.

The 'Ascent of Man' was written for a course of Lowell lectures in Boston, but its publication was hurried by the doings of a Philadelphia publisher, who put upon the market a book made up from newspaper reports of the lectures. Drummond "had the law on him," and got his costs, leaving the publisher with his plates and an edition of 10,000 copies on his hands. The book did not please the orthodox party so well as the 'Natural Law,' and it met with much scientific opposition, but, at the same time, it made a host of friends. It certainly did something to correct the exaggeration of natural selection as a selfish and brutal struggle for existence, though it was less original in this respect than Drummond seemed to think, and it is true that he confounded the struggle of species, of which "the struggle for others" is a part, with that of individuals.

When all is said, Drummond was, first, last, and always, an evangelical Christian, much in love with Science and unable to be happy in his religious faith without her approval and consent. His work was essentially that of an apologist, endeavoring to give an appearance of scientific rationality to the doctrines of Christianity as by him apprehended. To go to him for an unbiassed search for scientific truth would be a great mistake. With more advanced methods, he was engaged in the same business as that of Hugh Miller—the reconciliation of revelation and science; but he did not feel himself, after his manhood had grown ripe, to be under Miller's necessity for reconciling science with Genesis. We should utterly fail to understand his life if we did not recognize that the Christianity he wished to maintain, as natural and scientific, was the Christianity which he had found efficient for the saving of men's characters from various diseases and defects. His "enthusiasm for humanity," not as an abstract whole but in its individual concreteness, was the consuming passion of his life, and it was marked by a naturalness and simplicity and reality that make us love the man, whatever estimate we may put upon his intellectual methods and results.

TOYNBEE'S DANTE DICTIONARY.

A Dictionary of Proper Names and Notable Matters in the Works of Dante. By Paget Toynbee, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde. 1898. Pp. x, 616.

This attractive volume, with its beautiful typography and its double-columned pages of generous size, makes a most favorable impression. Mr. Toynbee was already known as a Dante scholar by published work of interest and value, and we were accordingly prepared to expect a useful work of reference

in this Dictionary. It contains the names of persons and places mentioned in all of Dante's works—not merely in the 'Divina Commedia'—as published in the convenient Oxford edition prepared by Dr. E. Moore. It has also a considerable number of articles on "notable matters," "such as the denominations of the several classes of sinners, etc., and of the various heavens, . . . certain personifications and titles, . . . the titles of books quoted by Dante, and so on." These appear, from the alphabetical list in table xxxv. at the end of the volume, to be somewhat over four hundred in number, after a large allowance for insertion of long titles in two or more places. Probably no one will object to the inclusion of such articles; they have a good claim to be classed with the proper names, strictly so called, which Dante has actually mentioned. After a few *addenda et corrigenda* come many useful tables, including genealogical tables of royal and noble families, a chronological table for the strife between Guelfs and Ghibellines, indices and tables intended to facilitate reference to other editions of Dante than that of Dr. Moore, and finally a few plates.

The literature of comment on Dante is so extensive that it is a comparatively easy task to get together a large amount of information and reference for the proper names, and there is not much danger of serious errors as to most matters of fact if one is reasonably careful. Of course, difficulties arise when one wishes to feel certain that all the valuable investigations and studies in small problems and matters of detail have been properly utilized, and no one can hope to avoid an occasional sin of omission. But perhaps the hardest problem is how much to put in and how much to leave out. In this matter we think Mr. Toynbee's judgment has generally been good, though some of his articles we could wish shorter and others longer. Perhaps the ideal way would be to include, either directly or through references, all that can be in any manner helpful in understanding what Dante says, and in case of varying opinions to state at least one view fully and refer to the most authoritative possible statements of other views, and not to lose sight of any possible sources of Dante's knowledge or of any literary or other influences that may have affected him. It is better to err on the side of fulness than to omit something which a modern reader might fairly wish to find.

We should like to see, under *Maometto*, some reference at least to the Mahomet legend as illustrated in Latin and Old French, and, under *Beatrice*, something more than is given in the way of reference (the reference to *Romania* xxiii., 265, guides only indirectly to Scartazzini), and further, under *Esopo*, one would like to see mention of such an article as that of Mall on the mediæval fable literature and the 'Esopo' of Marie de France in the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, vol. ix. With reference to the last sentences in the article *Esopo* it may be said that while Warnke's edition of Marie's fables was doubtless not published in time to be used in this connection, yet Mall had already indicated an Italian translation from the French of Marie. If Mr. Toynbee's understanding of Dante's reference to the fable of the mouse and the frog were correct, it could be made to appear very likely that this Italian version was his source. But is it true that the tormented sinner in the "Inferno" corresponds to the

mouse in the fable? If to the mouse and the frog correspond the two devils that quarrel and are both soused in the pitch, then there is no longer any special reason for thinking of Marie's version.

It might be wished also that the forms of proper names had been considered oftener from the etymological point of view—that, for example, the two forms *Maometto* and *Macometto*—if Dante really used both—had been spoken of, and that the first syllable of *Olapetta* (Capet) had been explained, as it might easily have been. If the author carries out his plan of treating the whole vocabulary of Dante's Italian works, the etymological side cannot be neglected, yet on this side his competence is somewhat doubtful; the origin *hoc-ille* given for the French word for "yes" under *Lingua Oïl* is not quite reassuring. Mr. Toynbee is perhaps aware of the plan of the Dante Society in this country to prepare a new edition of Blanc's 'Vocabolario Dantesco'; would it be possible for him and the American editor to combine their efforts? Such a vocabulary ought, as he plans, to cover all the works of Dante written in Italian.

A work with which one can hardly avoid comparing this is Dr. Scartazzini's 'Enciclopedia Dantesca'; but as that work is still incomplete, it is well not to go into details. Suffice it to say that a comparison of several articles in the two works does not seriously affect our generally favorable opinion of the English book, and makes even more evident the general good judgment of its author. In some articles we find one book preferable, in others the other, or we find that each supplements the other.

A few remarks on details noticed here and there may be added. P. 2, the foot-note is for a passage in the second column; as one sometimes needs in reading to find the place whence the reference is made, it is better to put the foot-note under the proper column instead of in the middle of the page. P. 17 is wrongly numbered 16. P. 44, since Dante's quotation is not in Latin, and Archemoro is not a familiar name, it would be well to mark the accent as on the *c*. P. 48, Aristotle: the reference to Par. xxvi., 38, might also be given under Dionisio² and Platone. The English form Aristotle is not included in the Index of English or Anglicized names which differ from the Italian or Latin, and the same is true of Pliny; that index is doubtless not intended to be complete except for names which in English are markedly different from the forms in the main part of the Dictionary. P. 51, if Renier's "critical text" of Dante's Provençal lines in the "Purgatorio" is given at all, attention should be called to the fact that the correctness of this text is still very doubtful at the best, and a reference to the remarks in *Romania* xxvi., 601, would be in order. In the fifth verse is printed *vi*, and in the following verse *vi*. P. 54, why is the "letter addressed by the Signoria of Florence to their allies" given in English? There seems to be some inconsistency as to this matter of translation; on page 50 is given a Provençal passage without translation, and on page 55 are quoted two others, the second of which is translated, while the first is not (though the substance of it is given just before the quotation). P. 156, the Old French line quoted refers, not to the father of Hugh Capet, but to the father of Hugh Capet's mother. P. 199, Dio: in the first paragraph

a reference to *Deus* would be appropriate. *Deus* and *Deo* already have a reference to *Deo*. But in general the matter of cross-references has received very careful attention. P. 386, Minotaurus: here we find a reference to *Pasife*, but the accent is doubtless a mistake, as a note under *Pasife* calls attention to the accent on the *i* as shown by the rhyme. P. 443, the reference should be added for the passage in Benvenuto Cellini. In the same column, some lines above, if for the form *Pluto* (as representing Latin *Pluto*) reference is made to *Juno*, *Scipio*, *Scorpio* (there is a Latin *Scorpius* as well as *Scorpio*), *Plato*, we might ask to have it noted that Dante never uses a form *Plutone*, while besides these forms in -o he says also *Junone* and *Giuno*, *Scipione*, *scorpione* (not as a proper name), *Platone*, and the ending -one is the one to be expected for a Latin name like *Pluto*. Besides the words mentioned here, *Zeno* occurs as well as *Zenone*. P. 488, the "*Livre des Créatures*," as published by Thomas Wright in his 'Popular Treatises on Science' with the halting verses here quoted, is not the proper place from which to take (without indication of page or line) the verses of Philippe de Thaulin; they should be quoted from Mall's edition of '*Li Cumpos Philippe de Thaulin*,' beginning with verse 1387. P. 545, in the second column, line 5, read *Heures*, and in the article immediately following it is hardly made clear enough that Jean de Meun's version of the '*De Re Militari*' is not in the same volume as Jean Priorat's verse rendering. The title of Jean de Meun's translation is '*L'Art de Chevalerie*.' Pp. 605-607 (the list of articles dealing with "notable matters," table xxxv.), contain a few unimportant slips. For instance, the '*Liber Alfragani de Aggregatione Scientiarum Stellarum*' is entered under the letter L in this form, and under the letter A in Italian form (very properly) as '*Aggregatione delle Stelle, Libro dell'*', but not under its author's name, nor is the other title, "*Elementa Astronomica*," of his work mentioned in this list. But the heading under which, in the body of the book, we find the desired information is *Alfergano* (there are references from the forms of the title given in this table), and a similar state of things exists for the '*Liber Ugutonis de Derivationibus Verborum*.'

It is in no captious spirit that we have indicated a certain number of flaws in this meritorious work; it is with the feeling that in a dictionary the errors in small matters need to be corrected more carefully than in most other books, and with the hope that in a later edition a close approach to the standard of perfection may be reached.

AS OTHERS SEE US.

The Land of Contrasts: A Briton's View of his American Kin. By James Fullarton Muirhead, author of Baedeker's Handbooks to Great Britain and the United States. Boston: Lamson Wolfe & Co. 1898. Pp. viii.-282.

"It may be that a long list of inconsistencies might be made out for any country, just as for any individual; but, so far as my knowledge goes, the United States stands out as preëminently the land of contrasts—the land of stark, staring, and stimulating inconsistency"—Mr. Muirhead says in explanation of his book's title: "a land which may be bounded by the aurora borealis, but which has also an undeniable acquaintance with the flames of the bottomless pit." "It seems to me that I have met in America the nearest

approaches to my ideal of a Bayard *sans peur et sans reproche*, and it is in this same America that I have met the most flagrant examples of the being wittily described as *sans père et sans proche*."

America is the paradise of women—there is no recorded instance even "of justifiable homicide of an American girl in her theatre hat"; but few things provided for a class well able to pay for comfort are more uncomfortable and indecent than the arrangements for ladies on board the sleeping-cars. "Their berths are not segregated at one end of the car, but are scattered above and below those of the male passengers; it is considered *tolerable* that they should lie with the legs of a strange, disrobing man dangling within a foot of their noses." America is the land of comfort and of the worship and power of the dollar; it is the land also of caravansaries which provide "all the discomforts which money can procure," and in which the millionaire stands meekly at the door of the dining-room till the head-waiter shall take notice of him.

"It was an American who said, 'Give us the luxuries and we will do without the necessities,' and there is more truth in this epigram as characteristic of the American point of view than its author intended or would, perhaps, allow. In private life this is seen in the preference shown for diamond earrings and Paris toilettes over neat and effective household service. The contrast between the slatternly, unkempt maid-servant who opens the door to you, and the general luxury of the house, is of the most startling, not to say appalling, description. It is not a sufficient answer to say that good servants are not so easily obtained in the United States as in England. This is true; but a slight rearrangement of expenditure would secure much better service than is now seen."

And of course the climate is remarked upon: the climate, "in which, as the Grumbler says in *Town Topics*, winter and fall, spring, summer, and all, combine to make American weather."

It must not be supposed, however, that Mr. Muirhead's pages are one repeated antithesis, or that the dominant note of the book is the critical. "Perhaps more than in any other country that I know of will what the traveller finds there [in the United States] depend on what he brings with him," the author says; and for himself he seems to have brought with him a determination to find a good word for almost everything that he discovers there. At times, even, he reveals a consciousness that the people of the United States have not commonly been supposed to possess the robust passion for amendment which relishes fault-finding. 'The Land of Contrasts' is a "record of personal impressions," but the author feels at every step that to set down such a record without offence is a task demanding infinite alertness and tact; and when the impression is disagreeable, he hastens to place beside it an English parallel or an offset. Men, he says, "of a standing and character who would not have done it in England, told me instances of their sharp practices in business with an evident expectation of my admiration for their shrewdness, and with no apparent sense of the slightest moral delinquency"; but he hastens to add: "The reproach comes with a bad grace from the natives of a country which has in its annals the outbreak of the South Sea Bubble, the railway mania of the Hudson era, and the revelations of Mr. Hooley." "The American girl allows her admirers to spend money on her much more freely than the Eng-

lish girl," and "American wives leave their husbands toiling in the sweltering city while they themselves fleet the time in Europe"; but *en revanche*: "The woman of New York and other American cities is often conspicuously superior to her husband in looks, manners, and general intelligence. This has been denied by champions of the American man, but the observation of the writer, whatever it may be worth, would deny the denial." "The small American seems to consider himself the father of the man in a way never contemplated by the poet"; and, "It is a constant source of wonder to the thoughtfully inclined how the American man is evolved from the American boy." But, confessedly, the American man falls from that lofty beginning, and "no one need desire a pleasanter companion." "For myself, I unfeignedly admire the delicacy which leads to a certain parsimony in the use of words like 'perspiration,' 'cleaning one's self,' and so on"; but "there are certain little personal habits, such as the public use of the toothpick, and what Mr. Morley Roberts calls the modern form of *κότταβος*, which I think often find themselves in better company in America than in England."

In the course, however, of all this diplomatic bowing and scraping, a number of things get themselves said of greater significance for two peoples who find it every day of more and more importance to understand each other. "Our brutal frankness, our brusqueness, and our extreme fondness for calling a spade a spade are often extremely disagreeable to our American cousins"; but

"A native of the British Isles is sometimes apt to be a little nettled when he finds a native of the United States regarding him as a 'foreigner' and talking of him accordingly. An Englishman never means the natives of the United States when he speaks of foreigners," and is "apt, in all good faith and unconsciousness, to criticise American ways to the American with much more freedom than he would criticise French ways to the Frenchman. It is as if he should say, 'You and I are brothers, or at least cousins; we are a much better sort than all those foreign Johnnies; and so there's no harm in my pointing out to you that you're wrong here and ought to change there.' . . . And who is to teach us that Brother Jonathan is able now to give us at least as many hints as we can give him, and that we must realize that the same sauce must be served with both birds?"

Or again:

"The English have reduced to a fine art the practice of a stony passivity, which on its highest plane is not devoid of a certain impressiveness. On ordinary occasions it is apt to excite either the ire or the amusement of the representatives of a more animated race." But "the Englishman seems to have learned, through countless generations, that he can express himself better and more surely in deeds than in words, and has come to distrust in others a fatal fluency of expressiveness which he feels would be exaggerated and even false in himself. . . . It requires an intimate knowledge of both countries to understand that when an Englishman congratulates you on a success by exclaiming, 'Halloo, old chap, I didn't know you had it in you,' he means just as much as your American friend, whose phrase is: 'Bravo, Billy, I always knew you could do something fine.'"

Of the total impression that he has carried away, Mr. Muirhead has a number of pleasant things to set down. Everywhere he found an unusual recognition of the claims of the defenceless, an unusual sense of justice, defined as *le droit du plus faible*. "Those who believe in man's sympathy for man must have faith that some day relative human justice will be done, which will be as far be-

yond the justice of to-day as light is from dark. And it would be hard to say where we are to look for this consummation if not in the United States." Everywhere (except in our "servility" before "such mighty potentates as railway conductors, hotel clerks, and policemen") he found in an unexpected measure the high spirit and self-respect which at its best is one of the prime elements of happiness, and one of the best fruits of the doctrine of equality: "Those may scoff who will at the idea of anything so intangible being allowed to count seriously in the estimation of a nation's or an individual's happiness, but the man of any imagination can surely conceive the stimulus of the constantly abiding sense of a fine national ideal." Everywhere our tourist found "an almost childlike confidence in human ability, and a fearlessness of both the present and the future; a wider realization of human brotherhood than has yet existed; a greater theoretical willingness to judge by the individual than by the class"; and even, in spite of the expression of public sentiment within the past few months, an attitude towards militarism which is superior to that which is common among Englishmen:

"One of the keenest dreads of the best American citizens during a recent wave of jingoism was that of 'the reflex influence of militarism upon the national character, the transformation of a peace-loving people into a nation of swaggerers ever ready to take offence, prone to create difficulties, eager to shed blood, and taking all sorts of occasions to bring the Christian religion to shame under pretence of vindicating the rights of humanity in some other country.' . . . Sympathizers with this view seem much more numerous in the United States than in England."

With Ski and Sledge over Arctic Glaciers. By Sir Martin Conway. New York: M. F. Mansfield & Co. 1898. 8vo, x, 240 pp. Maps and illustrations.

During 1897 Sir Martin Conway, accompanied by Mr. E. J. Garwood, continued the exploration of the interior of Spitzbergen, the first season of which was described, in his former book, "The First Crossing of Spitzbergen." In the present instance the party was completed by the addition of two Norwegians, one of whom proved most serviceable and efficient.

The work of 1896 was chiefly in the middle portion of the principal island near Advent and Sassen Bays, and resulted in determining the existence of an immense number of separate though adjacent glaciers, but no trace of the general "continental" ice-sheet which had been hastily assumed to cover the interior of the land. In 1897 the search for the supposed "inland ice" was continued in the more northern portion of Spitzbergen, which was also proved to bear merely glacial and mountain areas. The only large part of the archipelago which was found to carry an undifferentiated ice-sheet includes New Friesland and North-East Land. The discovery of this fact is the principal geographical result of the campaign of 1897. That it is an important fact is rightly claimed by the explorer, for the following reasons:

"The old theory, that glaciers not only polish but systematically excavate their beds, is practically abandoned. Its supporters naturally considered that the larger the mass of ice the more vigorous would be its excavating action. A great arctic ice sheet was regarded as an extraordinarily powerful excavator. We now know that moving land ice does not so operate upon its bed, but, be-

yond polishing the surface of the rock it covers, has mainly a conservative effect upon it. In the case of a country like the interior of Greenland, wholly buried under ice, the buried land surface undergoes modelling to a very slight degree except around the coast. On the other hand, in the case of a glacial region where mountains rise above the mean level and where rock faces are exposed to the rapid denudation that takes place at all snowy elevations, great developments of surface-formation are going forward. In the case of an ice sheet, the forces acting on a land surface are conservative; in the case of a glacial region, the acting forces are formative. Hence the immense importance of distinguishing between these two types of ice-bearing country.

When the great Asiatic plateau was elevated, the drainage ran off along the hollows in the line of the crinkling of the surface coinciding with the strike of the strata. Now, however, by the operation of rivers eating their way back into the plateau at right angles to the strike of the strata, all the great rivers flow at right angles to their original direction. The Indus was originally a stream no bigger than the Swat River, flowing down the edge of the elevated region. It ate its way through the Nanga Parbat range into the depression which goes on to Gilgit, and thus it stole all the waters of the upper Indus of to-day, which in the remote past, I believe, discharged themselves (over a high region since excavated into mountain ranges) into the Kunar River and before that into the Oxus. . . . It is noticeable that, in each case, the river has broken its way through a range in the immediate proximity of its highest peak—that is to say, just where the fall and gathering of snow has been greatest and the denudation most energetic.

"In the case of rivers the eating back process is well recognized and understood. It is not really the work of the river, but it is accomplished by the various forces of atmospheric denudation, by frost and thaw, by avalanches, and so forth, all taking place about the head waters of the stream. I suggest that, under the action of similar forces, glaciers likewise creep back, and that the modelling of snow-mountains out of high plateaus is largely due to this process. According to this theory, though glaciers do not excavate their beds to any great extent, they widen them by carrying away the results of atmospheric and other denudation, and similarly they eat back at their heads.

"The most striking examples I have seen of this are in Garwood Land. There, far in the interior, are a series of cliffs several hundred feet in height. What the origin of these cliffs may have been is immaterial. . . . They form the front of the remains of the old plateau, which has been and is being eaten away. . . . By the melting of the snows above the cliffs and on their ledges, and by the action of frost and thaw, the rocks are being rapidly broken up. The debris falls upon the glaciers below and is carried away. If there were no glaciers in this position, the debris would pile up, a slope would be formed, and would presently reach up to the top of the cliff and protect it from further denudation. The presence of the glaciers below prevents the debris from collecting. The cliff thus continues its existence, and merely moves backward by a steady progress, just as the cliff retreats over which Niagara falls. Where weaker rocks are encountered, or denudation is locally more energetic, the cliff eats backward more rapidly. An embayment is formed which tends both to widen and creep backwards, becoming in time a tributary valley. . . . When two neighboring embayments, reaching back from the lower level into a plateau, send arms to join one another, or meet obliquely, a nunatak is formed" (pp. 209-213).

Sir Martin concludes that the forces of denudation have been longer or more vigorously at work in the western portions of the island, as the development of the topography becomes less and less complete as one proceeds eastward, until parts of the undenuded plateau itself are encountered. The whole north coast bears evidence of a more rigorous climate than districts further south.

The book is attractively and not too profusely illustrated from photographs by Mr. Garwood, and includes an excellent map and sufficient index. There is not too much dwelling upon similar experiences to bore the reader not an arctic enthusiast. The volume is of comfortable size and weight, and in all respects shows a praiseworthy advance on the unwieldy book which preceded it. The author insists on the form of spelling Spitzbergen which has been adopted by the Royal Geographical Society as the only correct one, and it is to be hoped that it may find favor with geographers.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

- Allen, A. H. Commercial Organic Analysis. 2 vols. Philadelphia: P. Blakiston's Son & Co. \$4.50.
 Bashford, Herbert. Songs from Puget Sea. San Francisco: Whitaker & Ray Co.
 Bennett, C. E. Critique of Some Recent Subjunctive Theories. [Cornell Studies in Classical Philology.] Macmillan.
 Byron, Lord. The Prisoner of Chillon, and Other Poems. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 15c.
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 Carpenter, Edward. Angels' Wings: Essays on Art and Life. London: Sonnenschein; New York: Macmillan. \$2.
 Catherwood, Mrs. Mary H. Heroes of the Middle West. The French. Boston: Ginn & Co. 60c.
 Cesaresco, Countess Evelyn Martinengo. Cavour. Macmillan. 75c.
 Cleveland, F. A. The Growth of Democracy in the United States. Chicago: Quadrangle Press. \$1.50.
 Coleridge, S. T. The Ancient Mariner, Kubla Khan, and Christabel. Macmillan. 25c.
 Conybeare, F. C. The Dreyfus Case. London: George Allen; New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.50.
 Crockett, Ingram. Beneath Blue Skies and Gray. E. H. Rouse.
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 Guilbert, Rev. Edmund. Annals of an Old Parish. Historical Sketches of Trinity Church, Southport, Conn. Whitaker. \$2.25.
 Guiney, Louise. The Secret of Fougereuse. From the French. Boston: Marlier, Callahan & Co. \$1.50.
 Guthrie, W. D. Lectures on the Fourteenth Amendment. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.
 Harding, J. W. A Conjuror of Phantoms. F. T. Neely.
 Harrison, Mrs. S. F. The Forest of Bourg-Marie. Toronto: G. N. Morang. 65c.
 Hazard, Prof. J. C. Eutropius. American Book Co. 75c.
 Hempl, Prof. George. The Easiest German Reading. Boston: Ginn & Co. 45c.
 Henderson, W. J. How Music Developed. F. A. Stokes Co. \$1.25.
 Hewlett, Maurice. Songs and Meditations. London: Constable; New York: Macmillan. \$1.25.
 Hopwood, Aubrey, and Hicks, Seymour. The Sleepy King. Routledge. \$2.
 Huntington, Rev. W. R. Psyche: A Study of the Soul. Whitaker. 25c.
 Huntington, Rev. W. R. Sonnets and a Dream. The Marion Press. \$1.
 Jackson, Prof. A. V. Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran. Macmillan.
 Jones, H. A. The Rogue's Comedy. Macmillan. 75c.
 Keary, C. F. The Journalist. London: Methuen & Co.; New York: New Amsterdam Book Co. \$1.50.
 Lang, Andrew. The Companions of Pickle. Longmans, Green & Co.
 Leadam, I. S. Select Cases in the Court of Requests, 1497-1569. London: Quaritch.
 Le Roux, Hugues. Gens de Poudre. Roman d'Histoire et d'Aventure. Paris: Calmann Lévy.
 Leupp, F. E. How to Prepare for a Civil-Service Examination. New York: Hinds & Noble.
 MacNaughton, Eleanor Le S. Meadowburst Children and Other Tales. Cincinnati, O.: Editor Publishing Co.
 Man, August. Führer durch Pompeji. Dritte Auflage. Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann.
 McKenzie, Rev. Alexander. The Divine Force in the Life of the World. Boston: Lamson, Wolfe & Co.
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 Nichols, E. L., and Franklin, W. S. The Elements of Physics. Vol. I. Mechanics and Heat. Macmillan. \$1.50.

Palmer, Prof. Arthur. P. Ovidi Nasonis Heroides. With the Greek Translation of Planudes. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde, Palmer, Roundell. Memorials. Part II. Personal and Political. 1898-1899. 2 vols. Macmillan. \$8.
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Protestant Episcopal Almanac. 1899. Whitaker. 25c.
Rocca, Gen. Count Enrico della. The Autobiography of a Veteran, 1807-1863. Macmillan.
Salomon, David P. Methods of Industrial Remuneration. 3d ed. London: Williams & Norgate; New York: Putnam. \$2.50.

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Smith, George A. The Life of Henry Drummond. Doubleday & McClure Co. \$3.
Steevens, G. W. With Kitchener to Khartum. Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.50.
Stickney, J. H., and Hoffmann, Ralph. Bird World. A Book for Children. Boston: Ginn & Co. 70c.
St. Nicholas. 1898. 2 vols. Century Co.
Stoddard, C. W. A Cruise under the Crescent. Rand, McNally & Co.
Summum Corda: A Defence of Idealism. Macmillan. \$1.

The Blue Laws of Connecticut. Truth-Seeker Co.
The Bridge of Light: A Message from the Unseen. London: Gay & Bird.
The Century. May-Oct., 1898. Century Co.
Trask, Katrina. Under King Constantine. 5th ed. Putnam. \$1.
Traube, J. Physico-Chemical Methods. Philadelphia: P. Blakiston's Son & Co. \$1.50.
Trübner, K., and Meints, F. Minerva: Jahrbuch der Gelehrten Welt. 1898-1899. Strassburg: Trübner; New York: Lemcke & Buechner.
Ulzer, Prof. F., and Fraenkel, A. Introduction to Chemical-Technical Analysis. Philadelphia: P. Blakiston's Son & Co. \$1.25.
Wilson, L. L. W. United States History in Elementary Schools. Macmillan. 80c.
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 19, 1899.

The Week.

Mr. Dingley's death removes from the House a type of man too rarely found in its membership. He owed his place and influence there to no brilliant qualities of oratory or leadership, but to the solid and somewhat plodding characteristics of a business man devoting his time to public affairs. An absolute freedom from all demagogue's tricks, and a personal integrity which was never questioned, gave him the unfailing respect of his constituents and colleagues. Such a quiet and steady confidence as was reposed in him is, after all, a finer personal tribute than the more demonstrative admiration which a showy man often evokes. As leader of the House, Mr. Dingley was a success very much as that other business man, W. H. Smith, was a success as leader of the House of Commons; that is to say, without any fireworks, but with tact and patience, he applied himself to the business in hand and got it done. His economic ideas, such as they were, never had a fair chance to be embodied into law, as the unhappy tariff measure with which his name is unfortunately associated was notoriously forced upon him, in its more flagrant schedules, against his judgment. The ferocious warfare already afloat between the rival beneficiaries of the wool clauses of his bill is one melancholy proof more of the hopelessness of making a "satisfactory" and stable protective tariff. It was said of Burke that he studied national commerce with a zeal as great as if he were to receive a commission on each transaction. Mr. Dingley was also, in his sphere and with his limitations, a serious student of finance and trade; and the disappearance of one of the lessening number of our public men of that class cannot but be regarded, whether we agree with him or not, as a real loss.

From the military point of view, Gen. Eagan's extraordinary attack upon Gen. Miles would prove a blessing in disguise if it could arouse the President and Congress to a realization of what the real trouble with the army is. Every military text-book of any value lays down as the fundamental theory of army organization a system of accountability by which every soldier and officer is subordinate and responsible to some one else, up to the commanding officer, upon whom rests the final responsibility for the army's efficiency and value as a fighting machine. This vital principle, never fully carried out in this country, because of the peculiar position of the civilian Secretary of War, has practically been abandoned

ever since President Grant reduced the position of the Commanding General to a mere sinecure, gave the Secretary of War powers never intended for him, and made the Adjutant-General really the most influential officer of the army, instead of merely the military secretary of the Commanding General, as he should be. As a result of this we have the present situation, in which staff generals like Eagan not only pay no attention to the Commanding General, but actually declare themselves totally independent of his authority. One need only think of what would happen to any large dry-goods house which let every chief of department run his part of the business independently of the others and of the firm, to see how utterly preposterous it is to try to run a great national department, let alone a military one, upon such principles. Yet our much-vaunted expansion, with its promised increase of efficiency in all departments of the Government, has brought us no nearer to army reform than the drafting of a bill which intensifies and increases every evil in existence, and which, in view of the fact that we have European experience to draw upon, may justly be called a monumental piece of ignorant and foolish legislation.

The public has learned with great satisfaction that there is to be a trial by court-martial of Commissary-General Eagan. There is only one thing which could deepen the disgrace inflicted on the nation and the army by his conduct, and that is that it should go unpunished, or should escape with nominal punishment. It will doubtless be hard for President McKinley to be severe on one of his close coadjutors during the war, who was helping him to show that Alger had managed it well; but Eagan has left him no alternative. We do not recall any incident in the national history so well calculated to give foreigners a low idea of our morals, manners, and military discipline. When a staff officer can pass half an hour reading a paper of filthy abuse of his commanding officer, without interruption from a so-called "board of inquiry," it is no wonder that the Spanish Minister of Marine thought all our sailors would jump overboard when the fighting in the late war began. The thing to be done with Eagan, the only thing that will suffice, is to relegate him to private life, without ifs, buts, or "pulls." He cannot, or, at least, ought not to, be allowed to remain in the army. He has been there thirty years, and has apparently not learned the very rudiments of military discipline, or of civil decency.

Each day furnishes fresh evidence that

we are going to have a thorough discussion of the great issues involved in the Philippine question. For one thing, we have emerged from the period in which everybody "stood behind the President," and Mr. McKinley was encouraged to go ahead and do anything he liked because Republicans and Democrats alike were backing him up. What Mr. McKinley now does is subjected to scrutiny and criticism, as the conduct of the American Executive should be and must be if he is not to become an irresponsible dictator. It no longer suffices to say, "The President has done so and so," because people no longer believe that the President can do no wrong. On the contrary, public men do not hesitate to declare that in his recent action in regard to the Philippine situation Mr. McKinley has been guilty of usurpation of power. His supporters are forced to try to defend his action as within the prerogatives of the Executive, instead of devoting themselves to fulsome praise of his patriotism and statesmanship.

The proposed Philippine commission is, not yet formally appointed, and the scope of its duties is still undetermined. One story represents that its work "will be purely of an economic, and not of a political, nature; it will not attempt to deal with the problem of government for the islands." Another says that it "will deal solely with the political questions involved in the conquest of the Philippines by the American forces." The *Evening Post's* Washington correspondent offers what seems the most reasonable explanation, that "it is not intended to be a commission in the ordinary sense, but is designed by the President to act as a sort of advisory board, a local cabinet, as it were, to live in the Philippines and counsel him as to each new step in colonial development." Whatever the precise duties of this body may be, it is obvious that they must be most important and responsible. Nobody is fit to be a member of such a commission who is not a man of high character, of proved ability, of demonstrated discretion and judgment. Some at least of its members should, besides, possess knowledge of conditions in the East, and particularly of the Philippine archipelago, if such men can be found. Mr. McKinley's first choices for the three civilian members of the commission were President Schurman of Cornell University, who is to be its chairman, Prof. Dean C. Worcester of the University of Michigan, and Charles Denby of Indiana. It seems high praise, and yet we think it is the simple truth to say that this is an ideal commission for the object in view. It would be hard to pick out three men in the United States who are so well qualified in every

way for so responsible and delicate a mission. The question of the need, the legality, even of the motive of this commission remains open. Is it another red-herring like the military board of inquiry?

The recent appointment of a professional politician of Alabama to the consul-generalship at Singapore seems the more extraordinary and indefensible, because the Administration had just had brought home to it the importance of having an able and discreet man in that position. Singapore is near enough Manila to make the representative of our Government there always liable to be involved in the complications of the Philippine question. It appears that early in June last Mr. Pratt, our late Consul-General there, received a delegation of Filipinos, who approached him as "the legitimate representative of the great and powerful American republic," referred to "the programme arranged between you and Gen. Aguinaldo in this port of Singapore," and expressed the "hope that the United States will efficaciously second the programme and secure to us our independence under the protection of the United States." In his reply Mr. Pratt accepted the implication that he enjoyed practically absolute power in the premises, and said, among other things:

"When, six weeks ago, I learned that Gen. Aguinaldo had arrived incognito in Singapore, I immediately sought him out. An hour's interview convinced me he was the man for the occasion, and, having communicated with Admiral Dewey, I accordingly arranged for him to join the latter, which he did, at Cavité. I am thankful to have been the means, though merely the accidental means, of bringing about the arrangement between Gen. Aguinaldo and Admiral Dewey which has resulted so happily. I can only hope that the eventful outcome will be all that can be desired for the happiness and welfare of the Filipinos."

Immediately upon receiving news of this performance by our Consul-General at Singapore, Secretary Day of the State Department telegraphed a sharp rebuke, instructing him to "avoid unauthorized negotiations" with the Philippine insurgents. In a longer communication by mail, Mr. Day said plainly that there was "a feeling of disquietude and a doubt as to whether some of your acts may not have borne a significance and produced an impression which this Government would be compelled to regret." Mr. Day pointed out that the address presented to Mr. Pratt by the Filipinos disclosed an understanding on their part that the object of Admiral Dewey was to support the cause of Aguinaldo, and that the ultimate object of our action was to secure the independence of the Philippines, "under the protection of the United States"; and that Mr. Pratt's reply did not repel this implication, while it represented that Gen. Aguinaldo was "sought out" by him. The Secretary said

also: "Your further reference to Gen. Aguinaldo as 'the man for the occasion,' and to your 'bringing about' the 'arrangement' between Gen. Aguinaldo and Admiral Dewey 'which has resulted so happily,' also represents the matter in a light which causes apprehension lest your action may have laid the ground of future misunderstanding and complications." All this showed that Mr. Pratt was unfit for his place. But it also showed that his successor should be a man who was conspicuously qualified for it by ability, character, and proved discretion. Instead of selecting such a man, however, the President has treated this responsible position as a "plum," to be given to a Republican "worker" in Alabama.

Senator Hanna's ship-subsidy bill sticks unaccountably on the stocks. With his *sic* *judeo* upon it, and with the prudently arranged endorsement of it by the President in his message, one would have expected the measure not only to have been launched by this time, but to be well on its way to its desired haven. To drop nautical metaphors, several ugly obstacles have been discovered in Mr. Hanna's path. One of them is a revival of the fine idea of a bounty on agricultural exports, and a crafty plan to hitch that wagon to the star of the shipping-subsidy bill. Senator Hansbrough has already moved it as an amendment to the Hanna bill. No one could hold that it is not germane. Bounty for bounty, one on wheat exported is as fair as one on ships, and would go to far more necessitous folk than the other. There is a chance for beautiful argument on it, anyhow, and the session is slipping away. All told, therefore, in spite of the superior airs of Mr. Hanna, and notwithstanding his enlisting the services of a literary bureau and "plate-matter" to speed his bill, we do not look to see this particular form of expansion of the profits of good Republicans become law just yet.

The Governor of Vermont failed in his first effort to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Senator Morrill; the veteran lawyer whom he originally picked out being constrained by family reasons to decline the place. Gov. Smith, however, stuck to the principle which had dictated the choice of Mr. Fifield, and has now found a man of the same type who will accept the office until the Legislature shall fill it in the fall of 1900. Chief Justice Ross of the Supreme Court was born in 1826, a few months earlier than Senator Hawley, and will regard his temporary incumbency of the place as the crown of a long and honorable career, rather than as a stepping-stone to a period of permanent service as a national legislator. His appointment as Senator calls attention to the system of

a virtual life tenure of the judgeships which prevails in Vermont under elections of the whole Supreme bench by the Legislature every other year. He was chosen a justice in 1870, and has been re-elected as his term expired ever since, being promoted to the Chief Justiceship in 1890. As there is no age limit for judges in Vermont, he undoubtedly might have remained on the bench as long as health and inclination to work had continued.

The senatorial contest in Connecticut has ended in the best way for the interests of the State and for the cause of good politics. Gen. Hawley is immeasurably superior in character and standing to either of the Republicans who sought to supplant him; and his success represents the wishes of the mass of Republican voters, while a victory for either of his rivals would have represented wire-pulling and pipe-laying. Returning to the Senate for another six years, at an age when he cannot expect anything in politics beyond this term of the office, Gen. Hawley ought to develop once more the independence of thought and action which distinguished him a quarter of a century ago, when he fought the force-bill policy of the extremists in his party. The Hawley of that period has disappeared of late years, but there ought to be the possibility of reviving him, and it would be a good thing for the nation as well as the State if the end of his long political career should show him once more a spokesman of the New England intellect and conscience in the new issues which confront us.

Mr. Depew was in a very happy frame of mind when the information reached him on Thursday that he had received the Republican caucus nomination for the Senate, which accounts for his treatment of the information as news. That was his little joke. He and the Old Man have known all about it for many weeks. It pleased him to say that he was specially gratified at the unanimity of the caucus, but that was merely an outward indication of the beautiful perfection of Platt's system. If Platt had told the Republican members, a minute before the caucus assembled, to drop Depew and hand a unanimous nomination to Odell, or Payne, or Quigg, or any other man, the order would have been obeyed without hesitation or friction. If there is anything to be proud of in unanimity of that sort, Platt is the man to feel the pride. It is a fortunate thing for the State that he has been willing to exercise his power in favor of Mr. Depew, rather than of some far less competent person. Mr. Depew has sound views on the money question, as well as on many other subjects of importance, and he has the ability to express them. Whatever else he does to please Platt, he will never acquiesce in the latter's fundamen-

tal rule of legislative conduct—"Vote and don't talk." Senator Depew can be depended upon to talk.

Everything that Gov. Roosevelt has proposed to do thus far is unassailable by the politicians, because it is so obviously in line with his pre-election pledges and so directly in the interest of simple good government. He is scouring the State for the best men he can secure for all important places. He is advocating legislation in the best interest of the State, and he is also taking steps which will make all legislation so open and so strictly in accordance with legal requirements that no bad measures can be passed in ignorance of their real character. His recent action in regard to legislative methods, taken in accordance with a suggestion which was made to him by the City Club, is extremely valuable. He had a conference with the presiding officers of the two houses of the Legislature, and had an agreement reached that no bill should be considered by him which reached him without all amendments to and changes in existing laws made by it indicated plainly by italics. This is simply saying that the laws defining legislative procedure shall be obeyed, but it is none the less a deadly blow at a legislative practice which has been coming more and more steadily into use during the past few years, for the purpose of concealing the character of vicious legislation. Another equally valuable decision made at the conference was that all local, special, and private bills should be considered during the first two months of the session, and not left to be "jammed through" in the rush of the closing hours. Anybody familiar with what is known as the "legislative business," knows that in these two ways the Governor has interfered seriously with the business of legislative jobbers of all kinds, and it is not surprising, therefore, that threats of trouble should be audible from the persons who are thus afflicted.

It is a little cruel to his Mayor for Mr. Croker to assume so openly as he does, in his various addresses to the public, full responsibility for the city government. He takes upon himself the task of explaining all matters of municipal policy, taxation, improvements, higher municipal salaries, everything. The Mayor is ignored as completely as if he were of no more importance in the government than Mr. Croker's bootblack. Not only does Croker assume the powers and duties of the Mayor, but of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, the Municipal Assembly, and of the heads of departments. He is, as Quigg would say, "the whole thing." The seat of municipal government is not in the city hall, but in the Croker Club in Fifth Avenue. This is the "larger measure of home rule" which our new charter has

secured for us. A few weeks ago the two houses of the Municipal Assembly, which were, you will remember, to be the embodiment of this larger home-rule spirit in the charter, presumed for a few sessions to delay the progress of some Tammany measures. Mr. Croker addressed a public rebuke to the members for neglect of duty. The consequence was that at the next session every one of the measures was passed with a "rush." Home rule has seldom had a more signal triumph. In view of the enormous boon which the charter has been to him, it seems ungrateful for Croker to say that our increase in taxation is due to the immense debt which consolidation heaped upon us. Where would he be to-day without the "fundamental advantages of consolidation"? He might be forced to live abroad all the time, or even to work for a living.

Frederic Harrison does not agree with Mr. Chamberlain that the best way to secure domestic reforms is to assume crushing foreign burdens. In his annual address the other day before the Positivist Society, he refused to say anything about internal politics and home affairs, because they "had come to an end." "Imperial expansion," remarked this antiquated philosopher, "meant domestic stagnation. It swallowed up the energies of Liberalism and bartered progress for glory." Mr. Harrison pointed to the deplorable condition of the Liberal party, now a rabble without leader or discipline or a flag, and asked what was the cause of the disintegration and demoralization. He replied with truth that it was imperialism which had broken up the party. On such a question it was impossible to play fast and loose—to have a party "one half Radical buff and the other half Jingo scarlet." It was not possible to ease the burdens of the masses at home as long as more square miles of tropical wilderness were added every year to their load. It was certain that their internal problems would never be solved by bubble-speculators and empire-gamblers who were teaching the people to ask, "What do we get out of Uganda and Wei-Hai-Wei?" These opinions of Mr. Harrison are not, of course, worth the attention of any American for one moment. The only Englishmen we should listen to at this hour are the men who are giving us the advice which Bismarck gave France—to go madly to colonizing; with what results we see.

Sir William Harcourt did not pound away at Romish practices in the Church of England in vain. He has succeeded in stirring up the authorities, both to a recognition of the existence of illegal ceremonies and to threats to proceed against offenders. The Archbishop of York has issued a pastoral in which he

speaks of complaints over "the introduction of services which are in no way authorized by the Prayer-Book," and which are "Roman in character." Then this prelate proceeds to specify no less than twelve ritualistic practices which he says are condemned by the episcopate—including unauthorized holy days, the use of incense, asperging, burning candles before pictures, invocation of angels or the Virgin, and "habitual confession." As the Ritualists are made of martyr stuff, there will doubtless be prosecutions. Lord Salisbury has said that it is the duty of the bishops to restrain their clergy, and that, if they do not do it, they themselves "ought to be punished." This gave Harcourt a chance for a truly Salisburian retort. Asking how the derelict bishops were to be punished, he recalled the short work which Salisbury's ancestor made of recusant ecclesiastics in Queen Elizabeth's time, but added: "Other days, milder manners. Lord Salisbury would not, like Burleigh, suspend a Romanizing prelate—he has only promoted him." This refers, of course, to Salisbury's recent appointment of a Ritualist to the see of London. All told, Sir William is justifiably complacent over the storm he has blown up. But no political consequences of moment will follow, unless, as Dr. Guinness Rogers says, Harcourt is willing to go the length of proposing Disestablishment. Then, indeed, the Nonconformists would be roused.

The French judge, M. Beaurepaire, who has torn off his gown and flung away his wig and joined the anti-Dreyfus mob, is evidently a man who has long been uneasy on the bench. He is not going to wait, as Lord Eldon did, to the end of his life to regret that he had not begun life as an agitator, but breaks off his judicial career while yet there is time. His abuse of his late colleagues seems to be only a mass of incoherent suspicion. We begin to see what kind of poison is at work in him, however, when we read that he felt "stabbed to the heart" when the judges actually dared to cross-examine the brave officers who came to swear that Dreyfus was guilty—they would swear it because they were sure of it; in fact, they thought so. This judge, haranguing and foaming at the mouth, is one of the alarming signs of the times in France. We need not flatter ourselves that we are wholly without his kind. The same judge of the United States Supreme Court who made a stump speech from the bench at the time of the income-tax decision, and who may yet have to pass judicially on Philippine annexation, discussed that question before a Washington audience on Wednesday week, and told them that "we have reached a period when we do not care what any nation on earth thinks about our politics,"

SIGNS OF A HALT.

Only yesterday we were afraid that large numbers of the Filipinos would be killed by the American forces for not obeying the perfectly arbitrary commands of William McKinley. The islands had been in revolt against the Spaniards for two centuries, and according to us, justifiably in revolt. Admiral Dewey found them in revolt, and availed himself of the services of the rebels against Spain, as far as he could. In fact, we gave them every reason to believe that one of our objects in destroying the Spanish fleet and taking possession of Manila, was to deliver the islands from Spanish rule, in the same way that we said we were delivering Cuba. Our repeated assertions that our object in seizing Cuba was to enable it to set up a stable government of its own, undoubtedly reached the Filipinos, and were read by them, particularly the declaration of the revered McKinley that any other object would be "criminal aggression." Of course, said they, if the seizure of Cuba would be "criminal aggression," so would the seizure of the Philippines, whose inhabitants are quite as fit for self-government as the Cubans, and have given as serious proofs of dislike to Spanish rule.

We may imagine, therefore, with what astonishment they must have read President McKinley's proclamation to them, a few days ago, through Gen. Otis. It took not the slightest notice of any rights on the part of the people of the islands, except what we were graciously pleased to accord them—no recognition of their long struggle against Spain, no recognition of their long sufferings under her rule, no acknowledgment of their fitness for self-government, not the slightest intimation of any desire on our part to assist them in setting one up. He declared unblushingly that by the treaty of peace between the United States and Spain—not the Filipinos—"the future control, disposition, and government of the Philippine Islands are ceded to the United States," in "fulfilment of the rights of sovereignty thus acquired," said the unconscious wag. At the time this document was sent to the Philippines the treaty had not been ratified, hence, for legal purposes, did not exist. The annexation of the islands to the United States was the act of William McKinley solely; the sovereignty, the acquisition of which he announced, was acquired by him solely; the threats of "severity" and "firmness" which he gave forth, were the threats of William McKinley solely.

There was, too, a dreadful obscurity about what they meant. Sent as they were through a military commander, it is fair to suppose that they meant slaughter and the burning of towns belonging to a people who have never injured us, who had never heard of McKinley until a few months ago, and who

would be killed simply for desiring to be free. According to the Hon. Whitelaw Reid's paper, they were to be treated as "children" after fighting for freedom for several generations. The proclamation was modelled on those which Napoleon Bonaparte used to issue to his conquered provinces, and the sole authority Mr. McKinley could show for it, except that of a military commander, was that of crowds at railway stations, and visions or dreams of his own about "Duty" and "Destiny."

It must be a great joy and relief to many to see that his policy is at last beginning to undergo discussion. The debate in the Senate appears to be a revival of the old art of government, as understood by the founders of the Republic. This question of annexation and "glory-crowned heights" is being dragged out of the puddle of sentimentality in which it has been rolling for months. The old question of the Roman military commander, "Quis jussit?"—Who ordered you to do this?—a question which should never be allowed to sleep in a constitutional state for one hour, again begins to be asked. Who has authorized President McKinley to threaten a friendly people with slaughter and devastation if they do not obey him? How did Spain come to be able to transfer islands she did not possess? How did we come to profess sympathy with and offer help to 10,000,000 of people, for their liberation from a hated yoke, while concealing from them the fact that our real intention was to conquer them for our own use and behoof? How did Spain come to have \$20,000,000 worth of islands to sell to us when we had just denied her right to them, by taking them from her by force?

One of the negotiators, Senator Gray, at Wilmington on Saturday, surrounded the whole matter with mystery. He said we "were now in a crisis," and that his "heart was full of anxiety," and that the President had enjoined on him "magnanimity towards a fallen foe." It appears, too, that we have been overtaken by "unexpected conditions." What are these conditions? Why cannot the American people be told what the trouble is? Senator Gray further said:

"Duty cannot honorably be avoided because it may bring pain or danger. Nor can responsibility always be evaded because of its burdens. That I sought in Paris by all honorable means to escape this responsibility does not matter now. It came to a point at last that we must either leave the islands to Spain, take them as we did, or break off negotiations and come home without a treaty of peace. In the last event the cruce would be broken and a state of active war would have been resumed."

But why had war to be renewed? What was the war to be about, if it had been renewed? We had got Cuba and Porto Rico, which was all we claimed at the beginning of the war. We did not need any treaty to give us possession of them. Who was to urge us to begin the war again? Surely not Spain. How was she to fight, and what about? She remained

in a normal state of war with her South American possessions for many years. Why could she not have remained in a similar state of paper war with us?

The root of all this trouble and "anxiety" is that we have been trying to make too big a thing of the whole affair, to figure as great conquerors and "destiny and duty" men in order to exalt somebody's horn, without the slightest occasion. If these great men in Paris had found out what kind of place the Philippines were before they bought them, and found out whether the Spaniards could deliver them, and then had left it to Congress to decide whether an enterprise so opposed to our habits and traditions as their annexation should be entered on at all, all this groaning and "anxiety" might have been avoided. That the President should have entered headlong on such a very Asiatic business as annexing Asiatic provinces, and issuing Asiatic proclamations to conquered peoples who had never acknowledged his rule, without consulting Congress or any representative of the American people except crowds at railway stations, we can only ascribe to the flattery he has been receiving ever since the outbreak of the war. It has not been simply ludicrous; it has been most mischievous. It has not been the flattery offered to a great man in consequence of his exploits, like a book or a victory, but the blind, unreasoning flattery offered to the Sultan or the Shah because he has unlimited power.

OMDURMAN AND HAVANA.

The first thing Kitchener had to do after marching into Omdurman was to march out again. It is a modern city, in the sense of having been entirely built within a dozen years, but the Cloaca Maxima could not have contained more filth or emitted worse stenches than this proud capital of the Khalifa. It was all very well to face a Dervish charge, but reeking Dervish streets and open sewers put the victorious army at once to flight. It had to camp outside until Omdurman could be cleaned into habitable shape. The work has been done by natives under the direction of British officers. One of these, in command of 2,100 Baggaras, recently wrote home: "I am glad to be able to say that we have now so cleansed and civilized Omdurman that we need no longer go about with scented handkerchiefs or revolvers."

There is more than a chance coincidence in the British having to do in an Arab city what we are at the same time having to do in a Spanish city. Havana is not Omdurman, yet the ideas of hygiene and of religion which made either city a pest-hole are not dissimilar. There is, in truth, a clearly marked streak of Orientalism in the Spanish character. It may have come from contact with the Moors for hundreds of years, and from

partial assimilation of Moorish blood and civilization. At any rate, it is a fact that Spaniards, more than the other Latin races, have the true Oriental fatalism which begets indifference to public cleanliness, and teaches submission to the scourge of epidemic disease as to any other chastening instrument in the hands of Allah. Experienced travellers in the East have more than once, on first visiting Spanish-American countries, expressed their surprise at seeing the Orient reproduced there in little. It was like being on the banks of the Euphrates again. Especially in this matter of public filth and public indifference to it have the Havaneese, living over their clogged and poisonous cesspools, had a not distant resemblance to the Dervishes sitting upon their muck-heaps in Khartum.

The leading Spanish historian of Cuba, Jacopo de la Pezuela, betrays the true Spanish standpoint in these affairs. In the introduction to his 'Diccionario de la Isla de Cuba' (1863) he speaks of the destructive earthquakes to which Santiago has been subject as "punishments" by Providence, though he rejoices that God "does not display his anger against that part of the island, in so terrible a form, more than two or three times in a century." As for yellow fever and intermittent fevers, Pezuela states that they increase and rage in the rainy season; yet the rains are "one of the wise means which the Creator adopts to relieve the inhabitants from the effects of a burning sun." Hence yellow fever is really only an incidental evil of a beneficent dispensation of Providence, and to resist it or complain of it would be impious.

This theological conception of disease is one which the Teutonic and Protestant world has been slow in outgrowing, if indeed it may be said yet to have outgrown it. Palmerston was thought guilty of irreverence when he told the delegation of clergy, in the terrible cholera year, that he would much rather appoint a day for general cleaning of drains than one for fasting and prayer. The idea so universal in the Middle Ages that every form of personal misfortune, including disease and insanity, was a direct proof of divine displeasure, and an invitation to mend one's morals instead of his personal habits, has by no means disappeared even in what we call progressive communities. But the important difference is that, whatever the lingering superstitions of the people, the health authorities act upon scientific notions. Pray and do penance all you please, they practically say, but first purify your water supply and build tight sewers and kill the germs of disease in clothes and houses.

In the Spanish-American world this overriding of religious theory by scientific practice has never become established. Spaniards are more consistent in their inherited Orientalism than we are

in ours. A good instance of the typical Spanish way of looking at deadly disease was recently made public in Havana. In a single room which was let on one of the main streets, nine men died one after the other of yellow fever. Then the owner stopped renting it. It began to look to him as if the displeasure of Heaven rested on that chamber of death. There was something uncanny about it, and perhaps he had better take it as a sign not to persevere in seeking tenants. He might die of the fever himself next, to bring him to his senses. He would be warned in time. It never occurred to him that there was any direct connection between infected bedding and walls and the series of deaths.

Undoubtedly it is in this mental attitude of the inhabitants of Havana that Gen. Ludlow will find his greatest obstacle to putting the city into a hygienic condition. If people think the rules of the health board are all humbug, if not positively wicked, it will be difficult to make them obey. The temptation to have a little private heap of filth, or to retain a concealed cesspool as a kind of family heirloom, will be strong. In Omdurman, it appears, the British officers went about their work of cleansing with revolvers in their hands—whether to shoot violators of the health ordinances, or to make the scavengers do their work thoroughly, does not appear. Gen. Ludlow cannot do this, nor can he get Baggaras to clean Havana. But if he is given the power and the money, he can certainly work such a transformation in Havana as the British have made in Kingston; and he may know, for the gratification of his professional pride, that he that reduceth the death-rate by 50 per cent. is greater than he that taketh a city.

THE CZAR'S DETAILS.

The Czar's peace proposals, or plans for disarmament, as they were variously called, were necessarily vague in their first outlines. A few salient facts were set forth vividly—the crushing burden of military taxes; the fierce competition of rival Powers in endeavoring first to become the stronger; the rapid supersession of existing armaments by endless new inventions of more deadly weapons and explosives; and the immense drain of war on the vitality and resources of civilized nations. The remedy for all this could not, in the beginning, be definitely laid down. The Czar's first circular letter was necessarily of the nature of a pious aspiration. War was admittedly a horrible and growing evil, and the Czar called upon Christendom to devise some effective measures to lessen it.

This very indefiniteness was promptly seized upon by open apologists or secret lovers of war, who said that disarmament, or any form of mitigating the

awfulness of war, was a beautiful dream, but only a dream. There was no way of translating the heavenly vision into the language of this practical and selfish world. Accordingly they consoled themselves, after the first few days of insincere praise of the Czar's "good intentions, by confidently predicting that nothing would ever come of them. Well, the Czar evidently means to make a good fight for peace. He has recognized the element of truth in the assertion that a Congress must have definite proposals before it, and has sent a second circular letter to the Powers suggesting definite bases for discussion. By an exchange of views on these suggestions before the Congress meets, the way will be prepared for useful diplomatic conference.

We are glad to see that the programme put forth is modest. Small beginnings are desirable in so great a movement. Thus, a thorny question is at once ruled out by the notification that "nothing touching existing political relations shall be discussed" in the coming peace congress. In this way one of the greatest difficulties brought up by the opponents of the project is met by ignoring it. How, they have asked, could you get Germany and France to discuss disarmament unless first the question of Alsace and *retanche* were settled? How could you get Great Britain to sit down and debate with Russia and Japan a plan for limiting their navies, unless the whole matter of the territorial carving up of the Orient were first disposed of? It is evident that a too ambitious programme, covering all these points, would be wrecked by fatal objections at the threshold. Let us not aspire to too great things at first, writes Count Muravieff. Passing by the enormous, the perhaps insoluble problems, let us begin with things upon which there is a probability of our usefully agreeing. His circular letter restricts itself, therefore, to various proposals for making war less savage and for keeping down the future growth of armaments, and the burdensome taxes to pay for them, even if there is no present possibility of reducing existing armies and navies.

All this sounds not at all like a dreamer; it is prosaic and practical enough. Especially strong is the appeal which the Czar makes to England, and which her rulers would have great difficulty in refusing, or in justifying themselves to the English people if they did refuse it. The avowed naval policy of Great Britain is to maintain a navy equal to any two which might be brought against it. Mr. Goschen openly explained in the House of Commons that the only reason he asked for increased naval grants was that the increase of the Russian and French fleets made it necessary for England to launch more war-ships. Very well, says the Czar, as if in direct answer to Lord Salisbury's request for a definite policy, I will agree to build no more bat-

tie-ships for a given period, if you will, and if you will meet French and German delegates with mine in Brussels or Copenhagen and get an agreement of that kind entered into by all the great Powers. That, we say, is as definite and direct and practicable a plan as could be asked. It fits known conditions exactly, and the taxpayers of England and France will want to know the reason why it cannot be adopted.

The other proposals contained in Count Muravieff's circular letter relate to new international sanctions for arbitration and to new international agreements intended to lessen the barbarities and sufferings of war. These all seem easily attainable. The terms of the Geneva convention—that is, recognizing the wounded and hospitals and surgeons and nurses as exempt from hostilities of any kind—might readily be extended, with some additions, as the Czar suggests, to naval warfare. The Brussels declarations of 1874 against the use of explosive bullets and bombardments of "open" towns could be expanded to cover other practices. There is more doubt about the Czar's suggestion that higher explosives or more deadly weapons than those now in use should be forbidden. If war must needs be, the right to put as many of the enemy as possible *hors de combat* as quickly as possible can hardly be limited. But, putting aside the more debatable matters, the details which the Czar has now advanced in furtherance of his first general proposal of last summer, show that he is in earnest, and that he is applying himself practically to the business in hand. His new circular letter brings the world distinctly nearer a practical agreement to make war a less constant preoccupation of civilized men, rarer in occurrence, and more humane when it does occur.

COLONIES AND WRITERS.

The French have just found out what is the matter with their colonies. Most of them are confessedly failures, a drain upon the nation instead of a source of strength to it, causes of endless expense and vexation and disappointment. Well, the trouble is that there has been no "literary propaganda" in connection with French colonial projects. Only consider, writes Gaston Deschamps, how inferior the French have been to the English in this respect. Kipling's songs and tales send Anglo-Saxon colonists by the hundred to British possessions every year; but what French poet has sung the glories of conquering the Malagassies, what French novelist has painted the attractions of life in Dakar or Kotonu? Luckily, a beginning of better things has been made. A man has been found who is going to change all that. Gen. Trentinian, Lieutenant-Governor of the French Sudan, has just left Paris, and on his staff he proudly announces that he has ap-

pointed a writer. Yes, and this *écrivain* is going out strictly to *écrire*. He is going not only to study but to "write up" the resources of the French Sudan, and in this way, declares the pleased Deschamps, will Gen. Trentinian "utilize for his colony the immeasurable forces which shape and lead public opinion."

It truly seems a happy inspiration. If there is anything France is "long" of, it is writers. She has no crowding population of peasants or artisans to relieve by colonization, but on the boulevards of Paris alone enough writers could be caught to fit out a thousand colonies, each with its poet or feuilletonist. But we fear they can scarcely be induced to go. They will prefer to stay and go on with their graceful raillery of those who go. M. Alfred Capus, for example, has no more frequent theme for his wit in the *Figaro* than the huge joke of French colonies, the infinite stupidity of the colonist who goes out thinking that the country's distant possessions are intended to be actually cultivated and developed instead of merely an excuse for appointing more prefects and administrators. This is much better fun, besides being easier, than fighting one's way through African swamps and jungles. And what chance would there be, in Madagascar or on the Niger, to experience that keenest of French literary delights—haranguing a mob and marching off with them to demand that somebody be spit upon?

M. Deschamps is unquestionably right, however, in emphasizing the part which English writers have played and still play in English colonization. They are, of course, an effect rather than a cause. They write because there are strong and populous and expanding English colonies; and it is not their literary propaganda which has made the colonies successful, as the French colonies are to be as soon as the proper number of *écrivains* are turned loose on them. But as a means of arousing interest in the colonies, and even of exciting enthusiasm about them, the English poets and storytellers and travellers who have produced so extensive and so excellent a colonial literature have filled a unique rôle. The note of imperialism in English poetry, for example, has been struck with increasing clearness in the past few years. Even the Laureate smites the foe with his tin sword. Mr. Newbolt and a host of lesser imitators of Kipling are all the while striking the imperialistic lyre. This literary tendency both reflects and incites a current political tendency. One has but to recall, in addition, the swarming books of exploration and adventure and description, and the accounts of military expeditions, all relating to English colonies, or to lands soon to be made English colonies, to see how much there is in Gaston Deschamps's contention as respects the English colonizing system.

It is necessary, though naturally pain-

ful to us, to make a distinction here between writers and journalists. "I beg you, my friend," said an old sea-dog of a French Admiral, to whom Deschamps broached his views, "*ne me parlez pas des journalistes!*" They have, indeed, a way of throwing all military men into a rage, which makes their task of describing the glories of shooting natives a difficult one. Kitchener agrees thoroughly with Wolseley in regarding the newspaper correspondent as a deadly enemy. The gentlemen of the press who went with him to Khartum were forced to respect him, but, oh, how they hated him. He would give them no news. He censored or suppressed their dispatches. He treated them as conspirators against the peace and safety of the army. If there was any face-slapping to do, he would attend to it. This is an old tradition in the English army. Wellington hated the slow-coach correspondents of his day. He complained bitterly to the authorities that every officer in his army in Spain who could write, or who had a friend at home who could read, was engaged in sending off letters about the strength and disposition of the army which were sure to get into the newspapers, and so into the hands of the French.

Now what we have to observe is that most of the writers we have had at work on our new colonies are journalists. We cannot see, however, that they have done much to make our colonial system pure and strong. When with the army, they spent their time showing up the incompetence of the officers; and since the peace, they have devoted themselves to blowing up every rumor of differences between military commanders into swollen and portentous stories. We suspect that most of our military authorities could as easily be thrown into a rage by the word "journalist" as was the French Admiral. As for our other writers about the war and our new possessions, it seems to us that they are slightly overdoing it, even in this iterative world. There are those who, after having read a thing first in the dispatches, then in an official report, then heard it lectured about and gossiped over for some months, will shy at the last *réchauffé* of it in a magazine. But we are assured that the sales are simply tremendous, and that is a complete answer. The real comfort, however, is that if it is writers that we need to make our colonies a howling success, we need have no fear. We back our own—either for glory or for "copy"—against the writers of "any nation on earth," as we are now taught to say in all our prayers and speeches and judicial opinions.

INDIA CONVALESCENT.

YALE UNIVERSITY, January 14, 1899.

During the last year India has rested quietly, sloughing off the mottled skin of

plague, famine, and war. After a time there will come another famine, very probably another plague, and, if the hopes of some ardent Anglo-Indians are realized, another war. Doubtless these are all beneficial to the country, and answer the same purpose in India as does the annual overflow of rivers in China, though the latter method of removing the superfluous population is less costly to the state. But from the point of view of a new year's inventory, our interest lies rather in the immediate results of these scourges as shown on the survivors. Some of these results are very curious.

Free speech and freer writing have been the boast of India since the country has become Anglicized. As may be imagined, none welcomed the novel privilege more than they who had been tongue-tied through centuries of oppression. To be allowed to attack Government through virulent speech was a rare joy to those unable to show enmity in overt acts. So, as the plague continued, and the British *Rāj* began to show signs of weakening and hesitated to continue that stringent policy which, in the first year of the Great Death, had almost overcome the disease, the recalcitrant native felt encouraged to speak. At first he did not venture to talk open treason. The Gujarati dailies, published in the vernacular and in English, praised Government in honeyed speech, and counselled submission to all the strange fads of sanitation and inspection—in English; while in parallel columns the native was urged in his own dialect, which the editors fondly believed no Englishman would read, to evade the outrageous laws newly passed, and be true to the customs of his fathers, or, in other words, to resist all police interference.

No notice was taken of this. But as month after month passed, the language against Government became stronger, till at last the climax came in the inflammatory speeches and editorials of one of the Poona agitators, who, as a warlike Mahratta, dared more than did the double-tongued Gujarati. The final word was spoken by Tilak, a man known in Europe and America as a Sanskrit scholar, in India as a dangerous malcontent. Tilak evidently thought that the time had come to fling aside the mask. In giving a laudation of the Mahratta chieftain-god Shivaji (whom the Mahrattas are just now endeavoring to turn from a dastardly human into a national divine hero), the eminent Sanskritist said in effect: "Down with the British; now is the moment to act. Our people are already inflamed with hatred. They see their social customs disregarded, their religious scruples ignored; they are ready for revolution. Let it come; strike now." He had scarcely spoken when the British were attacked in Poona: an assassin slew an English lieutenant; another officer was gravely wounded. Then the British woke up, applied their usual rule of thumb to the break in the machinery, convicted Tilak of treason, sent him to jail, passed a law that stopped free speech of that nature, and returned to polo and the suppression of plague. The Gujarati editors hastened to say that of course anything treasonable should be suppressed, and only the indomitable Mahrattas continued to snarl a little, though they muffled their tongues, for they saw that the lion had not yet become decrepit.

This, then, has been the direct result of the plague. It remains to be seen whether the new law of treasonable speech will be applied to the members of the Indian Congress, but they, though malcontent enough,

have always been more guarded in their language, and a western Mahratta will rush in where a Bengali Babu fears to tread.

Of the plague itself there is something new to relate. In the first place, few people here know that the plague is now in its third year, and that it raged last year more destructively than in 1896-97. After the first excitement, when interest in the subject began to pall, little was reported in the papers; but though no longer an attractive feature of journalism, the plague quietly persisted, and in its second year slew more than in its first, simply through covering a wider area. While not leaving Bombay, it ran across to Calcutta, and then spread south, so that the whole country has gradually become infected. This winter it seems to be slowly dying out, as did the plague in Athens in its third year. The most interesting fact brought out of late in connection with the disease is that in all probability it came from Kumaon in the Himalayas. Bubonic plague is endemic there, and it has recently been proved that some three hundred pilgrims from Kumaon visited Bombay just before the plague broke out, residing chiefly in those wards of the city afterwards most sorely smitten.

Famine has left little trace in India besides a deepening of ever-present distress. People who have absolutely nothing but their lives to lose are not much affected by famine's aftermath of poverty. This has struck hardest at the tradespeople in the great cities, and at Government, which has suffered severely from the drain on its resources. The peasants themselves, the bulk of the population, are now, with a new year of good crops, as well off as they were before—that is to say, they are diseased, heavily in debt, and generally hungry, their normal condition. Some of the charitably disposed Americans who sent corn to India may be interested to know that the Hindus of the Central Provinces were so much pleased with the new grain that they planted what they could spare, and are now raising crops of Indian maize for the first time. If this cereal can get along without rain for four or five months it may prove a success, but it is rather a pity that the experiment was not tried first in the Punjab, where there is an excellent system of irrigation.

It is somewhat remarkable that plague, famine, earthquake, and war are mentioned by Thucydides as characterizing the same period at Athens, and that these should also have characterized the late distress in India. Plague and famine arrived hand in hand; then came the worst earthquake known in recent years; and before the year 1897 was over occurred the Tirah war, where more fighting was done and more hardships endured than the army of the Sirdar in Egypt could boast of in all its long methodical campaign. But to speak only of the outcome of this expedition, the fancied punishment and consequent suppression of the border tribes have not quite answered expectation. The Mad Mulla has but lately risen again, and where all was supposed to be repressed an active antagonism has again shown itself. To subdue this will, however, be a task of no magnitude. But it is strange that the British are so long in learning their lesson. There is but one thing to do—take the land and hold it, get rid of the nation of "buffer-tribes," and treat the Afridis as the Punjabis were treated. The former too would soon make a better buffer as an integral part of the empire than as a hostile

host of blackmailers. For it is notorious that the only way the British have been able to keep a semblance of order on their north-western trade route is to allow themselves to be regularly blackmailed: so much salary annually to every Afridi blackleg who will abstain from attacking a British caravan.

The little war, as wars are reckoned there, is over; but the war-spirit has been aroused, and advices from India recount its latest manifestation. An officer of the Government has just proclaimed that it is high time to seize Thibet. This extraordinary proposal has created no little excitement. Is it only an absurd suggestion, or is it an untimely revelation, the latest instance of that new diplomacy which consists in blurring out what had better been left unsaid? Time will show. Meanwhile, the superior officers of the audacious speaker are very angry. He has already been reminded that when an officer criticized the Tirah campaign at Simla last summer he was forced to apologize, and was told that no criticism of governmental policy was permissible to a subordinate. Is there no way of stopping the mouths of these indiscreet persons? (they seem to say). But, in its manly directness, the suggestion must rouse envy in the bosom of every American forced to find a philanthropic motive for war and eager for trade. "What are we sitting here for, doing nothing?" queries the indignant official. "We ought not to let our soldiers rust out, now that the Tirah campaign is over. We ought to take Thibet. It would make a capital summer-resort; it would be a defence against possible aggression on the part of Russia; and, finally, they all drink tea up there, and it would open a first-rate market to our Indian teas." Simple, strong, and effective. No altruistic motive is urged. It is not even proposed to Christianize the Thibetans. The British are to ravage the country ("a small army of about 20,000 would suffice," says the eloquent pleader), build sanitariums, and establish a tea-market. After reading so much about our mission abroad, it is refreshing to hear some one talk business and not even mention philanthropy.

WASHBURN HOPKINS.

A MEMOIRIST OF THE SECOND EMPIRE.

PARIS, December 28, 1898.

Memoirs on the period of the Second Empire are already beginning to appear, such is the curiosity of our time; but it can be prophesied that they will some day be all the more numerous because there was no liberty of the press under the reign of Napoleon III. For the present, there are but few original documents on that period. We have the Memoirs of Gen. Fleury, who was one of the chief artisans of the *Coup d'État* of December 2; the Memoirs of M. de Maupas, the prefect of police. M. Thouvenel has published a part of the Memoirs of his father, who was Minister of Foreign Affairs. We shall probably have the Memoirs of M. Thiers and many others, which will throw some light on the most obscure portions of the second half of our century. The Marquis Philippe de Massa, brother of the present Duke de Massa, descends from Régnier, who was made by Napoleon the first Duke de Massa. He has published a volume, 'Souvenirs et Impressions, 1840-1871,' which has met with much success. Philippe de Massa was an officer in the French army, who rose to the rank of *chef*

d'escadron, and became attached to the Emperor Napoleon. He was born at the beginning of the reign of Louis-Philippe, in the paternal house which had belonged to the *grand-juge* Régnier. This hôtel, given to Régnier by the Emperor, was in the Rue de Choiseul near the Boulevard, in a quarter which, at that time, still had gardens.

The recollections of M. de Massa's youth are not without interest. He remembers seeing in the court of the hôtel the fine equipages of Marshal Suchet, of the Countess Duchâtel, of Madame Thiers (M. Thiers was related by marriage to M. de Massa's older brother); the young men of fashion made their visits on horseback or in cabriolets. "Society was divided into two camps: on the right bank of the Seine, the Court party was composed of the high bourgeoisie and the financiers, who lived chiefly in the Faubourg St. Honoré and the Chaussée d'Antin; on the left bank, the Legitimist party sulked in its hôtels in the Faubourg St. Germain." M. de Massa remembers well the return of the remains of Napoleon, brought by the Prince de Joinville from St. Helena.

"The men of my generation," he says, "have not forgotten the popularity which this mission gained for the Prince, who justified it so well afterwards before Tangier and Mogador. What I remember, also, with gratitude, is that the Prince, by a delicate attention, distributed some souvenirs of the island to the families for whom such relics were to be the object of profound veneration. My mother, who was lady-in-waiting to the Princesses, his sisters, received from his hands and bequeathed to us a stone from the imperial tomb and a branch of the willow planted over it."

Young Massa enlisted in the spahis in Africa. Each squadron of spahis is recruited in the region. The officers and non-commissioned officers are half French, half African. The soldiers are all Arabs, living near the barracks in family groups (*smalahs*), with their own tents and horses. Massa was incorporated in the squadron of Batna, which was then a small place on the border of the French occupation. Among the officers he found Paul de Molènes, who acquired afterwards some literary reputation by his military stories, and Jules Gérard, the famous lion-killer. There was also a Labédoyère, cousin of the Colonel who was shot under the Restoration. The account given by the young spahi of his life at Batna, his expeditions to Biskra and the oasis, is very interesting. Biskra was then lost in the desert; it has become a winter station nearly as much frequented as Monaco. During one of his expeditions, Massa made the acquaintance of the eldest son of Marshal Ney, the Prince de La Moskowa, a very distinguished man, who was made a peer under the government of Louis-Philippe. After 1848, he devoted himself again entirely to military life, and had come to Africa to obtain the grade of general. He had on his staff Prince Joachim Murat. The Prince de la Moskowa invited Massa to enter his regiment of Chasseurs d'Afrique, and he had to exchange his turban for a shako and his Arabian saddle for a common saddle. He entered afterwards the regiment of *guides*, formed in 1851 by Col. Fleury. These guides had to perform for Napoleon III. the service performed for Napoleon I. by his former guides, transformed in 1804 into chasseurs of the guard. The regiment did escort duty. Each morning a platoon, in full uniform, went to the Tuilleries, and remained twenty-four hours in the proximity of the château.

The Emperor had an escort in the evening to go to the theatre, and the officer was invariably asked to dinner for the next day. The Emperor was never escorted in the daytime. After the creation of five other regiments of cavalry of the guard, the regiment of guides lost its monopoly of escort duty and of the garrison of Paris.

Massa took part in the campaign in Italy. He was in one of the first regiments which crossed the frontier, and received ovations from the Italian populations. All along the Cornice, now called Côte d'Azur, there was the same enthusiasm. At Vercelli "we remarked a distinguished-looking young Italian officer, who was watching the details of our installation. We began conversation with him, and were struck by the correctness with which he spoke French, without the slightest Italian accent. One of us complimented him. 'I am a Frenchman, like you,' said he; and as we seemed astonished, he simply added: 'My name is Robert d'Orléans, Duc de Chartres.'" M. de Massa gives a very graphic account of his doings in the campaign, and one of the great charms of his souvenirs lies in the fact that he writes with great simplicity, and never attempts to speak of what did not go on under his eyes. He does not pretend to be a strategist or a tactician or a diplomatist, he is a mere witness; and his sentiments are always creditable to him. He felt some humanity even on the battlefield. I have found his account of the battle of Solferino one of the best I ever read.

Many people will be amused by what he has to say of Paris and of the official society under the Second Empire. He had, in 1862, been placed on the staff of General Feray, and he remained in Paris during the brilliant days of the Exposition, living in the society of Madame de Metternich, of the Mornys, the Walewskis, the Persignys, as one of the familiars of the court, and admitted to the select parties at Saint Cloud, at Fontainebleau and Compiègne. This life of gaiety was interrupted by the expedition to Mexico, in which country he remained during eighteen months.

The chapter on Mexico is one of the most interesting in the volume. M. de Massa makes us acquainted in it with Colonel Dupin, an old soldier, who was the commander of the Counter-Guerrillas, and who spread terror among the followers of Juárez. He calls him "a man of war and of pleasure, whose robust health made him immune in all climates." Maximilian reproached him for some rather too summary executions, but Colonel Dupin was not directly under his orders. The French army of occupation was commanded by Bazaine, "a soldier of fortune, who had risen from the ranks to the highest grade of the military hierarchy without having ever been a court-officer, and was then at the height of his military reputation." The French corps of 25,000 men, composed of two divisions of infantry and one brigade of cavalry, had to occupy and pacify a country five times as large as France. M. de Massa describes Maximilian as "by turns indecisive and bold, fair, with very expressive eyes and a pale visage." It had been decided in France in 1866, that the evacuation should take place and be ended in the spring of 1867. Maximilian could not rely on his own forces. The relations between him and Bazaine became very difficult; he reproached the French Government with abandoning him;

Bazaine was accused for a moment of aspiring himself to the empire of Mexico.

"Informed of this accusation," says M. de Massa, "he one day opened the subject with me. 'How foolish,' said he. 'When a man has started with the knapsack on his back, and has just been named Marshal of France, what other desire can he have but to return to his country with this?' showing his epaulettes adorned with five stars and a cross of two marshal's staffs."

The accusations of the Empress Charlotte against Marshal Bazaine had caused, however, doubts in the mind of Napoleon III., who sent over to Mexico one of his aides-de-camp, General Castelnau, to control the acts of the French commander and to dissuade Maximilian from abdicating. The relations of Castelnau with Bazaine were not agreeable, as may easily be understood. Maximilian saw no solution of the situation if the French troops were withdrawn; but General Miramon set before him the terrible reprisals for which his abdication would be the signal, and Maximilian resolved to remain. On the 6th of February, 1867, Bazaine left Mexico; he met near Puebla Colonel López, who commanded the regiment of the Empress's dragoons.

"The Marshal, who had known López for a long time, stopped him, and this, textually, is what he said to him before us: 'López, you were one of the first to rally to the French intervention, and you were near me at the attack of San Lorenzo. Since I have appointed you officer of the Legion of Honor, and the Emperor has covered you with favors, I hope that you will faithfully defend his cause; and, if necessary, that you will give your life for him.' 'Yes, Marshal,' answered the man, who, a few weeks afterwards, betrayed his sovereign at Querétaro, as he had before betrayed his country under the walls of Puebla."

On the 12th of March, Marshal Bazaine embarked with the rear-guard on the *Souverain*. M. de Massa tells us that the news of the battle of Sadowa, which reached Bazaine in Mexico, made him very anxious to precipitate the evacuation. Foreseeing that the French army would some day have to measure itself with the hereditary enemy which had attained such a terrific success over as brave an army as the Austrian, Bazaine said to Massa: "These people must be very strong to have swallowed so easily such a big morsel. France has not a moment to lose to place herself in a state of defence and to increase her forces." Singular and prophetic words in the mouth of one who had to play afterwards the principal part in the German war, and whose name was to become synonymous with the name of traitor.

M. de Massa was named equerry to the Emperor in February, 1870, on the very day of the plébiscite which gave the Empire 7,300,000 votes against 1,500,000. The effervescence produced by the candidacy of a Hohenzollern prince to the Spanish throne began soon afterwards. M. de Massa is convinced that, far from desiring the war for dynastic ends, the Emperor resigned himself to it under the pressure of public opinion. "Such," he says, "was the conviction also of those who had the painful honor to follow Napoleon to the Army of the Rhine, and who witnessed the physical and moral sufferings which he had to bear on that *Via Crucis* of which Metz was the first station and Sedan the Calvary." He forgets to add that on the 2d of December the Emperor assumed absolute power; that he put an end to ministerial responsibility and to the supremacy of Parliament; that he always proclaimed him-

self alone responsible to the country, and that it is no excuse for him to say that he obeyed public opinion; all the more because it is very doubtful if public opinion, taken in the widest sense, was in favor of war. The military party and the court party undoubtedly were, but the country, though it felt some alarm after Sadowa, would have preferred peace and some sort of understanding with Prussia.

M. de Massa's account of the war of 1870 is painfully interesting; it has a special value, inasmuch as he accompanied the Emperor from the beginning to the day when Napoleon surrendered at Sedan. M. de Massa represents Napoleon as a sort of victim, needing every day the special care of his surgeons, incapable of any prolonged physical effort; reduced to being one of the impediments of the army. The final chapter of M. de Massa's souvenirs is no less interesting. He made, on the staff of Gen. Bourbaki, the campaign in the east of France which ended in the retreat into Swiss territory, through the Jura Mountains.

I repeat, in closing, that these souvenirs have the merit of perfect simplicity and sincerity, and, as such, may be considered an historical document of some value, especially in what concerns the Mexican war and the Franco-German war.

Correspondence.

THE LOUISIANA AND TEXAS "PRECEDENTS."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The imperialists refer to the objections that were urged against the purchase of Louisiana and the annexation of Texas as proof of the fallacy of the arguments against annexing the Philippines. The application of a precedent depends upon the reasons on which it rested. The cases of Louisiana and Texas are not parallel, and furnish no rule to guide us now; they would equally justify us in sending a fleet to the Dardanelles and seizing Constantinople. It is true that we have no quarrel with the Turk; but it is easy enough to have one if we want it—our war with Spain is a case in point. The opposition of the Federalists in Congress to the Louisiana treaty was purely partisan; they had dwindled to an insignificant minority, and no doubt would have voted to ratify it if their votes had been necessary. They pretended to oppose it on constitutional grounds. The same men the year before wanted to seize New Orleans and risk a war because the right to deposit Western produce in transit at New Orleans had been suspended, and the mouth of the Mississippi closed as an outlet to our commerce. They demanded possession of the key to the Gulf. The motive was not territorial expansion, but self-preservation—to utilize what we had by securing a right of way to the sea. There were no railroads then. The West was in a state of blockade. The real object of Jefferson's negotiation was the free navigation of the Mississippi to the Gulf. He only wanted a narrow strip of land on its eastern bank as a means to this end. The purchase of the vast domain of Louisiana was not even a dream, and the minister who bought it exceeded his instructions.

Jefferson was not an expansionist *per se*. He came into power on the theory of a

strict construction of the Constitution, and did not think it gave him any authority to acquire territory. He said that the treaty made blank paper of the Constitution, and prepared an amendment confirming the purchase. Party pressure compelled him to pocket his scruples. Chief Justice Marshall very truly said that Jefferson broke up the Federal party by adopting its principles. In a letter to Tom Paine, Jefferson said:

"On the 10th inst. I wrote you on the subject of Louisiana, and mentioned the question of a supplement to the Constitution on that account. A letter rec'd yesterday renders it prudent to say nothing on that subject, but to do *sub silentio* what shall be found necessary. That part of my letter therefore be so good as to consider as confidential."

All of which meant that their consciences must sleep until the treaty was ratified. It was feared that the bargain might be lost by delay; an extra session of Congress was called to ratify the treaty and provide for executing it. In a letter to Livingston, who negotiated it, Jefferson said: "Your treaty has obtained nearly general approbation. The Federalists spoke and voted against it; but they are so reduced in their numbers as to be nothing." The Federalists taunted the Republicans with their own arguments against the use of implied powers. It is one of the revenges of history that Jefferson should have dealt the deathblow to strict construction. The irony of Fate placed Breckinridge—the reputed author of the Kentucky Resolutions of '98—and John Taylor, who had offered Madison's Resolutions of '98 in the Virginia Legislature, where they had either to sacrifice their theories or the treaty. They supported the treaty. It was a bitter pill to swallow.

I have said that the negotiation was begun to secure commercial freedom, and not the extension of territorial boundaries. The instructions to Livingston, the American Minister, contemplated nothing more. Writing to Livingston, Madison said, "The object of the most sanguine was limited to the Mississippi as our boundary"; and Livingston, writing to Madison, said, "Talleyrand asked me this day, when pressing the subject, whether we wished to have the whole of Louisiana. I told him, no; that our wishes extended only to New Orleans and the Floridas." He told Talleyrand that this territory was important to the United States only because "it contained the mouths of our rivers." Talleyrand astonished Livingston by asking, "What will you give for the whole?" This was during the peace of Amiens; Bonaparte was First Consul. He was about to declare war against England, and knew by experience that colonies were a weak point in war. After a struggle with an insurrection in San Domingo, similar to Aguinaldo's in the Philippines, he had abandoned the island to the negroes. He could not spare a sufficient force to guard Louisiana and prevent the English from capturing it; so he got rid of a burden by selling it. We propose to relieve Spain of a burden by buying it. The First Consul said to Marbois, "I renounce it with the greatest regret; to attempt obstinately to hold it would be folly." The example for us to follow as to the Philippines is Napoleon's in getting rid of colonies that were only an encumbrance. If we acquire the Philippines, the first problem for us to solve will be the same that confronted Jefferson: How shall we govern them? The first act for the government of Louisiana, as drafted

by Jefferson himself, invested the President with all the despotic power of the Spanish kings. It was to be in force three years, but Congress reduced it to one. John Randolph reported the bill. By transubstantiation the great democrat became an autocrat. The act violated every principle of civil liberty. Jefferson justified it on the ground that the Creoles were children. It will require about 3,000 years to educate the Malays up to our standard of citizenship. Thomas H. Benton, speaking of the Louisiana Act, said, "Nothing could be more incompatible with our Constitution than such a government—a mere emanation of Spanish despotism," etc. The President took the place of the King. If such an extreme measure was necessary to govern Creoles, what will be required to govern 2,000 islands 7,000 miles away inhabited by a race of barbarians?

As for Texas, those who opposed annexation did not want to annex a war, or were opposed to the extension of slavery. But the population of Texas was American.

The Senate is now in the position of the great pro-consul of Gaul when he reached the frontier stream that marked the constitutional boundary of his province. Will it cross the Rubicon and enact the rôle of the Triumvirates when they divided out the Roman world? JOHN S. MOSBY.

SAN FRANCISCO, January 10, 1899.

MISSIONARIES RATHER THAN SOLDIERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is complained that those opposed to expansion have no programme. I am earnestly opposed to expansion. Perhaps it would be better for the Filipinos if we regulated their affairs for them. Probably the heathen within our land would profit by adoption into comfortable homes—to the discomfort of the homes. Our first duty is to our own country, and not only is the expense of the necessary increase in army and navy a menace to our comfort and works of civilization, but far graver is the menace to the character of our institutions and people, especially to those of our people who would, by contact with subject races, lose democratic habits of thought.

Therefore I suggest the following programme: Not to buy the Philippines from Spain. To spend the twenty millions so saved in sending missionaries to the islands. We should thus save money, avoid political corruption, protect the character of our young men. At the same time the spirit of philanthropy is observed. Surely missionaries are better for the heathen than soldiers. To be sure, some of the missionaries may meet death, but this must have been the prospect for some of the soldiers; and the missionaries have, probably, the advantage in preparation for such a catastrophe. We should not unwarrantably interfere with religious liberty. Our modern missionary, I am told, first makes a man of the prospective convert by education and the inculcation of the arts of civilization. After this process, the "native" is really freer, for he is more capable of deciding between the claims of his own and the missionary's belief.

Very truly yours, A. B. H.

WENTVILLE, MO., January 12, 1899.

JUDGE TANEY AND BLACK RIGHTS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: May I ask of the well-known fairness of the *Nation* permission to protest against a misleading (I am sure not intentionally misleading) statement in your last issue?

You say that "Justice Taney held that, historically, men of this color [negroes] had no rights that white men like us were bound to respect." The old mendacity that Taney had laid it down as the opinion of the Supreme Court that negroes had no rights which white men were bound to respect, has, I suppose, outlived its usefulness, nor do I charge the *Nation* with it. But those of your readers who have been brought up on it, will understand your phrase to mean that Taney held that history justified such a view of the relations. Whereas Taney did not go at all into the question of the right or wrong of slavery; that question was not before his court. The question before him was whether a negro slave could bring his case before a United States Court; in other words, was the plaintiff a citizen of the United States, as required by the Constitution?

To decide this he examined, as was his duty, what was the status of slaves at the time the Constitution was made, in order to discover whether they could, at the time of its framing, have been considered citizens of the United States. I cite his own words, which I beg you will reprint:

"It is difficult at this day to realize the state of public opinion, in relation to that unfortunate race, which prevailed in the civilized and enlightened portions of the world at the time of the Declaration of Independence, and when the Constitution was framed and adopted. But the public history of every European nation displays it in a manner too plain to be mistaken.

"They had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect."

He then proceeds to show from colonial and early State laws, that this opinion of the inferiority of the negro race was universal at the time the Constitution was framed, nor were they anywhere considered citizens. The question what rights, legal or moral, negro slaves possessed in 1856, was not touched by him, beyond the single issue whether they could sue in a United States Circuit Court.—I am, sir, etc.,

WM. HAND BROWNE.

BALTIMORE, January 12, 1899.

[Our expression was curt, but was intended to forestall precisely this criticism.—ED. NATION.]

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AND THE LEGISLATURE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the *Nation* of December 22, 1898, one who signs himself "A Californian" made certain statements to the effect that "politics played an important factor" in the University of California, and reflecting on the President, professors, and Regents of that University, and the Hon. Julius Kahn, Congressman-elect from the Fourth District of California. The fact that the author chose to remain anonymous, that his letter is dated so late as December 7, 1898, the flimsiness

and falsity of most of his statements, the high character of the Regents, President, and professors of the University, and of the Hon. Julius Kahn, and his election by over 2,000 Republican majority in a district which, at the previous Congressional election, gave over 8,000 Democratic majority, and the general bitterness and plain animosity of the "Californian," all show that his letter to the *Nation* neither needs nor deserves a reply; and it would not have received one but for the fact that the publication was permitted to appear in so influential and, generally, so just a paper as the *Nation*.

Permit me, as one of the Regents of the University of California, in justice to all concerned, to state the facts:

Prior to 1887, the University of California was dependent largely on biennial appropriations by the Legislature, the annoyance of which was so great that a bill was passed in that year giving to the University the proceeds of a tax of one cent on each \$100 of the taxable wealth of the State. From 1887 to 1897 the University received no appropriations from the Legislature, while in that ten years the student body had increased five-fold, necessitating, of course, greater appropriations. The legislative committee of the Board of Regents concluded to ask the Legislature for an additional tax of one cent on each \$100.

The University of California has charge of certain commissions, also, such as those of Viticulture, Forestry, and the like, which require legislation; and sometimes measures hostile to the University's interests are introduced in the Legislature. These interests were so important, so vital to the University's existence, that it was felt by the Board of Regents that some one should be at the capital constantly, to further and protect them. Members of the legislative committee of the Board of Regents at the Legislature soon found themselves fearful of the responsibility, because of their ignorance of legislative procedure and methods, and their lack of acquaintance with the members of the Legislature, and, upon their return from Sacramento, the Regents were called together and informed of all the facts which they thought necessitated the constant presence of some one familiar with the University, and also with legislative procedure, who could remain at Sacramento during the entire session.

The Secretary of the University was too aged and too ill, and the attorney of the Regents was away. Our choice, therefore, fell on the Hon. Julius Kahn. He was not a member of the Legislature, but had been a member four years before, and had distinguished himself by coming from the Legislature with a reputation for ability and tact equal to any, and for honesty and integrity that nobody ever questioned, except the "Californian" who wrote the letter of December 7, 1898. The Governor of the State, even in the heat of a bitter campaign, never dreamed of questioning the honesty of Mr. Kahn.

Mr. Kahn remained at the Legislature during its entire session, and he succeeded, with the aid of many other friends of the University, in securing the passage of the bill granting to the affiliated colleges of the University \$250,000 for the buildings, and in passing the one-cent tax bill through the houses of the Legislature without a dissenting vote, and in obtaining the passage of the appropriation for Forestry, Viticulture, etc., and

two other bills of great importance to the University; being constantly employed from January 15 to March 16, 1897. He aided in enlisting the services of all the graduates of the University throughout this State, caused pamphlets and circulars of information concerning the University to be prepared and given publicly, and for his services, including the travelling and other expenses of himself and all those who aided him, such as telegraphing, printing, postage, telephoning, etc., and including the expenses of the Regents and the President and professors in this behalf, he was allowed \$2,500, of which sum he paid out for expenses over \$1,500, receiving thus \$1,000 for his labor. And his bills were paid without a dissenting vote in the Board of Regents, which body consists of twenty-three members, sixteen of whom are appointed by the Governor for a period of sixteen years each, and are among the best representative citizens in this State, and seven of whom are ex-officio Regents, consisting of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Speaker of the Assembly, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, President of the University, President of the Mechanics' Institute of San Francisco, and the President of the State Agricultural Societies.

As to the lobbying by the President of the University, the Regents and professors, etc., this statement is simply untrue. These persons went to Sacramento only at the request of the Committees of the Legislature on Ways and Means and on Public Buildings, when they were requested to come before such committees to explain the purpose and necessity of the appropriations asked for.

As to the University being in politics, that statement is not true. The act creating the University, and now a part of the Constitution of the State, provides that the University shall be kept for ever free from political influence, and it has been so kept; and of the sixteen appointed Regents, that eight shall be Republican and eight Democratic, and no Governor of this State has ever violated this provision.

In the interest of that justice which the *Nation* has always been willing to show, I ask that you publish this letter at your earliest opportunity, in the same columns which have been abused by the publication of December 22, 1898.—Yours respectfully,

J. B. REINSTEIN.

SAN FRANCISCO, January 6, 1899.

ROSTAND'S ANACHRONISM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A rather curious anachronism occurs in scene 6, act v., of "Cyrano de Bergerac";

Rageneau (à travers ses larmes). Je suis moucheur de—de—chandelles, chez Molière.

Cyrano. Molière!

Rageneau. Mais je veux le quitter, dès demain; Oui, je suis indigné! . . . Hier, on jouait Scapin, Et j'ai vu qu'il vous a pris une scène!

Le Bret.

Entière!

Rageneau. Oui, monsieur, le fameux "Que diable allait-il faire?" . . .

"Les Fourberies de Scapin," wherein occurs the famous "Que diable allait-il faire dans cette galère," was not produced until 1671, twenty-one years after the date of the fifth act of "Cyrano de Bergerac."

It isn't of any great importance. Perhaps it is too much like many of the trivialities critics make so much of in dealing especially with Shakspeare's dramas. Still, it is probably barely worth calling attention to for the purpose of asking, if I am right, how one

who has evidently bestowed so much pains upon his work, who has so elaborated, so condensed, so clarified, his delightful, picturesque, and humorous drama—for a French play, so deliciously pure withal—could have overlooked what is so obvious. That it was not done without knowledge is fairly certain.

H. M. DOAK.

NASHVILLE, TENN., January 4, 1899.

[Cyrano's death (act v., scene 5) occurred in 1655, or sixteen—not twenty—one—years before the representation of the "Fourberies de Scapin" on May 24, 1671. "Le Pédant Joué," from which Molière is said to have taken a scene, was played in 1654, though alleged to have been composed much earlier.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

The Macmillan Co.'s spring announcements embrace a 'Life of Henry A. Wise,' by his grandson, Barton H. Wise; 'The Life and Letters of Archbishop Benson,' edited by his son; 'Cardinal Newman as Anglican and Catholic,' together with correspondence, by Edmund Sheridan Purcell; 'The Life and Remains of Rev. R. H. Quick,' by F. Storr; 'Spinoza, his Life and Philosophy,' by Sir Frederick Pollock; a 'Syllabus of European History, with bibliographies, 1600-1890,' by Prof. H. Morse Stephens of Cornell; 'The Roman History of Apollonius of Alexandria,' translated from the Greek by Horace White; 'A History of Greece,' for high schools and academies, by George Willis Botsford of Harvard; 'European History: An Outline of its Development,' by Prof. Geo. B. Adams of Yale; 'The Welsh People: Their Origin, Language, and History,' by Prof. John Rhys; 'Via Crucis,' a romance of the second crusade, by F. Marion Crawford; 'Letters from Japan,' by Mrs. Hugh Fraser; 'An Introduction to the Poetical and Prose Works of John Milton,' by Prof. Hiram Corson of Cornell; 'Three Studies in Literature,' Jeffrey, Newman, and Matthew Arnold, by Prof. Lewis Edward Gates of Harvard; 'A Selection of Poems for School Reading,' by Marcus White; 'Chaucer's Prologue and the Knight's Tale,' edited by Prof. Mark H. Liddell of the University of Texas; 'Introduction to the Study of Literature,' by Prof. Edwin Herbert Lewis of the University of Chicago; 'The Development of English Thought: A Study in the Economic Interpretation of History,' by Prof. Simon N. Patten of the University of Pennsylvania; 'A Brief Introduction to Modern Philosophy,' by Arthur Kenyon Rogers of the University of Chicago; 'Naturalism and Agnosticism,' the Gifford Lectures (Cambridge, Eng.) delivered in 1896-1898 by Prof. James Ward; 'Democracy and Empire,' by Prof. Franklin H. Giddings of Columbia; 'Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties,' from the French of M. Ostrogorski, by Frederick Clarke; 'The Distribution of Wealth,' by Prof. John B. Clark of Columbia; 'The Lesson of Popular Government,' by Gamaliel Bradford; 'The Government of Municipalities,' by Dorman B. Eaton; 'The Theory of the Leisure Class,' by Thorstein B. Veblen; an American edition of the 'Statesman's Year-book,' edited for what relates to this country by Carroll D. Wright, U. S. Commissioner of Labor; 'The Missing Link,' *Pithecanthropus erectus*, Haeckel's lecture

before the Zoölogical Congress at Cambridge in 1898; 'The Dawn of Reason: Mental Traits in the Lower Animals, with special reference to Insects,' by James Weir, Jr., M.D.; 'A History of Physics,' by Prof. Florian Cajori; and 'The Foundations of Zoölogy,' by Prof. William Keith Brooks of Johns Hopkins.

'Democracy: A Study of Government,' by Prof. James H. Hyslop of Columbia; 'The Porto Rico of To-day: Pages from a Correspondent's Note-book,' by Albert Gardner Robinson; 'A General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture,' by Dr. Charles A. Briggs; 'The Kingdom,' by Dr. George Dana Boardman; 'The Bases of Mystic Knowledge,' from the French, by Sara Carr Upton; and 'A Short History of Astronomy,' by Arthur Berry, will be issued directly by Charles Scribner's Sons.

The Century Co. will publish next month 'The Life and Letters of Lewis Carroll,' by his nephew, S. D. Collingwood, with 100 illustrations; 'The Maine,' a narrative of her destruction, by Capt. Sigbee; and 'Campaigning in Cuba,' the capture of Santiago, by George Kennan.

Henry Holt & Co. have nearly ready 'French Lyrics,' some 230 poems selected from more than 50 poets by Prof. Arthur G. Canfield of the University of Kansas.

The second volume of 'Christian Missions and Social Progress: A Sociological Study of Foreign Missions,' by the Rev. James S. Dennis, D.D., is promised in the spring by Fleming H. Revell Company.

Benj. H. Sanborn & Co., Boston, will publish early in February 'The Student's Book of Days and Birthdays.' It will contain, in addition to the usual blank pages for names, the birthdays of eminent men and women, Founders' days and Presidents' birthdays for the leading colleges, and brief selections in prose and poetry.

William Andrews & Co., Hull, England, will shortly publish 'Bygone Church Life in Scotland,' by the senior member of the firm.

'How to Prepare for a Civil-Service Examination' (Hinds & Noble), by Francis E. Leupp, is an exceedingly practical and direct book. After a clear exposition of what the Government classified service now is, it sets forth the qualifications required in candidates, and gives many examples of the actual papers set before applicants in recent examinations. The volume thus serves an excellent purpose, not only in the way of useful guidance to those intending to take the examinations, but also in dissipating the misleading accounts of their nature spread abroad by the opposition to the reform, and in proving once more how firm a hold the new methods now have in law and practice.

The Scribners publish the American edition of Alexander Innis Shand's 'War in the Peninsula, 1808-1814,' in a single handy volume. Mr. Shand is already known by his 'Life of General Sir Edward Hamley,' and in this new book offers what is, in the main, an abridgment of Napier's great work. The portraits of Wellington, Moore, Masséna, and Soult are on copper, after well-known paintings. The maps are few but clear. The author refers to some of the later published authorities, like Marbot, but the chief use of the book will be in its character as a synopsis of Napier, in the form of a brief current story of the Portuguese and Spanish war with France. There is occasionally a slip in the paraphrasing. At the battle of Sauroren (July 28, 1813), after

repeating the story of Wellington and Soult in near presence on opposite heights, when the Englishman, praising Soult's abilities, said he would still beat him by practising on his caution and getting time for Hill to come up, the author says, "So it proved. The French attack was only begun at noon." Soult turned the left of Wellington's principal body, but Hill, coming on the field, rolled back the assault and turned danger into victory. "It was a repetition of the stroke made by Soult at Salamanca," adds the author. Napier's words are: "It was the counterstroke of Salamanca"; but that was Wellington's own counterstroke upon Marmont. Soult, of course, was not there. But there is an error also in the time. Napier puts the scene of the two generals on the heights on the 27th, and says, "Certain it is that the French general made no serious attack that day." He describes Hill's hard march on the 27th, resumed at day-break of the 28th, coming at the nick of time, when "about midday" the French attack began. It was a delay of more than a full day that was gained, not of part of a morning, and it brought the battle, as Napier tells us, "on the fourth anniversary of the battle of Talavera." We have here an instructive example of the way errors of transcription creep into history, and of the safety in reading the sources.

We called attention on its appearance to the autobiography of the Italian Gen. E. della Rocca, an intimate personal friend of Victor Emanuel and for over seventy years a participator in or witness of the transformation of Italy into a free kingdom. He died in 1897, at the age of ninety. A few years before his death he finished dictating to his wife the second volume of his memoirs, 'Autobiografia di un Veterano' (Bologna: Zanichelli), which has just been brought out in English by Macmillan. It covers the period 1859-1893. For readers who welcome side-lights on recent Italian history, and for libraries which keep such material up to date, mention should also be made of the second volume of 'Giacomo Dina e l'Opera Sua' (Turin: Roux, Frassati & Co.), edited by that model editor, Senator Luigi Chiala. It comprises the chief work of Dina from the death of Cavour through the war of 1866; and as Dina was in the confidence of Cavour's ablest successors, his utterances in political matters have often a quasi-official importance. Senator Chiala's notes and running commentary need no bush.

M. René Doumic sends out another volume of criticism, the third of his series of "Études sur la Littérature Française" (Paris: Perrin & Cie.), in which he exhibits even more than usually the strong influence exercised on his mind and point of view by his master and editor-in-chief, M. Brunetière. The singular preference for all that is seventeenth century, to the almost total exclusion of whatever belongs to another age, is very strongly marked in the essays or articles contained in the present volume. Hugo and the Naturalistic school are equally ground to powder by Brunetière's disciple, and that with a vivacity and a fierceness of which M. Biré might almost be envious. One cannot help the reflection that M. Doumic is somewhat narrow-minded, and too uncompromising in his condemnation of theories and practices not in accord with his classical creed. But the articles are witty and well written, the reflections in many cases just, and the conclusions and judgments well put.

'L'Anarchie Littéraire,' by Charles Recoilin (Paris: Perrin & Cie.), should have been noticed earlier, but it contains papers which bear rereading and consequently late noticing. There are some good criticisms of writers and critics (for the latter are very fond nowadays of giving their impressions and opinions of each other's work), and two or three interesting attempts to analyze the peculiar power of the Russian Realists and of Ibsen, who decidedly does not gain in favor with the French. The title of the book is apt, and is justified by the author in his entertaining preface.

The recent official report of M. Édouard Petit on the condition of common-school extension in France (published by the Imprimerie Nationale) shows us the people of that country from a different and far more favorable side than that presented in the newspaper accounts of the doings of Paris politicians. The progress of the various movements for spreading popular education which are carried forward largely by private enterprise and devotion, is truly astonishing, and unequalled in any other country. Only one or two statistical data can be here given: The number of classes for adolescents and adults rose from 8,288 in 1894-95, to 30,368, with a steady attendance of nearly half a million young people, in 1897-98. In the first-mentioned year the classes for girls were less than a thousand; in the three following years there were provided, respectively, in round numbers, 1,800, 4,400, 7,400 classes. About 10,400 public lectures, illustrated or other, were given in the former year, while in 1897-98 their number had risen to nearly 118,000, with an attendance of not far from three and one-half millions. During the latter year, 18,000 sets of lantern-slides were loaned by the Musée Pédagogique alone, but there are two or three other institutions which render a similar service to the lecture committees throughout the country; and the public lectures and courses for adolescents are only two of the several provisions for the extension of popular education.

The reply of the Department of Public Instruction (Freiburg I. S.: B. Veith) to the memorial of the eight German professors whose exodus from Freiburg has been referred to in these columns, will not be the last word on the subject. The eight have prepared an answer to the reply, which is being published by the Akademischer Verlag, Munich, under the title: 'Herr Python und die Universität Freiburg in der Schweiz.'

The representations for school-children in German theatres have awakened some interest among educators in this country. We therefore call attention to a little brochure in which the experiences and results of last year's representations in Hamburg are related from various points of view, including that of the actors and actresses: 'Unsere Volksschüler im Stadttheater' (Hamburg: C. Boysen). In November last "Wilhelm Tell" was again given before 8,000 children (in three sections), to be followed during the rest of the winter by Körner's "Zriny" and Hebbel's "Nibelungen."

It is not half a dozen years since Prof. Budde of the University of Strassburg—who in recent months has been delivering a course of lectures at Union, Yale, and other American institutions—in a review of an English work, declared that the Germans had every reason to envy the English-speaking theological world for the ease and facility with which, both in Great Britain and in Ame-

rica, the results of critical scholarship could be popularized. A number of recent literary ventures in the Fatherland show that the Germans have been apt pupils of English precedents in this respect, and that they too can prevent the results of scholarly research from remaining a *terra incognita* to cultured readers. The example of the Württemberg Bible Society, in producing a critical edition of the New Testament Greek text, prepared by Prof. Nestle, but based on Westcott-Hort and Tischendorf, at the nominal price of 35 cents, is all the more commendable because this edition is evidently destined to crowd out the current but thoroughly unreliable *textus receptus* of two centuries ago still published by the British and other Bible societies, and popular only, because it is so cheap. The new move of the Württemberg Bible Society is proving to be an eminent success, and at the recent annual convention of the association it was reported that the entire first edition of the Nestle Testament of ten thousand copies had been entirely exhausted, and that a new edition was in preparation. Even the most poverty-stricken student of the New Testament can now own the very best text extant.

The *American Historical Review* for January (Macmillan) contrives to keep in touch with current interests by means of a paper, based on much research, by Frank Strong, on "The Causes of Cromwell's West Indian Expedition in 1655," and the influence which New Englanders such as John Cotton and Roger Williams had "in helping Cromwell to make up his mind in regard to it." Among the "Documents," also, we find several bearing on the expedition against Santiago de Cuba in 1741; which landed in the bay of Guantánamo. One, endorsed "Some Thoughts relating to our Conquests in America," contains this suggestive passage: "Admitting us in quiet possession of all Spanish America. To keep that possession we must do as the Spanish have done before us, we must have strong garrisons and Colonies. This will estrange our hands and treasure, and we shall soon be in a worse condition than the Spanish themselves." Of still greater moment is Prof. H. Morse Stephen's brief but clear "Administrative History of the British Dependencies in the Further East," a remarkable tale of flexible adjustment to varying conditions of colonial acquisition. A series of letters addressed from the South in 1861 to Secretary Chase, certain of them being special reports on request, will be found instructive reading.

The *National Geographic Magazine* for December contains a brief sketch of the five civilized tribes of Indian Territory, by C. H. Fitch. In it he refers to a fact, which to some will be new, that the numerous towns which have sprung up along the seven railroad lines in the Territory "are without legal existence, and have no recognized town or city government. They are without proper officers to enforce laws, have no water supply or fire departments, sidewalks, or other street improvements, no schools, except private ones, and no systems of drainage or sewerage." Other articles are on the cloud scenery of the High Plains, Kansas, with photographs, and on the Atlantic Coast tides by M. S. W. Jefferson. There is also an extract from an interesting address at Tokyo, by Dr. Alex. G. Bell, in which he said that the geographical formation of Japan—"long ranges of lofty mountains with comparatively narrow plains lying between their

feet and the coast line"—indicated that it should be the "very home of electrical enterprise." He urged the importance of educating the twenty-five thousand deaf-mutes in the country, for whom there are only two schools at present, one in Kyoto and one in Tokyo.

The Cabot celebration at Halifax in June, 1897, was the occasion of several papers which appear in the latest volume of the Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada. The account of the ceremonies at the unveiling of the tablet in honor of John Cabot includes addresses on Cabot's Landfall, by Archbishop O'Brien, President of the Society; on Modern Bristol, by W. Howell Davies; and on Bristol in the days of the Cabots, by W. R. Barker. There are also articles on the voyages of the Cabots—Latest Phases of the Controversy, with maps, by Dr. Samuel E. Dawson; the Cabotian Discovery, by John B. Thacher; and the Cabot Legends. Other papers are, "Canada during the Victorian Era," with numerous illustrations, by Sir J. G. Bourinot; "Monograph of the Cartography of New Brunswick," with reproductions of several ancient maps, by Dr. William F. Ganong; and "On the genus *Lepidophloeos*," by Sir J. William Dawson.

Dr. S. C. Chandler of Cambridge, Mass., by reason of "the splendor, the importance, and the variety" of his work in astronomical science, has been awarded the Lalande prize of the Academy of Sciences of the Institute of France. In the current number of the weekly *Comptes Rendus* of the Academy, the committee of award, consisting of Messrs. Faye, Wolf, Loewy, and Jannsen, briefly review Dr. Chandler's more noteworthy achievements. His name is most widely known in connection with the problem of the variation of latitude, into which he was one of the first to inquire and toward the elucidation of which he has done so much. His observations of variable stars, extending over many years, have resulted in the discovery of many variables of short period, while the series of catalogues of variable stars published by him constitute contributions of the greatest value to stellar astronomy. His investigations concerning the identity of comet 1889, V (Brooks) with Lexell's comet are mentioned as illustrating his capability in other directions. The Academy has also conferred the Damoiseau prize upon Dr. George William Hill of Washington, for his researches in mathematics and astronomy, which are, as is well known, characterized by great profundity and novelty of ideas, and have contributed powerfully to the advancement of science during the past twenty years. A third American, Dr. Charles A. Schott of Washington, has been made the recipient of the Henry Wilde prize for his researches in terrestrial magnetism.

It is announced that the competitive examinations for the fellowships of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens will be held this year on March 16, 17, and 18. Candidates are to enter their names on or before February 1 with Prof. B. I. Wheeler (Ithaca, N. Y.), chairman of fellowship committee, from whom all information as to place, subjects, etc., may be obtained. These fellowships yield \$600 each. The Hopkin fellowship, open to women only, yields \$1,000, and is assigned without examination, preference being given, however, to such persons as have already held a regular competitive fellowship.

—It is perhaps natural to look for a rampant plea for annexation of new territory from the Public Land Office, for an extension of possessions means so much land at a stated price, with wood and swamp rights. Mr. Binger Hermann, Commissioner of the General Land Office, has issued such a plea, as a public document, and disguised as an historical essay intended to correct an error in the map of the United States. This error lies in the statement of facts connected with the acquisition of the extreme northwest part of the United States. It has been assumed that it was through the Louisiana purchase that this territory was acquired. No, says Mr. Hermann; it became ours by "right of discovery in 1792"; by exploration in 1805; by the Astoria settlement of 1811; and by the Florida treaty of 1819. We cannot trace any mention of former historical labors of Mr. Hermann, and are obliged to judge him by this expansion pamphlet, issued at the public expense. His conclusions are endorsed by the Hon. C. N. Bliss, whose claims as a historian rest on his well-known biography or characterization of the Hon. T. C. Platt. There are sundry maps, and certain portraits used "by courtesy of — Magazine," though much better could have been found in the Library of Congress. Though the question turns on a question of boundaries, in which the degrees of latitude play an important part, the one map, used as a frontispiece, is without any degrees of latitude. The whole essay is marked by a dangerous ignorance, expressed in language better suited for a stump speech than for historical exposition.

—The pamphlet might be passed over were it not that these two eminent historians have carried their theory so far as to engrave it on the official Land Office map, the best and most widely distributed of maps of the United States. Wherever this map goes, there will go the ridiculous legend stamped on it by Hermann and Bliss, and every school child seeing it will obtain a false idea of our history. A mere reading of the inscription is sufficient to arouse criticism. If this territory was ours by discovery in 1790, and was actually settled on our behalf in 1811, where was the necessity for obtaining it by negotiation in 1819? Discovery alone constitutes a good title, and could not the English urge Cook's discoveries as antedating that of Gray? Spain claimed all this western region by right of discovery, and in 1790 prepared to defend her rights by force, when England landed settlers at Nootka Sound. Hermann says our claim was good against England, but not against Spain. If so, the discovery and settlement go for naught, and it was the treaty of 1819 that alone establishes our right to hold the territory. All else is irrelevant and confusing. Before making the change based upon his researches, it would have been well for Mr. Hermann to submit the matter to a recognized authority on American history, or, better still, to the American Historical Association. His own readings have been limited. He quotes Russell's and Olney's histories, and 'Chambers's Encyclopedia,' but he does not know of Bancroft (the Western) or Henry Adams. The work closes with a partisan cry for annexation and general expansion. Such work stultifies the Office in the eyes of the intelligent.

—Expansionists and anti-expansionists alike can find ammunition in the ninth volume of Paul Leicester Ford's edition of Jefferson's Writings (Putnam). The period

(1807-1815) is posterior to the acquisition of Louisiana by this imaginative continental spirit. To the Governor of that Territory the President wrote on October 29, 1808: "The truth is, that the patriots of Spain have no warmer friends than the administration of the United States, but it is our duty to say nothing and to do nothing for or against either. If they succeed, we shall be well satisfied to see Cuba and Mexico remain in their present dependence; but very unwilling to see them in that of either France or England, politically or commercially. We consider their interests and ours as the same, and that the object of both must be to exclude all European influence from this hemisphere. We wish to avoid the necessity of going to war till our revenue shall be entirely liberated from debt." On April 19, 1809, he reverts to this idea in a letter to President Madison: "I suppose the conquest of Spain will soon force a delicate question on you as to the Floridas and Cuba, which will offer themselves to you. Napoleon will certainly give his consent without difficulty to our receiving the Floridas, and with some difficulty possibly Cuba." When the war of 1812 was in progress, he thought, "The acquisition of Canada this year, as far as the neighborhood of Quebec, will be a mere matter of marching, and will give us experience for the attack of Halifax the next, and the final expulsion of England from the American continent."

—On the other hand, in his special message of February 10, 1807, he apologizes for a proposed gunboat armament as "merely for defensive operations," not fitted to protect our commerce on the high seas; "and still less can it become an excitement to engage in offensive maritime war." Writing to Thomas Paine on September 6, 1807, he believes that "gunboats are the only water defence which can be useful to us, and protect us from the ruinous folly of a navy." This without precedence of Capt. Mahan; and the following, of the Philippines (to Clement Caine, September 16, 1811): "What, in short, is the whole system of Europe towards America but an atrocious and insulting tyranny? One hemisphere of the earth, separated from the other by wide seas on both sides, having a different system of interests flowing from different climates, different soils, different productions, different modes of existence, and its own local relations and duties, is made subservient to all the petty interests of the other, to their laws, their regulations, their passions and wars, and interdicted from social intercourse, from the interchange of mutual duties and comforts with their neighbors, enjoined on all men by the laws of nature." He anticipated that the insular colonies would "soon have to take care of themselves, and to enter into the general system of independence and free intercourse with their neighboring and natural friends."

—The General Index to *Notes and Queries* has just appeared in an eighth volume of 143 pages, which, with the seven previously issued, brings the total of pages up to 1,221. The range of *Notes and Queries*, which will fill out its hundredth volume this year, or 50,000 pages, is wider than that of any encyclopedia that has ever been projected. Established in London, the most cosmopolitan of cities, its Notes, whether resulting from experience, interviews, or research, were such as to rouse cosmopolitan Queries or

criticism from the utmost corners of the English-speaking world. Week by week it has taxed for its purposes all departments of the British Museum, as well as returned and retired travellers. In America as well as in the Old World, every puzzling question arising in the conversation, games, or customs of society has led to Queries, and hence to Notes which have year by year shed new side-lights on domestic life. No literary enterprise is too grand to seek or to find a valuable auxiliary in *Notes and Queries*. The Oxford Dictionary, incomparably superior to any similar work in any language, asks and receives such assistance almost every week—indispensable minutiae which had eluded its thousand co-workers. So has the unrivalled 'Dictionary of National Biography,' now approaching its sixtieth volume, been aided in all its serial issues. When articles on any subject have become numerous they are classified, to facilitate examining them. Thus, in the eighth index alone the Shaksperiana show five columns of titles, pointing to hundreds of criticisms. This department was long ago deemed by Furness worthy of his study (see Eysell in "Hamlet," etc.), and hence cannot be neglected by any dramatic student. As to Proverbs, observing that 246 of them were treated in the first series and 335 in the last, and that these numbers indicate the average in the other four score volumes, one sees a quarry from which it would be easy to build up a better book of proverbs than has been elaborated since the days of Solomon. Similar compilations might be made of Songs, sacred and secular, Epigrams, Epitaphs, etc. The present index points to more than 400 quotations, few of them in Bartlett, but many of them worthy to stand there. The word Folk-lore was created by the first editor of *Notes and Queries*, and its first series showed 300 paragraphs, or longer remarks, on the subject. So suggestive and hence sought for are the general indexes that the earlier ones are out of print—and if one turns up it brings a fabulous price at auction. That to the second series, borrowed from an Historical Society, was all copied with a pen by one Wisconsin minister who could neither find nor purchase the master key to a dozen favorites in his choice library. The compiler of the eighth and jubilee Index cannot but recall the fact that no survivor remains of those who founded and first labored for *Notes and Queries*.

—The Journal of the Anthropological Institute for August-November, 1898, contains three papers by Dr. E. B. Tylor, the well-known professor of anthropology at Oxford, which record an epoch-making step towards the sound understanding of Totemism, a subject upon which writers of eminence have sometimes ventured without a due consideration of its intricacy, or of the likelihood that any generalizations prematurely achieved would be discredited by the subsequent accumulation of well-attested facts. Such well-attested facts Dr. Tylor presents in his first paper, where he publishes, with a plate and the outline of an interpretation, a totem-post from the Haida village of Masset (Queen Charlotte Islands). The monument itself is now set up at Fox-Warren (Weybridge). The Haidas and the Tlingit of Alaska are slightly varied branches of the same stock, and their otherwise parallel clan-groups, Raven and Eagle or Raven and Wolf, have a different arrangement of totems. Totemism has taken among the Haidas, as among the Tlingit, special forms

adapted to local circumstances, but has fully maintained its predominantly social importance. It is the basis of hospitality and asylum, has enforced exogamy, and served as a bond of social union. Its religious function among the Haldas and the Tlingit is strictly governed by the fact that neither of these tribal groups has anywhere developed the notion of lineal descent from the totem-animal. Such a belief, common though it is among American totemists, is wholly absent among the tribes under consideration, and its place is taken by certain rude notions of transmigration and reincarnation. Ultimately we reach some tale of an ancestor's adventure with the totem which takes the place of any notion of literal descent from the totem. The totem-post published and described in Dr. Tylor's first paper illustrates all these points more or less adequately so far as the Haldas go, and with the Haldas are involved the Tlingit of our own Alaska. The second paper establishes something almost identical in the case of certain Pacific Coast tribes living to the south of the Tlingit, since it interprets two British-Columbian house-posts with totemic carvings. These are in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, of which Dr. Tylor is the director.

—Professor Tylor's third paper, though by no means a long one, is rather longer than the first two, and gives some very much needed general "Remarks on Totemism." These go back to the beginning of the subject in a book of the last century by J. Long, a trader and interpreter among the North American Indians. From Long, McLennan appears to have derived, with the word totem or totem, the facts dwelt upon in his article on "The Worship of Animals and Plants" (*Fortnightly*, 1869-70). McLennan, in order to interpret the great gods of the world as evolved from the humbler rank of totem-animals, did much violence to well-known features of primitive animal worship. (1.) Such peoples as the Natchez—worshippers of the sun—he arbitrarily classed as totemists, and lost sight entirely of the fundamental idea of the totem by including the sun among totems. Nothing about the totem is more essential or indispensable than that it should always be one of a species. Thus, at the very outset, one important reach of savage religious observance which is clearly distinct from totemism was unwarrantably appropriated. (2.) Another great range of savage religion was similarly annexed by the theory that gods having their incarnation or embodiment in species of sacred animals may ultimately be identified with those animals from whom they have presumably been evolved. After scrutinizing with destructive effect Robertson Smith's whole notion of placular totem-sacrifice, and his attribution of the idea of communion in sacrifice to primitive savage observance, as well as Mr. J. G. Frazer's discovery of totemism among the Samoans, the writer concludes that the whole view deriving gods from totems depends upon accounts of Fijian and Samoan gods which are demonstrably erroneous, since totemism has not been discovered among the practices of Fiji or of Samoa. Mr. Andrew Lang having declared that he and Mr. Frazer freely allow that the evidence for sacrifice of the totem and communion in eating him "is very scanty," Dr. Tylor remarks that it "may be reasonable" to go a step further and suggest that

till the totem sacrament is vouched for by some more real proof, it had better fall out of speculative theology. Incidentally, our author also disposes of Dr. Jevons's ludicrous account of totemism as "a low form of Monotheism." The final conclusion is that "analogies, developments, or survivals of totemism into the religions of the old civilized world" should be postponed "until savage and barbaric animal-worship shall have been more strictly classified."

TAYLOR'S ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

The Origin and Growth of the English Constitution: An Historical Treatise, in which is drawn out, by the light of the most recent researches, the gradual development of the English constitutional system, and the growth out of that system of the Federal Republic of the United States. By Hannis Taylor, LL.D. Part I. (xl and 616 pp.), 1892: Part II. (xlv and 645 pp.), 1898. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

This is a second-rate book written by a second-hand thinker. 'The Origin and Growth of the English Constitution' is distinctly a second-rate work. But be it noted that this assertion is very far from being the same thing as the statement that Mr. Hannis Taylor has composed a treatise which under no circumstances could be of any value whatever. If 2,000 years hence it should have become as difficult to ascertain the details of English public life as it now is to understand the working of the Athenian Constitution, the discovery of Taylor's 'English Constitution' would be as important as the recent discovery of an Aristotelian account of the Athenian polity. If, again, it had happened that no one had up to the present day written a constitutional history of England, the appearance of Mr. Taylor's book would excite universal interest. Nor, even as things stand, is his treatise uninteresting. It is not so much a bad book as a book which is superfluous, because students can with ease obtain constitutional histories which are better worth reading than the two thick volumes which Mr. Taylor has seen fit to publish. For from whichever point of view you regard these volumes, they will be found to be of less value than other well-known writings.

Mr. Taylor's treatise, for example, is clearly not the result of original research. The writer has conscientiously read all the best-known books on the English Constitution which, during the last fifty years or more, have been published in England or America, or have been translated into English. The writings of Hallam, May, Stubbs, Freeman, Sir Fitzjames Stephen, Sir William Anson, or Professor Dicey, are well known to him. If we take as a specimen of his handiwork that part of his treatise which purports to deal with the growth of the modern ministerial system, we see at once that he has mastered the ordinary and best-known authorities for the period beginning with the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty; but a mere glance at Mr. Taylor's notes also proves that his reading has not deviated from the ordinary channels. Bulwer's 'Life of Lord Palmerston,' May's 'Constitutional History,' Macaulay's 'Pitt,' Sir J. F. Stephen's 'History of the Criminal Law,' the 'Rockingham Memoirs,' Lord Mahon's 'History of England,' Lecky's 'History of the Eighteenth Century,' and the like, are all writings which a man does

well to read; they are recommended, we believe, to the attention of undergraduates who seek to obtain a class in the history schools, either of Oxford or of Cambridge; and we should certainly consider that an undergraduate who had read all, or even two-thirds, of the books which Mr. Taylor refers to in his book vii., had read with industry and judgment, and, as regards one period of English history at any rate, might count upon a First Class. But the sort of work which is creditable to a student is not the kind of study which enables a man to claim credit for original research, or to stand in the same rank as, say, Stubbs, Gardiner, or Maitland.

Mr. Taylor, however, may urge, and with truth, that he makes no claim to have made original discoveries in the realm of English history. The candor, not to say the simplicity, with which he cites his authorities, disarms criticism. J. R. Green was, indeed, on some portions of English history which he had specially studied, an authoritative writer; but, at any rate as regards the later periods, he was no more than a brilliant, and not always a very judicious or accurate, essayist; he himself would have been amused to find himself treated as an authority for well-known facts or current anecdotes of the Georgian era. It is not, we may add, usual to refer in serious historical works to Whitaker. His Almanack is as useful and even as interesting a publication as can be bought for a shilling. But somehow its citation as an authority has about it to some minds something comic. However this may be, one thing is certain: original research is not the note of Mr. Taylor's work.

Let there, however, be no misunderstanding on this point. The fact that an historian relies on secondary authorities is no proof that he has not produced a history of real originality and of permanent merit. The doctrine, more or less openly inculcated in many quarters, that every man who writes an account of any period in the history of mankind, must of necessity consult for himself all the original sources of information, embodies a noxious delusion. It is an error to suppose that a man may not write much of the very highest value on the basis of information supplied to him by investigators who have themselves inspected the original authorities; and this delusion is noxious because it renders nugatory the labors of earnest investigators. If we cannot on many points take the results arrived at, for instance, by Stubbs or Gardiner as for many purposes final, it is absolutely impossible that historical knowledge should ever progress. The most ordinary common sense suggests that the fabric of historical science can never be raised to any height unless each successive generation can, subject to certain precautions, build upon the foundations laid by their predecessors. If, then, there were nothing more to be said in criticism of Mr. Taylor's workmanship than that he had not thought it necessary to test again for himself the authority for statements made, for example, by Hallam or May, it would still be perfectly possible that he should have produced a first-rate constitutional history of England. What is a more serious thing is, that, somehow or other, he has collected from his authorities only the most obvious and in many cases the most commonplace facts. But this again would be quite compatible with Mr. Taylor having achieved an

object which we suspect he aimed at. He might conceivably, without any knowledge drawn from original sources, and without having read any books but those open to every student, have given a thoroughly good summary of the conclusions arrived at by the many eminent authors who have especially studied the history and the working of English institutions. Such a masterly survey of the present condition of opinion and knowledge with regard to the English Constitution would have been of infinite value. Unfortunately this kind of general view is exactly what we cannot find in Mr. Taylor's pages, and the reasons why we cannot find it are worth noting.

The first is, that our author has, to all appearance, swallowed rather than digested the fruits of his reading. As we glance through his pages we see many references to dicta taken from other authors. Take, for example, a characteristic passage, intended, we presume, to sum up Sir Robert Walpole's system of government. We are told, as we fancy we have been told more than once before, that the great minister was determined that "the firm should be Walpole & Townshend, and not Townshend & Walpole." We are informed (on the authority, by the way, of Green's 'History of the English People') that Sir Robert said, "I will not be the Minister to enforce taxes at the expense of blood"; and Walpole's general attitude towards public affairs is summed up in words taken from Carlyle's 'Life of Frederick of Prussia': "He had one rule, that stood in place of many: To keep out of every business which it was possible for human wisdom to stave aside. 'What good will you get out of going into that? Parliamentary criticism, argument, and botheration! Leave well alone.'" Carlyle's invectives, we may remark parenthetically, of which the value, if any, was hortatory and transitory, are as unsuitable for embodiment in a calm and judicial estimate of Walpole's character as can be words uttered by any writer of eminence. But the point on which it is necessary to insist is, that Mr. Taylor's habit of collecting together scraps from the different writers whom he has read is absolutely fatal to the attempt to analyze and express the results of their speculations. It is the device of a man who does not know what analysis means, and is closely connected with the second cause of Mr. Taylor's failure to produce a sketch, so to speak, of the results obtained by other writers. He shows no signs of possessing either the command of style or the logical lucidity, both of which are necessary conditions for the production of a bird's-eye view of historical periods. For the task of summing up the essential results of much reading in a few brilliant pages is not impossible to perform. Boutmy's 'Le Développement de la Constitution et de la Société Politique en Angleterre' is not half the length of one of Mr. Taylor's ponderous volumes, yet it gives a brilliant sketch of the whole development of the British Constitution. Mr. Goldwin Smith has compressed together in 301 pages almost everything that is interesting and important in the annals of the United States. Few, however, it may be urged, are the writers who possess the exquisite lucidity of Boutmy or the epigrammatic terseness of Mr. Goldwin Smith. Let us compare Mr. Taylor with a writer who makes no claim to special gifts of style. Take Mr. Taswell Langmead's single volume; it is not a brilliant

performance; it is intended for the use of students. We venture to say that, as a summary of the ordinary facts of English constitutional history, it is a more serviceable and better book than Mr. Taylor's treatise.

Mr. Taylor is essentially a second-hand thinker. The expression "second-hand thinker" is open to legitimate criticism, but it conveys a meaning which is not as easily expressed by any other well-recognized term. A second-hand thinker is a speculatist (to revive a word used by Dr. Johnson) who repeats or reëchoes opinions which he has learned from others, and is to be contrasted with theorists who, whatever the intrinsic value of their speculations, think for themselves and look at things with their own eyes and not through spectacles lent them by their neighbors. It is, be it remarked, quite possible that a second-hand thinker may write books of real value. He may summarize with great success the opinions of his time; he may reiterate and thus impress upon the world truths which have not yet become truisms, or which are in danger of being underrated just because they have received general acceptance. A man of originality, on the other hand, who thinks for himself, may, and sometimes does, think wrong, and his writings may turn out little better than a collection of paradoxes or fallacies which have been rejected by the sound sense of mankind. Still, the difference between the theorist who does really think for himself, and the thinker who merely adopts the ideas of others, is a distinction of profound significance. What it amounts to may be seen if we put Montesquieu side by side with Blackstone. The illustrious Frenchman and the Commentator are both authors of extraordinary merit; they are both masters of style. But if a critic asks why Montesquieu is placed high among political thinkers, while Blackstone, in spite of his extraordinary gifts, can hardly claim to be more than one of the most distinguished among England's men of letters, the answer is obvious. Montesquieu, through his speculations are occasionally quite unsound, thinks for himself and generally thinks rightly. Blackstone, on the other hand, as a constitutionalist, with which aspect of him alone we are now concerned, does little more than adopt and repeat the ideas of Montesquieu, or, rather, the ideas which, under the influence of Montesquieu, had, when Blackstone wrote, become current in France and in England. The one is an inventor, the other is an imitator. Now there undoubtedly have been periods when writers on the English Constitution who repeated and propagated theories which they did not themselves originate, have rendered material service to the world. Blackstone, Hallam, even May (that very dearest of constitutionalists) made generally known facts or theories which had not yet been adequately forced upon the attention of the public. Indeed, of Hallam it may be said that, though his thoughts are commonplace, his general conception of constitutional history exhibited real originality. But there has now ceased to be any legitimate place for writers who can do no more than narrate the well-known facts of English history, or reiterate the truisms, commonplaces, or platitudes which infest the whole realm of constitutional law. True it is, as pointed out by Bagehot, that on the English Constitution "much still remains to be said," but the important things which remain to be said are new things, and not the trite thoughts which

can be picked up by your second-hand thinker.

Now the most marked characteristic of Mr. Taylor's work, to judge his book, as it may fairly be judged, by his reflections on the English Constitution since the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty, is that his writings never even by chance reveal a new way of looking at well-worn subjects. The title, it is true, of his treatise shows that when he began writing he had got hold of what is certainly a new, and might have proved in other hands a fruitful, conception, viz., the growth of the Federal Republic of the United States out of the English system of government. Unfortunately, Mr. Taylor seems incapable of turning to account an original idea. The introduction, indeed, to his first volume contains a good number of remarks taken after our author's manner from a lot of other writers on the English origin of the American Republic. But these scattered reflections tell the reader very little which is not common knowledge. What, however, is a more serious matter, Mr. Taylor, as far as we have remarked, except in his introduction, loses hold of the relation between English and American institutions. When dealing, at any rate, with the reign of George III., he writes exactly as would the most commonplace of English historians who had no special knowledge of the United States or of its institutions. His treatise, in short, as regards the reign of George III., is the work of a man who has docilely accepted, for good and bad, the received doctrines of English Liberalism.

In nothing does the commonplace character of his second-hand thinking more clearly appear than in his treatment of Parliamentary reform. He, of course, dwells on the anomalies of Parliamentary representation during the eighteenth century. He repeats for the twentieth time all the commonplaces about the rotten boroughs, the sale of seats, and the like, and he does not even incidentally add a single item to the knowledge of any readers who are acquainted with the best-known authorities for the Parliamentary history of the last century. But Mr. Taylor, while he reiterates statements which hardly bear repetition, lays little or no stress at all on two considerations which, though obvious, are constantly overlooked. The first is, that the unreformed Parliament, with all its anomalies and abuses, did, at least during the eighteenth century, reflect the sentiment of the nation, and on this very account commanded the admiration of a critic as independent and intelligent as Paley. The second is, that there were at different periods two totally different schools of reformers. The ideas of Parliamentary reform carried into effect for a moment at least by Cromwell, and more or less adopted by Chatham and by Pitt, differed essentially from the ideas embodied by the statesmen of 1832 in the great Reform Act. The wish of the earlier reformers was to transfer power from the towns to the country. The later reformers increased, and wished to increase, the power of the great towns. Both the considerations to which we have referred are, we doubt not, well known to Mr. Taylor, and may, for aught we know, be noted in some page of his lengthy volumes; but to have forced them upon the attention of his readers would have involved some slight amount of original thinking, and would have been quite foreign to the genius of a man whose nature prompts

him to repeat the truisms he has learned from the works of known and respectable writers. Why, indeed, a writer who simply repeats others should have been misguided enough to add another book to the already too long list of English constitutional histories, it is hard to say. But if Mr. Taylor has in this matter made a blunder, even his mistake is untainted by originality. There lived in the last century a gentleman mentioned, if we mistake not, by Dr. Johnson, who wrote a book to tell all the world what all the world had for the last twenty years been telling him.

THE INDIAN FAMINE.

A Tour through the Famine Districts of India. By F. H. S. Merewether, Reuter's Special Famine Commissioner. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1898.

No manner of American man can have failed to learn something about the famine of 1896 in India. Readers of the *Cosmopolitan* cannot forget articles by Julian Hawthorne, who, specially commissioned by that magazine, had in the first months of 1897 travelled widely where the Indian dearth was most destructive. Hawthorne proclaims that Mr. Merewether was "the only man he met in India whose statements concerning the famine could be entirely relied on." This testimony must insure Mr. Merewether a candid hearing. It was called for to render his words as credible as his photographs.

The famine tour of our author outside of Bombay lasted sixty-seven days, during which, in traversing five thousand miles, he stopped at a score of starvation centres. His investigations were in the service of Reuter's Telegraph Company. He interviewed functionaries in every province to whom he was accredited. Besides, he independently penetrated into hospitals, poorhouses, and relief works. Whatever this looker-on learned during a day was often telegraphed across a quarter of the globe, and the next morning read in the *London Times*. More of his telegrams, and letters as well, were dispatched to Bombay gazettes, and told of his progress in melancholy research. The volume before us, growing out of this nucleus, betrays haste and a literary carelessness surprising in an Oxonian, so that it recalls the old Greek courier who ran well but arrived too much exhausted for fitly announcing his tidings. Though the famine investigator had been already five years in India, he had seen little of its interior. It was, therefore, natural that he should dilate upon the national marvels and peculiarities which were forced upon his attention. His pages of this nature (which are not few) are instructive and pleasant reading. They help to save us from supping too full of horrors. But there is less excuse for such padding as multitudinous needless native words—and those not always interpreted—as well as half a dozen pages about taking a midnight train at a flag-station, or some hours' delay where a train was off the track, etc.

The famine of 1896-7, with the diseases it engendered, as Hawthorne and others held, produced eight million deaths, and was the most destructive chronicled in the annals of British India. Such a mortality had appeared impossible in view of the safeguards against it which had been preparing for a generation—especially irrigation-wells, canals, and tanks, as well as facilities for

transportation. More than twenty famines had occurred within the century, and few of them had proved too colossal for provincial authorities to deal with. Hence rumors in 1896 of unprecedented starvation which rung in the ears of Indian magnates, long made little impression. Towards the close of that year, when such reports had startled the British public, their Oriental representatives were charged (and not without reason) with culpable incredulity, tardiness, and inefficiency. They had been hoping against hope for the early and then for at least the latter rain. The vice-regal authorities were not moved to action as they should have been by Indian physiography. Two-fifths of the country is beyond hope of irrigation. Water for storage-reservoirs is there wanting, as Pennsylvanians found it on Alleghany heights when they needed it for canal feeders. Harvests there without rainfall are as hopeless as in Egypt when the Nile floods fall. If the heaven is brass the earth will be iron. It could not long be denied that the famine had been underrated, and by a natural reaction a sort of panic set in, both in India and in England. Half the population and more of the business of Bombay vanished when plague followed in the footsteps of famine. At this crisis, when Reuter's patrons demanded the truth—nothing extenuated, nothing exaggerated—he selected Mr. Merewether from a crowd of reporters to learn the exact facts and to make them known with all possible dispatch.

His was a sadder pilgrimage than Dante's through the "Inferno." It lasted more days than the hours of the Italian's. The culmination of the one in the starvation of Ugolino and his four children was repeated a million times in the other. Shakespeare's lowest deep, that "man's life's as cheap as beast's," is nothing to the lower deep which here opens. A mother who forgot her sucking child so as to have no compassion on the son of her womb when his tongue was cleaving to the roof of his mouth, was no more the strange thing the Hebrew prophet had thought it. Nor yet were eyes that consumed away in their sockets within skeletons who still stood on their feet. Photographs from the Merewether kodak present these abhorred ingredients to the eye beyond the power of words, and beyond imagination in Dante's chambers of imagery. The investigator's credentials gave him an inside view not only of the desolations which had been wrought, but, what is more, of the manifold endeavors to stay them which were on trial. His journeys were mainly by night, and, thanks to this economy of time, he could, within sixty-seven days, furnish an eye-witness's reports regarding starvation and relief at nearly thirty points of darkest India, and those dotting an area two or three times as large as the British Islands.

His first and last discovery was what all men know and what no man really feels, that whatever was doing would have done a more perfect work had it been begun sooner. He says that in provinces equally pinched the famine "butcher's bill was no more than a tenth as large where relief came early as where it came late" (p. 292). The same truth was exemplified in individual sufferers. When taken into hospitals, it was found with surprise that many had been unawares fatally famine-struck, and were beyond hope. When at length the Indian Government clearly saw the immensity of the

task before it, its spirit mounted with the occasion. But haste sometimes hindered good speed, and, on the contrary, "monumental red-tapeism" (our author's phrase) bound relief measures in chains and fetters of iron. The truth is, that no wealth or power, no skill or good will, could now say to the famine, Thus far, no further. But relief works were forthwith established. These were on a gigantic scale. One, for its supply of small copper coin, required "an almost continuous service of an elephant train" (p. 148). Another was a camp which showed 50,000 men working in one body. "It was soon found, however, that the herding together of such a mass of human beings was flying in the face of Providence, and invoking the appearance of the dread cholera demon" (p. 261). Religious crowds, matted and massed together like a swarm of bees, are found in every sacred city of India whenever famine appears. The present writer was caught at Kumbhakomam (interpreted "mouth of the water-jar") in an army of pilgrims which filled the city, importuning the rain goddess there enshrined to grant the one thing needful for their withering crops. There was no hotel, no Government bungalow, no station lodging, and no train for escape by railway. Allowed to sit up all night in the stifling waiting-room, he heard hundreds gathered round the station for an early train praying and walling without ceasing all night long. In such throngs, Indian plagues are generated and propagated, just the same whether assemblages are sacred or secular.

Monster camps were perhaps a temporary necessity. They did great good, but their operations were attended with much immediate waste and many ultimate evils. At the end of February, 1897, 2,948,086 persons were maintained at such establishments. The water supply was often poisoned at its sources by the sewage of the neighborhood, the shelter was only what could be built by the laborers in two days allowed them for that purpose, and the clothing only the rags which they had been unable to sell. They complained much of cold to Mr. Merewether. How much they suffered can be understood by those who, like the writer, have there within twenty-four hours felt equally afraid of sunstroke and of freezing. Thermometers are no measures of feeling. The highest ideal of sanitation is to "smear a room daily all over with cow-dung."

The wages paid at relief works were variable, rising and falling with the cost of the cheapest vegetable food in local markets. Had pay been higher than the purchasing power of such a ration, the seekers for it would have been beyond arithmetic. The results of work done often turned out to be no more than one-fifth of what was common in ordinary contracts. Drones were safe. The penal ration was no deterrent. It could not be reduced much below the maximum, or starvation would follow—it did follow many times when there was no reduction. The dole dispensed by the head paymaster was more or less intercepted on its way down to the workman, and became like a sand-swallowed river which is smaller at mouth than at source. At one relief station, where the daily disbursement was four hundred and fifty rupees, it was ascertained that less than half of it was expended by the laborers for food—and nothing for luxuries. What became of the residue? In the judgment of the local treasurer it was embezzled by underling intermediaries, some

of whom were detected in the presence of Mr. Merewether.

Relief stations of the largest size were found inexpedient and were quickly broken up. They were infected with the curses of the military camps from which they often borrowed the name. Not being a necessity, they had no excuse for existence. In several, however, of considerable dimensions, Mr. Merewether found much to praise. It had been urged that wages could never be paid daily in one of them, but he says: "I saw 6,500 people paid in half an hour" (p. 282), and details the process. Again, he saw rivalry excited between competing gangs through an appeal to the native love of pomp and circumstance. The gang who during a week had yielded the greatest out-turn of work, were for the next week solemnly escorted to and from their task by the beat of a drum, and a professional *tom-tomist* had been specially engaged to relieve the monotony of the work with soul-inspiring music (p. 263).

All through Mr. Merewether's painful pilgrimage in famine districts the question what to do about it and how to do it was always before him. His conviction became firm that the system of public relief works ought to lose ground, and that of village relief ought to gain the ascendancy. He shows village relief as propping the wall of society where it is weakest in time to keep it from falling—saving villagers from selling cattle and tools, clothes and furniture, at ruinous sacrifices, from eating their seed-corn, and snapping asunder all home ties—at last selling themselves into coolie servitude beyond the sea. He shows up the grand works as disintegrating villages (which are preëminently the units of Indian life) as fatally as any band of kidnappers could. Such unwieldy works multiply the dangers of fraud and oppression; they employ villagers on improvements in which they cannot feel the interest they would in those at home. Hence they obtain only half-hearted service. They cannot lift up hands that hang down nor strengthen the feeble knees. To revive the villages which they have killed is now the hardest governmental labor.

Christian missions as humanitarian institutions in India have never come to the front as in these years of scarcity. Their praise is not only in the writings of Merewether and Hawthorne, but in the mouths of English officials who had ignored or despised them. No other whites except the missionaries are in touch with those whom famine pinches most. None are at all fit to be wardens of orphans now more numerous than ever. None can make a little money leaven so vast a mass. No class can be so safely trusted as honest and wise almoners of bounty.

Historic Towns of New England. Edited by Lyman P. Powell. Putnam. 1898. Pp. 598.

Historic Pilgrimages in New England. By Edwin M. Bacon. Boston: Silver, Burdett & Co. 1898. Pp. 472.

The present fad for patriotic and historical societies—"Sons," "Daughters," and "Descendants" of every one and everything—is doubtless responsible for the new crop of guide-books and annals. We have before us specimens of the two classes into which such books can be divided. 'Historic Pilgrimages in New England' is the work of a single writer. 'Historic Towns of New England' is

made up of sketches of Portland, by S. T. Packard; Rutland, by E. D. Mead; Salem, by G. D. Latimer; Boston, by T. W. Higginson; Cambridge, by S. A. Elliot; Concord, by F. B. Sanborn; Plymouth, by Ellen Watson; Cape Cod Towns, by Katherine L. Bates; Deerfield, by G. Sheldon; Newport, by Susan Coolidge; Providence, by W. B. Weeden; Hartford, by Mary K. Talcott; and New Haven, by F. H. Cogswell. The thirteen sketches in this latter volume are supposed to have been edited by Lyman P. Powell; and the introduction, by G. P. Morris, has the singular advantage of being so entirely disconnected from the rest of the book as to be equally serviceable hereafter as the preface to any other book. Some, at least, of the remaining contributors to this miscellany have a literary reputation, but none have added to it by their present work. We mean by this that no one of these essays shows the slightest evidence of the hand of a master, nor any sign of that complete devotion to a subject which forces the author to write because he has a story which he must tell. We have said that Mr. Powell is supposed to have edited the book; on reconsideration, we conclude that he, or some one man, has really edited it with a flowing pen and a keen pair of scissors, as otherwise a dozen individual writers could not have maintained such a placid—we had almost said dreary—uniformity of style and treatment. We can, however, cheerfully praise the illustrations, which, though not specially new in subject, are a relief to the text.

Mr. Bacon's volume is a guide-book of modern type, covering the history of various places near Boston, and of course largely devoted to that of the capital city. There is a show of information elicited under the pretence of rambles made by the author for the edification of a young companion, but the fiction is not amusing nor well maintained. Still, we prefer the guidance of Mr. Bacon, whose pen has for years been in constant use in many fields of literature, to that of the syndicate responsible for the other volume.

The trouble with such books as these is that there are too many rivals in the field. Take Boston, for example, as a subject. There is scarcely anything new to be said on the points handled in all alike. The old houses have left no traces, the few surviving portraits have been reproduced to satiety, and the quotations from a few authorities are, as Macaulay would say, familiar to every school-boy. Although the town records have been published by the liberality of the city, no compiler of these books takes the trouble to read and digest this new material, to discover and bring to light important facts. Instead, we have a rehash of the old stock pieces, Gov. Winthrop, Peter Faneuil, Benjamin Franklin, and Samuel Adams; the Beacon Hill and Faneuil Hall, the Tea-Party and the Boston Massacre. It is surely time to demand a surcease of the old, old stories, and the exercise of a little of the true spirit of historic inquiry. There is more value in the essays of Mr. C. W. Ernst on the development of municipal government in Boston, brief and disjointed though they be, than in a hundred of these beautiful volumes, the product of the camera and the engraver. The fact that the ward system began with division of the town between the various scavengers, in order to establish health regulations, becomes of stupendous importance when we consider that hence came the local militia, the fire-system, and other forms of local gov-

ernment, which so influenced the public mind that they resulted in city government and the gradual evolution of ward politics and ward bosses.

And yet, in view of the fearful degeneracy of the daily press, we may rejoice that our children are supplied with clean and attractive literature in books like these. Perhaps here and there the seed will take root, and a crop of true historians will arise.

Doctor Pascal. By Émile Zola. Translated by Mary J. Serrano. Macmillan. Pp. 491.

'Doctor Pascal' is the last of the Rougon-Macquart series to which M. Zola has devoted the greater portion of his literary labors, and contains, as is fitting, a larger measure than any of its predecessors of the author's theory of practice, his philosophy of life. Heredity has been the topic of the series from the beginning, the heredity of the Rougons and the Macquarts worked out under the conditions in France in the Second Empire; and Doctor Pascal, the son (as the student of M. Zola will recollect) of Madame Félicité, studies the family tree of the Rougon-Macquarts as M. Zola himself had studied it, and announces M. Zola's deductions. Whether those deductions were anticipated by M. Zola at the time when he began the exposition which has reached its completion in them, the critic may well doubt.

There have been from the first two persons in the unity of M. Zola's inspiration, the bard and the doctrinaire, and they have belonged always to different philosophical camps, and had different periods of predominance. In M. Zola's earlier novels the bard is predominant, and the bard is "positive," as the French say, and pessimistic. In M. Zola's trilogy the doctrinaire is predominant, and the doctrinaire is optimistic and mystical. 'Doctor Pascal' marks the transition from the earlier novels to the trilogy, and is the masterpiece neither of the bard nor of the doctrinaire, but the indispensable commentary on the masterpieces of both.

"Ah, this heredity! what a subject of endless meditation to him!" M. Zola exclaims of his hero. "The strangest, the most wonderful part of it all, was it not, that the resemblance between parents and children should not be perfect, mathematically exact? He had, in the beginning, made a genealogical tree of his family, especially traced, in which the influences from generation to generation were distributed equally—the father's part and the mother's part."

Out of evil, fatally, evil comes; there is the tragedy, done to the bard's hand, and the finished pessimism. "But the living reality contradicted the theory at almost every point. Heredity, instead of being resemblance, was an effort towards resemblance thwarted by circumstances and environment"; there is the possibility of optimism and of the infinite approach to the perfecting of man. "Atavism he doubted; it seemed to him, in spite of a remarkable instance, taken from his own family, that resemblance at the end of two or three generations must disappear by reason of accidents, of interferer, of a thousand possible combinations." It is doubtful whether any man of equal abilities, unless it was M. Zola's master, Honoré de Balzac, ever "paid himself" with scientific speculations so flimsy; between the bard and the doctrinaire there is little to choose, but the relation between them in M. Zola's mind is not obscure.

"The wisdom of God hath methodized the course of things unto the advantage of good-

ness, and thinking considerators overlook not the tract thereof," wrote Sir Thomas Browne in the seventeenth century; and M. Zola in the nineteenth has no other message to deliver, and, in spite of his parade of positivism, has no credentials to offer beyond the simple faith that is in him.

"Perhaps he, too [Doctor Pascal], had been only a dreamer, for he had dreamed the most beautiful dreams, the final belief in a better world, where science should have bestowed incalculable power upon man—to accept everything, to turn everything to our happiness, to know everything, and to foresee everything; to make nature our servant, to live in the tranquillity of intelligence satisfied. Faith in life, voluntary and regular labor, would suffice for health. Evil was only the unexplained side of things; suffering would one day assuredly be utilized."

And the book reaches its climax and its close in a scene ten months after Dr. Pascal has died, worn out with labor and devotion to his studies. Clotilde, his niece, and the mother of his posthumous child,

"glanced involuntarily at the ancestral tree spread out beside her. Yes, the menace was there—so many crimes, so much filth, side by side with so many tears and so much patient goodness. . . . And after so many terrible Rougons, so many vile Macquarts, still another had been born; life did not fear to create another of them. . . . Even at the risk of producing monsters, it must of necessity create, never wearies of creating, in the hope, no doubt, that the healthy and the good must one day prevail. . . . A mother nursing, was she [Clotilde] not the image of the world continued and saved? She bent over, she looked into the child's limpid eyes, which opened joyously, eager for the light. . . . Again came a distant burst of music. This must be the apotheosis, the moment when Grandmamma Félicité, with her silver trowel, was laying the corner-stone of the monument to the glory of the Rougons. The vast blue sky seemed gladdened by the Sunday festival; and in the warm silence of the workroom Clotilde smiled down at the child still nursing, his little arm flung straight up in the air like a banner of life."

Manila and the Philippines. By M. A. Hamm. F. T. Neely. 1898.

And now Margherita Arlina Hamm has given us the latest book on the Philippines, which makes the fourth on the same subject since the battle of Manila Bay. It is dedicated "to Rizal and Aguinaldo, the dead martyr and living hero," and the preface states that the context is based on notes made by the author while a resident and traveller in the Far East, some of which have already been used in newspaper correspondence. The volume contains a chapter on Luzon, one on Manila, several on the manners and customs of the people, architecture and shops, one each on Iloilo, Cebu, and Sulu, and a dozen on the inhabitants of the archipelago, the animal world, mines and minerals, typhoons, and the outlying islands. The author goes into many minute details about local peculiarities in custom, construction, and mode of life, which range all the way from the stitching used in making pineapple-cloth to the abuses which brought about the brotherhood of the Kapipunan and revolution of 1896. She concludes her book with a chapter on the future of the Philippines, in which we read that this depends chiefly on the great Powers of to-day. She states that the soil is rich, the climate salubrious, the harbors on the coast safe, and the archipelago capable of supporting a hundred million human beings in comfort. Miss Hamm thinks that the only things needed are justice and wisdom to make the

Filipinos develop into importers of shiploads of flour, textiles, rails, preserved meats, boots, shoes, and machinery.

The author seems to have got together a good deal of specific information about these much-discussed islands, but we do not take it for granted that she has personally examined many of the conditions of things which she describes. She has read well, talked with others who have seen more than she has, and does not doubt for a moment that, after the exercise of justice and wisdom, steel rails will flow into the country, the natives will change their diet from rice to canned goods, and suddenly take to wearing gloves and shoes, and the whole archipelago will teem with prosperity and commerce. Since the author speaks of the climate as salubrious, it is not to be supposed she has remained in the islands long enough to suffer from climatic maladies that dampen enthusiasm. While her production is purely that of a correspondent, it makes interesting reading, and its 218 pages contain both information and anecdote. It is cheaply manufactured, and contains twenty-three illustrations.

The Wild Fowl of the United States and British Possessions. By Daniel Giraud Elliot, F.R.S.E., etc. Francis P. Harper. 1898. 8vo, pp. xxii, 316, frontispiece portrait and 68 plates.

We should have more to say of this excellent work were it not that we reviewed Mr. Elliot's two previous volumes at considerable length, and all that we have said of them is equally applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to the present case. By the "Wild Fowl" of the title Mr. Elliot means the *Anatida*, or family of the swans, geese, ducks, and mergansers, of great economic importance and of special interest to sportsmen. His previous books, to which we have referred, were respectively upon the *Limicola* or shore birds, and the *Gallina* or order which includes poultry; each of which groups is comparable with the *Anatida* in the points just said. The three together possess probably greater attractiveness to a larger number of persons than all other birds put together; and the "trilogy" now completed may be rated as one three-volume work, of uniform excellence throughout. The numerous illustrations of the Wild Fowl are mainly by the same artist, Mr. E. L. Sheppard, to whose merits and what we consider his limitations we have before referred; but in the present instance the author has collaborated to some extent in producing the plates. The frontispiece will be recognized by Mr. Elliot's many friends as the very man they know intimately—the naturalist himself, as distinguished from the man of the world and of affairs represented in the portrait which has hitherto had a wider circulation. This presentment may be held to atone for the versification with which our genial author has been tempted to open and close the present volume. *Non omnes omnia possumus*—which may be taken to mean that there is not a 'possum up every gum-tree.

Mr. Elliot shows in this instance more clearly than before his superiority to that rule of thumb of A. O. U. Code which dictates that original misspellings of generic and specific names shall be inviolate for ever, and is justly severe upon those whom he styles the advocates of illiteracy—those whom Dr. Coues calls "impurists" when they

twit him with being a purist. He has perhaps twenty departures, in this single family *Anatida*, from the supposed established nomenclature of the A. O. U. Check-list, some of the changes being merely orthographic, others affecting the status of genera and species or subspecies. We are satisfied that most of these innovations are sound, and anticipate with confidence their prompt adoption by the Committee on Nomenclature which holds the fate of all names in the hollow of its collective hand. One neat point Mr. Elliot makes is that *Horelda*, usually unexplained and supposed to be a nonsense word, is an original misprint for *Harelda*, derived from a Scandinavian or Icelandic word meaning "sea-duck." The etymology of *Brenta* from *Apator*, Greek name of some water-fowl, is also correctly given, as are the unwonted but proper spellings of *Æs* for *Ais*, *Æthyia* for *Aythya*, and *Edemia* for *Oidemia*. Perhaps we may some day discover an etymon for Leach's term *Dafila*, but it still remains a mystery, if not mere nonsense.

The Bayeux Tapestry: A History and Description, by Frank Rede Fowke. London: George Bell & Sons; New York: Macmillan. 1898.

In the little museum connected with the public library of the town of Bayeux in Normandy is preserved a very remarkable piece of embroidery. This is more than 200 feet long, and about eighteen inches wide; a piece of linen upon which a long series of designs have been worked with the needle and in worsted. It is admitted on all hands that the subject of the embroidery is the invasion of England by Duke William of Normandy, the details of the Battle of Hastings, and the conquest of the country. The only serious dispute is as to whether the work is absolutely contemporary with its chief actors, or is of a somewhat later epoch. The name commonly given to it in English, "the Bayeux Tapestry," is, of course, a mis-translation of the French *Tapisserie de Bayeux*; in no sense is it a tapestry, using that word with the common English meaning. The prefatory chapter of the volume under consideration relates the story of this monument of old time, and states the arguments for its greater or less antiquity, and for and against the old tradition that Queen Matilda directed its manufacture. The final sentences of this history (p. 23) give the reasons for the author's conviction that it was originally a church work. "I conclude," says Mr. Fowke, "the tapestry to be a contemporary work in which Queen Matilda had no part, and that it was probably ordered for his Cathedral by Bishop Odo, and made by Norman work-people at Bayeux."

The authentic documentary record of the tapestry dates back not so very far. In 1562, when the cathedral at Bayeux was pillaged by the Huguenots, the embroidery was concealed for awhile, apparently in the town hall, and afterwards restored to the church, where it was used for decoration. Being there, it was naturally disregarded as an historical monument, or as a work of art, by the people of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, but Montfaucon's famous work contains a drawing of it, and at that time (that is to say, about 1730) papers were read about it, and discussion grew somewhat interesting. It went to Paris in revolutionary times, after having risked destruction as a thing of no consequence. In

Paris it was somewhat celebrated; it came back to Bayeux on the fall of Napoleon, and then it was adjusted, like a modern movable panorama, and relied upon two cylinders. It is only since 1843 that it has been securely placed and cared for in a serious way.

So much for the history of the piece in modern times. As to its character, its purpose, the record contained in it, the curious information it gives concerning costumes and armor—the rest of the book is devoted to it. The text from page 25 to 136 contains a description of each picture which has been selected by the author from the continuous band of decoration. Then follows an index, and then a series of seventy-nine half-tone plates, reproducing with some success, and on a scale of two-ninths of the original, the parts which, as above stated, were selected for analysis. The volume, therefore, is a piece of history of singular value to those who have not ready access to larger and fuller reproductions, or to the piece itself, and it also serves as a very faithful and fairly complete guidebook for the famous embroidery.

With Peary near the Pole. By Elvind Astrup. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1898. 262 pp. 8vo. Ill'd.

Mr. Astrup will be remembered as the companion of Peary during the adventurous and successful journey to the northern border of the Inland Ice, and also as a member of the second expedition which in 1893-4 attempted to continue these explorations, but was defeated by exceptional bad weather that made it impossible to carry out Peary's plans. The present volume is a translation from the Norwegian original, by Mr. H. J. Bull, and is well illustrated from sketches and photographs by the author.

It might be supposed that the volumes already published by Mr. and Mrs. Peary must cover everything of interest connected with

the expeditions, and that the present one was, therefore, superfluous. We were agreeably disappointed to find that this was not the case. It is, of course, true that the essential facts of their work, with the fullest detail, are contained in Mr. Peary's volumes. But Astrup's story not only gives in compact form the outlines of the work done by the expeditions with which he was connected, but adds to this the details of an important exploration of the shores of Melville Bay made by him in person, and also some very fresh and entertaining observations on the natives of this desolate region. Without literary pretension or tendency to gush, the author has told his experiences very happily. His personal enthusiasm and interest in his work are conspicuous on every page, and make his book pleasant and interesting to the reader. Indeed, for the average reader, who is not an Arctic expert and does not care for minute details of travel and outfitting, we feel justified in recommending this little volume as the best and most interesting account of its subject that has yet been printed. A large proportion of it is devoted to the Eskimo of Northwest Greenland, whose good qualities are frankly recognized and heartily appreciated.

It has always been cause for regret that no trained anthropologist formed one of the members of the various expeditions which have wintered in the vicinity of Cape York since the *Polaris* expedition, and that Bensen's volume on the Eskimos of this region has never been available in translation. These Eskimos are certainly one of the most interesting groups of people known to the ethnologist, on account of the extraordinary isolation in which they have existed until very lately. Yet no monographic study of them has been made, and, until the publication of the book now under review, their social characteristics have been almost wholly ignored in the reports of explorers. The account given by Astrup is not

profound or monographic, but it does contain a great deal of welcome matter, although the work of an untrained observer.

The book is handsomely printed and well illustrated; but the map of Greenland is roughly drawn and there is no index.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

- A. The Evolution of the English House. Amesbach; New York: Macmillan.
- A. C. and Smith, J. O. The Christ. A Study of His Life. Putnam. \$1.25.
- B. J. Seed Dispersal. Boston: Ginn.
- B. G. D. The Kingdom. An Essay. Scribner. \$1.
- B. C. A. General Introduction to the Study of Scripture. Scribner. \$1.
- B. J. M. Extemporaneous Oratory for and Amateur Speakers. Eaton & Mains. \$1.50.
- Carrington, Gen. H. B. Washington the Soldier. Boston: Latham, Wolfe & Co. \$2.50.
- Dandiker, Prof. Karl. A Short History of Switzerland. London: Sonnenschein; New York: Macmillan. \$2.50.
- Dwight, Henrietta L. The Golden Age Cook Book. Alliance Publishing Co. \$1.25.
- Faulke, W. D. Slav or Saxon. 2d ed. Putnam. \$1.
- Hamilton, S. M. Letters to Washington. Vol. 1. 1782-1786. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
- Henderson, J. F. Scottish Vernacular Literature. A Succinct History. London: David Nutt.
- Hume, M. A. S. Spain, its Greatness and Decay (1478-1788). Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan. \$1.50.
- Hynson, Prof. J. H. Democracy. A Study of Government. Scribner. \$1.50.
- Lee, Albert. The Key of the Holy House. A Romance of Old Antwerp. Appleton. \$1.
- Löwenberg, Rev. W. J., and Brierley, Henry. The Registers of the Parish Church of Bury in the County of Lancaster. Rochdale, Eng.: James Clapp.
- Martin, Prof. R. N. The Human Body. 8th ed. Henry Holt & Co. \$1.20.
- Morehouse, G. W. The Wilderness of Words. Peter Eckler. \$1.
- Newcomer, Prof. A. G. Elements of Rhetoric. Henry Holt & Co. \$1.
- Ober, F. A. Puerto Rico and its Resources. Appleton.
- Parnock, Mary P. A Short History of Germany. A Short History of France. Scribner. Each 60c.
- Saint-Pierre, Bernard de. Paul et Virginie. Henry Holt & Co. 60c.
- Schultz, Jeanne. La Main de Sainte-Modestine. Paris: Calmann Lévy.
- Scott, D. C. Labor and the Angel. Boston: Copeland & Day. \$1.25.
- Scribner's Magazine, 1898. 2 vols. Scribner.
- Sullivan, W. R. W. Morality as a Religion. London: Sonnenschein; New York: Macmillan. \$2.
- Thompson, Prof. S. P. Michael Faraday, His Life and Work. Macmillan. \$1.25.
- Thwaites, R. O. The Jesuit Relations. Vols. XXXIII and XXXIV. Cleveland, O.: Burrows Bros. Co.
- Tyranny, St. G. O. The American Revolution. Part I. Longmans, Green & Co.

HENRY HOLT & CO., N.Y.

HAVE JUST PUBLISHED:

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 26, 1899.

The Week.

The action of the House committee on coinage, weights, and measures in agreeing to report a radical measure for the reform of our currency system is a political event of great significance. The bill is long and elaborate, but its most important features are those which explicitly establish the gold standard by provisions that the gold dollar shall be the standard of value in the United States, that all obligations of the United States shall be payable in gold unless otherwise stipulated, and that no more silver dollars shall be coined, except from the silver bullion now held in the Treasury against the silver certificates or Treasury notes issued under the act of July 14, 1890; with other provisions for the gradual retirement and cancellation of all United States notes and Treasury notes. The most important consideration about this action of the House committee is the fact that its Republican members are united and earnest in support of the measure reported. They believe in the gold standard, and they are not afraid to say so openly. They hold that there should be no further coinage of silver dollars, and they are ready to provide by law that there shall not be. They are convinced that the greenbacks ought to be retired, and they are anxious to pass a law which will force the retirement of this currency. That this bill will pass Congress during the present session is not to be expected. Its supporters doubtless do not anticipate that it will get through even the House. Nevertheless, it is a great thing to get all the Republican members of a financial committee out in open support of so "flat-footed" a measure of currency reform. We have never secured from any representative body of the party in Congress so positive and commendable a proposition for permanent currency legislation as this.

The so-called Nicaragua Canal bill, which passed the Senate on Saturday, is really a bill to build a canal across the isthmus anywhere, at any cost, under any contract or company, at any time. It is, in other words, a huge conglomerate measure, into which all sorts of conflicting provisions were thrown. Only in that way could it be passed. Senator Morgan conquered opposition by yielding to it. It was charged that his original bill was in violation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty; therefore he accepted an amendment requiring the President to open negotiations for the abrogation of that treaty, "or any other treaty

found to be in existence and standing in the way of the construction of the canal." Here is plenty of work for negotiators, but possibly none at all for canal-diggers. It was said that there were serious difficulties about the validity of the contract with Nicaragua, about Costa Rica's interests and rights; it was maintained that perhaps our Government could make a better bargain with the Panama Company than with any other. Never mind, just authorize the President to settle all these questions. He is a fountain of inexhaustible wisdom. The bill really "leaves it all to McKinley," just as we have been leaving everything else to him.

It is clear that the bill was passed in this hodge-podge state only in the desperate hope that the House would pass some kind of bill of its own and get the matter into conference. The present state of opinion in Congress seems to be that some canal should be constructed across the isthmus, but by whom or where or under what auspices, there is a hopeless conflict of view. In these circumstances, as we have said before, the most reasonable thing to do would be to refer the whole matter to a commission which should bring forward some practicable and self-consistent bill next December. The general desire and expectation of the country undoubtedly is that the isthmus be cut by a canal. But there is no commitment in favor of any existing project. The best canal to be had on the best terms both of construction and operation—that is the thing the country wants, and the Morgan bill is as far as possible from providing it. In fact, if that bill were to become law as it stands, we should not necessarily be any nearer having a canal than we are without any bill at all. If the aim of Congress is not to pass bills for a canal, but to get a canal, a very different measure must be devised.

Senator Hoar expresses confidence that the treaty will either be defeated altogether or amended so as to meet the contention of those who are opposed to the Administration's ideas on expansion and imperialism. It has been generally held that the treaty must be either accepted or rejected in its entirety, and the champions of expansion have argued that its rejection would mean a reopening of the war with Spain. But the Massachusetts Senator insists that there are several ways in which the treaty can be amended without causing a reopening of the state of war, or a violation of the terms of the protocol, under which we are, constructively at least, now at peace. One way which he suggests is to amend the third article of the treaty so as to

make it conform to the first, and have it provide that, instead of "ceding" the Philippines to us, Spain shall "relinquish all claim of sovereignty over and title to" them, as in the case of Cuba. "I wish," says Mr. Hoar, "to see the Philippines in identically the same position as Cuba. We must not give them back to Spain, but we must see that a good and stable government is set up there by the Filipinos. I believe that, under the guidance of this country, those people would be able to establish themselves among the nations of the earth." Mr. Hoar thinks that such an amendment of the treaty as he proposes and hopes to see the Senate adopt would not require the reconvening of the Commissioners, but might be agreed to by Spain and the United States through the French Ambassador.

Suppose war should now break out between us and the Filipinos, as it has broken out so often between us and the Indians, and the good and wise William McKinley should conclude that they must be punished with fire and sword for not submitting to his authority, and should give orders to his generals to slaughter them freely, and not to allow any news of what they were doing to reach this country, as is the case at this moment (for he has established a strict censorship of telegrams), what difference would there be between our Filipino question and our Indian question? How much should we know of what was going on among our "subject races"? What kind of place would "the glory-crowned heights" be? Is there a single politician in the United States who would, even for a brief season, give up "getting delegates" in order to devote himself to succoring and righting the desolate and oppressed? Where would the conquering Griggs be, or the conscientious Lodge? Where would that mighty host be who have so freely offered to assume all the responsibility that "Destiny" may choose to thrust upon them?

Additional proof that the expansionists are finding more and more shoals in the course which at one time seemed such smooth sailing, comes from Washington in the shape of hints that it may be impossible to pass the Hull bill for the reorganization of the army, except at a special session of Congress. Rumors that some compromise will be adopted by which the volunteers will be mustered out and the regulars maintained at a war footing of 62,000 men, and that "the powers of the President" are to be extended to "cover the emergency," are heard on every side, as well as the statement that the entire influence of the

Administration will be used to force the bill through the House when it comes up for debate this week. The recent and still present scandals in the army, the Eagan outburst, the distrust of the ability of Secretary Alger to reorganize anything properly, let alone a military body, and the weaknesses of the Hull bill itself, have all brought about a marked diminution in the demand for more soldiers for the taxpayers to support. It begins to look as if the Republican leaders would have done well to accept the suggestion of Col. Bryan to organize a temporary army of occupation from the few volunteers who wish to remain in service and from additional enlistments, instead of asking so large an increase of an institution which Washington and the founders of the republic deemed the greatest danger to free institutions—a standing army. Meanwhile, the regular troops hover between a peace and a war footing, nearly all the volunteers in Manila, Cuba, and in the South clamor to be released from the life of professional soldiers, and imperialism knows not where to look for the forces upon which all imperialism rests—the men of the sword and bayonet to spread the “blessings of civilization” by means of shot and shell.

The antiquated and hide-bound methods of the War Department are disclosed anew in the information that our troops in Manila are still receiving the rations prepared for use in this country, despite many earnest recommendations for a change from officers who served in Cuba. In answer to complaints about the food of the Colorado regiment now at Manila, one of its officers, who has just returned, has stated publicly that Gen. Otis and his officers are powerless to remedy the evil. “It would be advisable,” he said, “to purchase the food supplies for the army in some Asiatic port, and have their issuance under the supervision of Gen. Otis, who is familiar with everything affecting the army and eager for the adoption of any measure that will improve its condition. If this were done, it would secure an abundance of fresh food for the army, and would be less expensive to the Government than the shipment of food-stuffs from San Francisco. But this cannot be done without the sanction of the Secretary of War.” And still we read that large shipments of canned and frozen meats are to be made from San Francisco. Secretary Alger’s failure to issue the proper order has led Senator Hawley to introduce a bill adding to the present army ration more rice, sugar, green coffee, and other tropical foodstuffs, and we thus have the spectacle of the legislative branch of our Government interfering with the details of the management of an executive department, because of the latter’s notorious inefficiency.

The news that Havana is to be cleansed and made into a modern hygienic city seems to its long-time inhabitants almost too good to be true. The *Diario de la Marina* of January 12, commenting on the dispatch which said that the Government at Washington had approved Col. Waring’s plan, declared that no step could give more legitimate satisfaction to all residents of Havana. The *Diario* is a stiff pro-Spanish paper, and it confesses to a sorrowful feeling as it reflects that so many years of wealth and power had passed without moving the former administrators of the city to undertake “a work demanded by public opinion from time immemorial, and studied by our scientists and formulated in our press in almost exactly the same terms as those found in the brilliant report of the unfortunate Col. Waring.” We only hope the *Diario* will not be disappointed again. The cabinet at Washington has been reported to have adopted the Waring plan, but we know of no contracts let, or even advertised, to carry it into execution. Yet time is of the very essence of the affair. We may loiter, but yellow fever will not. The nymphs of sewers and sinks are having only a short vacation in Havana; in three months it will be over, and they will be filling up the hospitals with our soldiers unless the swiftest measures are taken to head them off.

“Another glorious page in the history of American seamen,” we read in a message which the President sent to Congress last week. What, more fierce fighting? More ships sunk? More enemies gloriously slaughtered? No, it is only a tame story of the rescue of imperilled whalers in Arctic waters by the officers and crew of the United States revenue cutter *Bear*. But the President does well to commend them to the grateful consideration of Congress and the people. They were engaged in a service as arduous, and displayed a heroism as conspicuous, as the crews who fought at Manila or Santiago. They encountered hardships and faced death for four months, on an expedition organized to save the lives of 275 Americans, whom they succeeded in rescuing; and such an heroic victory of peace, as Mr. McKinley says, constitutes a public service. It is at least as great as the slaughter of 4,000 Spaniards. It is well for the people, as it is for the army and navy, to be reminded that praise and reward are the just desert, in our time as in Wordsworth’s, of the happy warrior

“Who, doomed to go in company with Pain,
And Fear, and Bloodshed, miserable train!
Turns his necessity to glorious gain.”

The Legislature of the greatest State in the Union elects to the United States Senate a man who is the choice of the boss of the dominant party—as it would elect Sereno E. Payne, or anybody else, instead of Chauncey M. Depew, if Platt

but so ordered. The Legislature of the second State in the Union gives only 16 votes less than a majority to the boss of the dominant party there, while he is awaiting trial on charges which may send him to the penitentiary. The Legislature of the next largest State but one chose for Senator a year ago a typical representative of the material element in our politics, Hanna having forced his choice by the use of his great wealth and the help of the Federal patronage which, as boss of the dominant party in his commonwealth, he could promise with assurance even before his next friend entered the White House. It is encouraging to turn from such spectacles at Albany, Harrisburg, and Columbus to the very different scene presented by the choice of a United States Senator at Indianapolis, Mr. Albert J. Beveridge.

Mr. Beveridge is only thirty-six years old. He has never held public office. He lives in Indianapolis, and, as the other Senator is also a resident of that city, the “locality” argument appeared to rule him out. He had no money, and no powerful professional associations, for he has never had a law partner. He represented no great corporate interests, and he had no political machine behind him. But he had many warm friends and devoted admirers, who believed that he would make a good Senator, and resolved to see if they could not get the office for him. The struggle was warm and close, but the new-comer in politics won, and won on his merits. Mr. Beveridge is accused of being “a spread-eagle orator,” and there is no doubt that he has a tendency to “hifalutin.” But nobody can read such an address as that on “The Vitality of the American Constitution,” which he delivered before the Allegheny County (Pa.) Bar Association a year ago, without realizing that he is also a man of genuine ability, who should outgrow his youthful faults of exuberant oratory. His character is beyond criticism, his desire to render good service to the public seems deep and strong, and altogether the promise of his entrance upon a national career is great.

That Quay would “have a Governor whom I own,” if he should nominate William A. Stone and secure his election, was universally recognized throughout the campaign last fall. Nobody, therefore, can be surprised that Gov. Stone has named for Attorney-General a Quay lieutenant with a very bad record. John P. Elkin was Deputy Attorney-General under the last State administration, and he was deservedly removed from office for his share in pushing through a scheme to pay padded rolls of legislative employees by signing with others a bond to indemnify the State Treasurer if the payment from the funds of the commonwealth should be pronounced illegal

in law, as it obviously was fraudulent in intent. It is entirely characteristic that a discredited politician of this type should be "vindicated" by elevation to the head of a department from a subordinate position in which he had been removed in disgrace. The sole defence which anybody attempts to make is that the indemnity-bond affair represented a "vicious habit" of long standing, which had been employed on former occasions for like unlawful purposes, and that Mr. Elkin had only committed "an error of judgment."

A particularly pestiferous bill has been introduced at Albany by Leon Sanders, a Tammany statesman who took his first lesson in the science of government under Barney Martin, when the latter was Commissioner of Jurors. Mr. Sanders proposes to prohibit all employers of labor from working their employees more than eight hours a day, no matter whether the employees wish to do so or not, with a penalty for violating the law not less than \$50 nor more than \$100. Such a law would make it impossible for any employer to have his men work overtime in an emergency, on any terms whatever. It would thus prevent the laborers from earning extra money when opportunities to do so should arise, and would be as much of an injustice and hardship upon them as it would be upon their employers. As a matter of fact, there are thousands of workingmen who rejoice at the opportunity of working more than eight hours a day—that is, working as many hours as they feel they are able to work, and getting paid according to their merits and abilities. Mr. Sanders is a professional champion of the laborers who "work mainly with their mouths"—that is, devise schemes which will enable them to get a living by putting shackles of various kinds upon real workingmen. If he should succeed in getting his bill through the Legislature, there would be no difficulty in convincing the Governor of its true character and hence of making its death sure.

We felt sure that the Irish vote would have something to say, sooner or later, about the fiendish good understanding with England, and the new organization called the Continental League appears to offer a vent to Celtic spirit long outraged by all this billing and cooing with the oppressor. In its declared purposes, it is against imperialism, but it is especially against "entangling alliances with European Powers." No Powers are mentioned, but a glance at the names of the officers—Emmet, Quinn, O'Flaherty, and the rest—will show Great Britain who have their eyes on her. This is only one of the funny sides of the English *entente*. An Englishman who has travelled extensively in this country

reports in the *Contemporary* his discovery of the way the "ordinary American" regards the new understanding. He did not find his average man on the Atlantic seaboard, but in the great Middle States, where, he truly says, is the habitat of "the pushing, loud-tongued, boastful, illiterate, buy-you-up American." This writer's testimony is as follows:

"I talked with hundreds of men right across the States. The general idea was this: 'Yes, it would be a good thing for you English, but we've got nothing to gain. We can take care of ourselves, and you can't. You want our help. As we are at war with Spain, the English are taking advantage of the moment to force an alliance. You know we are the principal nation on the fact of this earth; we lick you in everything; we've licked you in war; and you want to keep, on the best side of us.'"

We are glad to think that there are signs of a little cooling in the English love for us, as allies and coadjutors in the work of conquering and ruling inferior races. The delay in ratifying the treaty, and the slow return of reason to the American people, are raising a suspicion in England at last that the press and the mighty men of the Conservative party were a little too hasty in presuming on the American alliance in conquests and seizures. We do not think the English press has played a more unworthy part for many years. It has been for months—when it knew we were laboring under the reason-dethroning excitement of war, and that a long and happy peace had left us in complete ignorance about the rôle we were undertaking as conquerors—urging us into adventures of every description, which would suit its own purposes and necessities, and writing all the time about our affairs as if it had any comprehension of the influences which sway our opinions and determine our political action. The reasons it supplied for our entering on a warlike career have often been ludicrous in their absurdity, but they served the purpose of flattering American vanity and gladdening the hearts of contractors, jobbers, and corrupt politicians. We do not see that all this has increased the love of England, outside the gang of politicians who find English approval of their schemes a help in getting them executed.

The manifesto recently issued by the Cobden Club is a sort of abandonment of its old policy of propagandism. It also apparently gives up the plan of influencing the American elections by money, which, according to some of our papers, it so long pursued with a certain malignity. It now apparently confesses that its missionary work among the nations in their home territory is hopeless, but it insists on the application of free-trade principles to the new countries which so many of them are seizing, and says, what is more important, that England will insist on it. The success of Lord Salisbury's attempt to enforce this

policy of an "open door" on either Russia or France has not been great enough to encourage much hope about the matter, at least during Lord Salisbury's ministry. At the end of any such policy there must be a threat of war, and this threat he will not make, at least during the Queen's lifetime. The Cobden Club offers magnanimously to let any nation seize any unoccupied territory it pleases. If it will only keep the "door open" to all the trade of the world, or, at least, to all English trade. The world has probably never been in such a mess. It was never so fierce for trade, but it is so eager also for war that it cannot trade, and yet is so eager for trade that it cannot go to war.

The policy of the Cobden Club receives great discouragement from the conduct of France, for instance. Great Britain had valuable trade rights in Madagascar. Half the trade of the island was hers. France annexed Madagascar. Since then she has been extinguishing both British trade rights and British trade. She is doing the same thing, almost, in Tunis. Now, is there any way of remedying this except by threatening war? We fear not. One result of this sort of thing is that the British public is more and more inclined to believe that it must itself own the territory it wishes to trade with, if it is to have an open door. Protection is the doctrine of the natural man, and the natural man is now so powerful that he must try his experiment, and is, therefore, Jingo.

The politicians in Spain are as tough as our own; few die and none retire to private life. Sagasta's career was thought to be completely finished. The disasters which the country had suffered under him had made, it was believed, any political future for him entirely impossible. He himself favored that view. He gave it to be understood that he was holding on only until the necessary measures of peace were perfected, when he would withdraw to indulge in grief and regrets in retirement. But later developments make it appear that he has no idea of doing anything of the kind. When the Conservatives first began to hint that it was time for him to resign, he said he must cling to office until the last humiliation had been undergone. But this did not suit Silvela, the Conservative chief. He had struck up an alliance with Gen. Polavieja, and served notice on Sagasta that it was time for him to be going. But that Liberal and wily statesman also produced his political general—none other than Gen. Weyler—and refused to budge. The combination of Weyler and Sagasta is a very strong one; and the fact that the Liberal chief had quietly arranged it and now publishes it, is sufficient notification that he means to hold his position as long as possible.

"THE MANNERS OF LIBERTY."

M. Lavissee, the distinguished French historian, talking the other day of the French troubles, "the leagues, the reunions, the speeches," the uproar and tumults, says he only hopes there will be more of them; that they will continue and survive their "sorrowful cause," because these are "the manners of liberty." If the President will only take these words to heart, he may find some consolation in them for the delays in the Senate of which he complains. The Senate procedure is full of delay; the minority exercises an influence out of proportion to its numerical strength; the procrastination is wearisome and annoying to the Executive, who longs to put things through and begin in earnest the work of governing "subject races."

The answer to all this is that that is the way in which our Government was meant to work. The Executive was not allowed to make treaties of itself, simply in order that the Senate might pass upon them also. The framers were not willing to allow any one man to bind the country to anything, no matter how wise and good he was. Then the Senate, being composed of many persons with different points of view, can reach conclusions only through debate, colloquy, and deliberation. A two-thirds majority is required to confirm a treaty, for the express purpose of giving the minority of a certain size power to hinder its confirmation. When any one says, "You are a minority; why do you delay business when you know the majority are against you?" the answer is, "My rights under the Constitution have precisely the same origin as those of the majority. Theirs do not come from their being a majority; they come from being constitutional." If only one man had the power to hinder the confirmation of a treaty, his right to hinder and delay it would be of exactly the same force, vigor, and effect as the President's to make it. Nobody under the Constitution has any authority better than any one else. All modern constitutions are made for the express purpose of preventing majorities from having absolute sway. If it were right that majorities should thus rule, in America, we should have a totally different kind of government from that under which we have lived and flourished and excited the admiration of mankind for one hundred years. If it were considered wise that whatever the President offered to the Senate should go through at once, on his mere recommendation, the power of considering and assenting to or vetoing his recommendations would not have been lodged in the Senate. You cannot strike at the Senate's privileges without striking at the President's also.

These things appear commonplace enough to most Americans, and yet they seem to need repeating every now and then to the whole official class, or, at

least, that portion of it which is given over to "expansion" and "empire." They have grown visibly impatient of discussion. From the day, a few years ago, when Speaker Reed, in the interest of the tariff, "thanked God that the House of Representatives was not a deliberative body," down to the present moment, when the President, in the interest of the treaty, wishes the Senate were not so deliberate, there has been a visible tendency towards government by the "sic voleo, sic jubeo" system. Deliberation has been becoming distinctly more contemptible; rapidity of legislation has been becoming more prized than its wisdom or permanence. The boss has been becoming the leading power in the state, and the boss "votes but does not talk." And yet we have little doubt that a political philosopher would pronounce about half the legislation of civilized countries useless or mischievous. Possibly the treaty is not a good thing. Possibly it is for the best interests of the American people that it should not be confirmed. Why should any Senator who thinks so not oppose it with all his might, by every agency which the Constitution puts into his hands?

The trouble with the President and his fellow-expansionists is that they did not consider all these things soon enough. Would it not have been well, before building great fleets and raising great armies, to have weighed maturely whether our Constitution, as it stood, was suited to a nation entering on a career of conquest and dominion; whether our frequent changes of Executive, our frequent elections, our rapid and uncontrollable vagaries of public opinion on all sorts of subjects, the precarious condition of our finances, the furious influence of irresponsible editors, fitted us for the rule of distant and barbarous regions? Unquestionably, our present Constitution was not intended for a conquering nation with several different classes of citizens. A man with one eye can see that. The expansionists all see it themselves. They are, therefore, in order to get over the difficulty, engaged busily in pooh-poohing and evading the Constitution, like Tim Sullivan, as a "little thing between friends," and announcing that it is no longer suited to the American people.

And yet the madness of all this lies in the fact that it is based on the supposition that Mr. McKinley, with his wisdom, will always be in power, doing "the best thing" for the nation; that the legislation, both State and Federal, will always be wise and moderate; that there will be no more Debsses stopping railroad-trains, no more Tanners passing laws themselves and executing them before the Legislature meets, and no more Congresses voting millions to the President to be expended in his discretion. The day may come any year when we shall not be able to ward off a Bryan by lavish outlay of money, and when

these "glory-crowned" expansionists will wish they had thought more of the wisdom of the old fogies of the last century and of the "hymns" which, one learned man says, were sung at the cradle of the Republic, but are too childish for the giants of these days.

SAMOA AS AN EXAMPLE.

It is a thousand pities that Robert Louis Stevenson did not live to write the later acts of the Samoan drama—farce or tragedy, one scarcely knows which to call it. What a Valilima Letter he could have made out of the occurrences confusedly reported in the latest news from the Samoan Islands. In his 'Footnote to History,' Stevenson employed his picturesque pen to convey to the civilized world some idea of the overriding of native preferences and rights which was going on under the benevolent protectorate of three great Christian Powers; but nothing which he ever witnessed could have quite equalled the events of the past fortnight, of which we are now getting such astonishing accounts.

There is a disputed succession. Rival claimants to the throne take the field in the good old way. But the Chief Justice decides in favor of Malletoa Tanus. Who is the Chief Justice? One Chambers of Alabama, U. S. A. No wonder that Mataafa and his followers think that gentleman's opinions of small account. They number five thousand good fighting men; Malletoa has but a thousand; what can be clearer than that the court has made a wrong decision? Besides, there is a gentleman from Germany to agree with them. The German Consul overrules the American Chief Justice. He does it by breaking into the court-room, and then putting private locks of his own on the doors, to keep out all dissenting judges. Meanwhile, the President of the Municipal Council, also a gentleman from Germany, goes into the balcony and screams out, "I am the Supreme Court. I am the Chief Justice!" It is to the marines that he appropriately tells this whopper, and at last accounts the American and British marines were gallantly joining "hands all round" and throwing the Germans into the street.

Is this farce or tragedy? We cannot decide before the final curtain. The warships are hurrying, the German press is muttering, the English papers are chuckling and saying that America is in no mood to be snubbed by Germany, and the dénouement is some days off. But whatever the result as affecting the relations of the three countries caught in this "miserable tangle," as one of the London papers calls it (and we have no doubt there will be a peaceful adjustment), the whole thing is a capital illustration of the beauties of long-range and arbitrary government of natives

who do not want to be governed. Samoa is a convenient example of the sort of thing we are preparing for ourselves on an immensely greater scale in the Philippines. We must have a coaling-station at Pago-Pago, we are told, because it is a half-way house on the road to Manila. Well, if these things occur in the half-way house, what may we expect when we get still further away, and have 2,000 islands to deal with instead of 20, and 8,000,000 natives instead of 35,000? If it does not turn out a case of going further and faring worse, then all signs fail.

Secretary Gresham, in his long report to Congress in 1894, traversed the whole history of our relations to the Samoan Islands, and asked pertinently at the end, "What have we gained beyond the expenses, the responsibilities, and the entanglements?" Of the Berlin agreement under which we had been acting, he truthfully said that it "has utterly failed to correct, if indeed it has not aggravated, the very evils which it was designed to prevent." This might have been foreseen. The Treaty of Berlin professed to grant to the Samoans an "autonomous government." Yet it vested all real power in foreigners. The Chief Justice is a foreigner and appointed by foreigners; yet he has an enormous jurisdiction, and his decisions are final. He not only determines who is rightfully King, but what powers the King may exercise; he recommends as well as interprets laws; he has exclusive jurisdiction over all cases affecting real property and all cases whatever affecting foreigners. The Municipal Council, composed of six members and a president, is the supposed organ of local autonomy; but its president is always a foreigner, and its orders "have no effect till approved by the three foreign councils, or, if they fail to agree, by the Chief Justice." Such is the pretence of autonomous government granted the Islanders. As for the aim of the Berlin Treaty to prevent Germany, England, and the United States from squabbling over their several rights in Samoa, it has been no better attained. Friction has always existed and seems to-day worse than ever.

Such a thing it is for a country to depart from its "established policy." We do not now refer to the mere acquisition of distant territory, but to the question of governing it. Now it was Mr. Blaine himself, an expansionist before the expansionists, who, on April 11, 1889, pointed out, in his instructions to our negotiators at Berlin, that the plan of governing natives without their consent was "not in harmony with the established policy of this government." It is not. Vice-kings and judges and councils forced upon a people half-round the globe are no more an American institution than they would be in darkest Pennsylvania. Samoa is giving us a foretaste of what awaits us in the Philippines. It

would be a warning to Congress if Congress were in a mood to see a warning in anything. A man does not break his leg twice over the same stone; but Congress has a way of doing it not twice, but twenty times. Having scourged us with Samoan whips, it is anxious to try the effect of Philippine scorpions.

EXPANSIONIST DREAMS.

When Gen. Grant was in London many years ago, he had an attendant in the person of Adam Badeau, a newspaper reporter who had turned warrior for a brief season, and signed his notes in London as "Brigadier-General in attendance." Badeau, who accompanied his chief to many scenes of gayety and splendor, was struck on these occasions by the fact that every foreign general was covered with orders and decorations, and it made him feel small that Gen. Grant, who had conducted a great war, had none, just as the imperialists feel about the great William McKinley having no colonies and the great New Jersey Griggs having no "subject races" to rule. So he determined that this state of things should not last, that he would provide his general with orders himself if there was no one else to do it. He accordingly composed or constructed a decoration made up of army-corps badges, all stuck together, which, in the matter of size, value, and conspicuousness, made the European notabilities hang their heads. Gen. Grant wore it, it is said, at one dinner, where it excited intense interest and curiosity. The proudest European nobles felt that if they could find out what potentate bestowed the decoration, they must have one, even if it should require a declaration of war. Unhappily, the American Minister of that day was not equally impressed. He heard some of the more knowing laugh over it; saw that poor Gen. Grant was being made ridiculous; gave him the wink, and the decoration, in the twinkling of an eye, became old gold simply.

At present the rich men who elected and surround William McKinley are of all things desirous to make him a *de facto* sovereign, like the Queen of England, with a full set of colonies and "subjects." So they wish to keep out of sight, as well as they can, the fact that he is the creature of a written constitution, that he has no power except what the Constitution gives him, that without it he would be plain William McKinley of Canton, Ohio. So they pretend as well as they can that he is the head of a government just like hers; that, like her, he has not only constitutional powers, but prerogatives inherent in his sacred person, and that he can of his own motion put fleets and armies on the ocean and extend his sway to any place in which the resistance will not be too vigorous. So they run around saying,

"Did any one ever hear of a nation the size of ours which had no foreign possessions? Look at England—see how many she has. Look at her new conquest in the Sudan. How is it to be governed? Have you not read in the papers that Lord Cromer said it was to be governed by the Queen? Why then do you object to having our foreign possessions governed by the wise and good McKinley? What is the matter with you? Why are you always growling? Whoop-la!"

On Sunday last there was a diverting passage in this line in the Hon. Whitelaw Reid's paper, which is the more significant as the Hon. Whitelaw will undoubtedly be one of the proudest nobles at the new court. Speaking of Lord Cromer's declaration to the Dervishes in the Sudan about their new future, it says:

"Of course, it may be objected that this action of the British is criminal aggression, rank imperialism, et cetera, and that it is a shameful thing to set up a government at Omdurman without a favorable plebiscite in Dem Bekir. But we doubt whether such considerations will undo or defeat the convention which has been made, or will turn back the rising tide of civilization in the dark continent."

We see here how, under cover of a withering bit of sarcasm, the reader is given to understand that there is no difference between the Queen's government and that of William McKinley, and how probable it is that persons who call William McKinley's conquests "criminal aggression" would call Queen Victoria's the same thing. There is a certain discredit for William McKinley in living under a constitution, and we are not surprised, therefore, that his followers keep it out of sight as far as possible, and show that William's conquests are just the same as Victoria's. And, as a matter of fact, they are, except that Victoria's are authorized by descent and immemorial tradition, while William's are authorized by "growth." There was undoubtedly a time when Victoria's right to conquer and annex was disputed by turbulent nobles. William's right is disputed to-day by a very inferior class of persons, but his nobles are all with him, and the opposition of the vulgar sort will undoubtedly die out before long. The spirit of criticism about the acts of our Government is completely unknown at the English court. Nobody in good society finds fault with the Queen's Ministers. See how they go on here about the way the President thinks fit to deal with a few millions of barbarians.

THE REMARKABLE FINANCIAL SITUATION.

The extraordinary change in the financial relations between the United States and Europe, by which, whether temporarily or permanently, this country has been transformed from a continuous borrower on the foreign markets into the most im-

portant lender on the same markets, is commonly described as a new and sudden development. The change, however, really dates back a year or more. It was as long ago as the autumn of 1897 that the financial public began to hear of operations in foreign exchange which amounted to borrowing at New York for the purpose of deferring settlement of Europe's trade obligations to this country. Since then, the transaction has become even more distinct. Not only is New York capital loaned for the purpose of deferring European payments, but capital actually paid by foreigners to American creditors is left, in very large amounts, on deposit in the foreign cities, and is there used by our banking agents for loaning-out to European borrowers. The situation familiar to American finance from the beginning of our history until the close of 1896 is thus exactly reversed. Where our money markets have for a series of generations been accustomed, in seasons of active trade and high discount rates, to look to European capital for relief, Europe is now, and has been for twelve months, depending on American capital to meet the urgent needs of England and the Continent.

Nor does the series of contrasts stop here. During practically all of our previous history, the average rate for money in New York has ruled above the average rate at London and Berlin; the familiar explanation being that England was an old country, with immense accumulations of capital, whereas the United States is a new country, with its own accumulated capital still inadequate for the development of its home resources. But nearly throughout the last six months, the London money rate has held 1 per cent. or more above that at New York, and the Berlin rate nearly twice as high as ours.

Two months ago there occurred what bankers call a "squeeze" in most of the leading European money markets, in the course of which German rates advanced to the highest figure in eighteen years, while London and Paris were seriously disturbed. At any time prior to 1896, the result of such a foreign situation would have been instant recall of European capital from the American money centres, with resultant demoralization at New York and perhaps (as in November, 1890) a panicky overturn of our speculative markets. But in November, 1898, instead of recall of European capital to London and Berlin, there were witnessed very heavy advances of American capital to those markets. Such transfers moreover, instead of embarrassing the New York market, produced not a ripple of disturbance. Eventually, the needs of England and the Continent were satisfied by the American advances, and the course of our own markets proved that we had sent abroad only what could be readily spared from use at home.

Here was sufficient proof of a radical change, on the very largest scale, in the financial relations between the United States and Europe. What was perhaps an even more striking demonstration of the change occurred eight months before. We must first recall what happened in the American money market after the "Venezuela message" of December, 1895. The bare possibility of a diplomatic breach between Great Britain and the United States caused withdrawal of English capital from our markets, instantly and by wholesale. Sterling exchange ran up to panic prices; \$26,000,000 gold was shipped in a single month; the rate for demand loans in New York rose to 50 per cent., and the security markets went to pieces. With this may be contrasted the action of the markets last March, when the Spanish-American war became inevitable. The New York money market tightened; but, with the first sign of stringency, recall of American capital from the foreign markets followed. Sterling exchange fell to the lowest figure, the local money rate eased off, and within two months \$60,000,000 gold had been imported from Europe to the United States.

Most people are aware of the chief causes for this extraordinary reversal of position. Current statements of foreign trade point out the most essential factor. The recent returns for the full year 1898 show that during the last three years this country has shipped abroad \$800,000,000 more merchandise than in the three years preceding. About two-thirds of this increase came from heavier shipments of products of the farm; at least a third, however, was in the form of non-agricultural and manufactured exports. But if the United States was thus enlarging its export of manufactured goods, it followed logically that foreign manufactures could in great part be dispensed with by our consumers. Therefore a decrease of some \$200,000,000 in the imports of the last three years, as compared with the three years preceding, need astonish nobody. But the result, of course, is a merchandise trade balance in this country's favor for the period, greater by nearly a billion dollars than in the three preceding years.

It will not be imagined that this enormous mass of trade obligations was settled out of hand in the form of money. Such settlements are very rare in commerce. Part of it has been thus paid; our net gold import for 1898 alone was \$141,000,000. But a very much larger part of the trade indebtedness was discharged by Europe's sales of its holdings of American securities—a natural transaction, certainly, since surrender of the capital with which these investments had been bought and carried placed the foreign community in a position where it could no longer carry all of them. But it should also be observed that this European realization, representing as it did

redemption of its foreign debt by the United States, necessarily reduced by wholesale first the interest charges which were annually paid by us to Europe, and second, the total credit fund available for sale by Europe as a further offset to heavy trade balances. It is now a question of very curious interest and conjecture how much of this fund is left to-day in foreign investors' hands.

The question as to the permanency of this remarkable financial situation is the problem of deepest interest for the current year. We can see three possible events by which existing conditions might be positively altered—American harvest failure, which would at once curtail our agricultural export trade; a speculative rise in domestic staple prices, such as in other years has quickly arrested exports and abnormally inflated imports; or, finally, such blowing of bubbles in stock-market speculation as should derange the entire movement of capital. The last-mentioned possibility is on the whole the most dangerous of the three; of the others it must be said that neither farming advices nor market prices have as yet given serious warning.

THE ENGLISH POLITICAL MUDDLE.

In England, France, and America, both political parties have become so determinedly humanitarian that without the excitement of foreign politics one of them would go out of existence. In fact, it may be said that one of them has gone out of existence. The Liberal party in England has shared the fate of the Democratic party in this country. It exists only in name. It is just now supposed to be in a helpless condition for want of a leader, and violent quarrels are going on in its ranks—if it can be said to have ranks—over the question why it has no leader. There are various explanations of this. One is that Mr. Gladstone can have no successor, which is in a measure true. He was such an overpowering personality that, it is held, there must be a prolonged void after his departure, for some time at least. Another is that Lord Rosebery, who for some mysterious reason was selected for the post by somebody, some say by Mr. Gladstone himself, was not Liberal enough for the rank and file of the Liberals, and not Home-Rule enough for the Irish, and suffered too much from Sir William Harcourt's hostility. Sir William Harcourt says himself that the trouble is due to intestine quarrels and intrigues, though what they are about and who carries them on, does not appear. He also hints that they are due to "imperialism," or jingoism. Nearly every English magazine, in fact, contains a diagnosis of the Liberal case, but no two of the doctors agree as to the nature of the symptoms. The convulsions they describe, however, seem to go on mainly at the clubs and in the House

of Commons; the country Liberals look on in apparent puzzle.

But no one can have read much of the Liberal literature during the last few years without feeling that the complaint was one with which all parties are more or less afflicted, with which the Republican party among us was near being brought to death's door, but for the war. In home politics all the parties are the victims of anæmia—that is, want of vitality. Parties derive life and strength from the desire of some sect or set of people for something or other that they can define. One of the signs of party disease or decay is always difficulty in finding a leader or programme. In the days of party growth or strength one never hears of the difficulty of getting some one to lead or some cause to advocate. In the days of the anti-slavery or of the anti-corn law struggle, any one who spent his time inquiring for a leader or a platform would have excited much amusement. Events made both the leader and the platform. It was so when the Liberal party undertook the passage of the Reform Bill. Leaders, even acceptable leaders, could be had by the half-dozen. Any one could lead who really loved the cause. In like manner here, the Republican party did not lack generals at the period of its formation.

When the Conservative party in England had something to conserve, it too was also very strong; that is, when it was defending the corn laws, or restricted suffrage, or the Irish Union. But, since the passage of the Reform Bill, having nothing to save, it has never been able to supply leaders of its own party. Sir Robert Peel was its last. Ever since his time it has had to hire mercenaries, renegade Liberals like Disraeli and Chamberlain, who were willing to fight under any flag which gave them titles and decorations. It is really, therefore, little better off than the Liberals, except that it has that great party bond, the offices. If it had to fight now for mere existence, like the Liberals, it would be as badly off as the Liberals. It has only one first-class fighting man, Mr. Chamberlain, and it would never have had him without the best pickings.

The trouble everywhere is not so much about parties and programmes as about principles. Both parties, as we have said, have done the work of preserving or reforming. The political institutions have been brought down to the democratic level. Neither can well go any lower. Both proclaim the welfare of the masses to be their leading concern, both propose the same remedies, and each doubts the sincerity of the other. Exactly the same thing has happened here. Our politicians on both sides are crazy about the physical comfort of the people, and want to promote it in the same way; so that, except an extremely slight difference of character, there

is no reason for wishing one to be in office more than the other. In this extremity war is the resource always of the party in power. Both the Republicans and Conservatives are now getting out of their domestic difficulties in the same way—that is, by going the other side “one better,” by undertaking to “thrash somebody”; a programme which most delights the people, and makes the other side appear poorest and most miserable.

We do not believe that there will be any revival of the Liberal party in England without the coming up of some stimulating and exciting question, and that may not be for years. But the question we ourselves think most likely to play that rôle is the disestablishment of the Church. No question lies anywhere so near the popular heart, or furnishes every day better weapons for agitators. The resistance, too, will be feeble. Large numbers of the clergy themselves would join in the assault on the church battlements. The agitation this year is only the rumbling of the storm. How to cut the church loose from the state without sacrificing the beauties of its services and edifices, and curtailing the religious instruction of the people, will be the problem, and no more serious one has ever engaged the attention of a statesman; but it will hardly come to the front until everybody has been “licked” and people are tired of conquest.

LICENSE IN ENGLISH RHYME.—I.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY.

December 30, 1898.

“The poet’s eye” has very properly been the central theme of appraisers of poetry from Shakspeare to John Ruskin and George Henry Lewes; and much that is luminous, with not a little that is obscure, has been written about imagination and vision and sincerity. That the poet’s ear has received somewhat less than its fair share of attention may be due to a natural delicacy about dragging that organ into prominence. But it is not right that the vital element of harmony—how vital we may learn from the case of men (like Emerson) to whose transcendent faculties of vision this adjunct has been in any measure denied—should be thrust so far back into the critical consciousness. Nor is it right that we should hear more about that “other harmony” of prose than about the primal harmony of poetry. The subject is confessedly a difficult one. Every critic holds himself competent to judge whether or not the poet has seen true—the appeal to patent facts is so easy; but to sit in judgment upon his musical faculty is a different matter. A few have attempted it, and we remember with gratitude the appreciations of critics like De Quincey and the late Mr. Symonds. But these critics have for the most part confined their observations to the subject of rhythm, the most obvious as well as the fundamental and indispensable feature of English verse. Upon the minor, adventitious feature of rhyme, it would be difficult to point to any adequate word.

It is not the purpose of the present paper to attempt to supply that word. Sidney

Lanier might have done it had he not been hopelessly committed to impractical theories which grew out of his confusion of the poet’s with the musician’s art. Mr. Stedman or Professor Corson might do it, and, indeed, the contributions which the latter has already made to the subject cannot be overlooked. Our present purpose, however, is much less ambitious, being merely to set forth certain aspects of a practice common to all English poets; to contribute, if may be, something definite to the vexed subject of license in English rhyme. Random notes and queries and an occasional half-hearted protest betray an uneasiness of conscience on this subject on the part of the verse-reading public, which it seems worth while to try to set at rest.*

Let it be understood at the outset that the question is not purely nor chiefly an historical or scientific one. It lies more properly within the field of æsthetics. We must therefore beware of dogmatism. The spirit must be one of open inquiry, or, where that will no further avail, of a hesitating appeal to personal taste. It has been the mistake of nearly all writers on poetics that they have tried to lay down laws; but any attempt at legislation in the technique of English poetry must give offence to a people who rejoice in the possession of a Shakspeare and no Academy. We may safely hold that the laws of rhyme, like the laws of language, will take care of themselves. Certainly the professor is not the poet’s keeper. And the present writer desires it clearly understood that no matter how often he shall find a poet’s practice failing to square with a prosodist’s rules, he will give himself no uneasiness.

The question is this: Should any license in English rhyme be recognized? Should a poet permit himself to use imperfect or so-called “allowable” rhymes—pairs of words whose sounds through the rhyming portion do not exactly correspond, as *love, prove; gaze, face; see, liberty?*

The question has been somewhat obscured by a secondary one that seems not very relevant—the question, namely, whether we should recognize such a thing as a “rhyme to the eye.” Of course, the appeal of poetry is to the ear; rhyme is fundamentally a matter of sound, and the question is on the face of it something of an absurdity. We are not aware that any one has ever pleaded for or defended rhymes to the eye that are not in some measure rhymes to the ear, as *indict and afflict, though and enough*. Possibly there have been those who would debar rhymes to the ear that are not also rhymes to the eye, as *fine and sign*. A critic in *Literature*, writing in approval of the view of this subject taken by Mr. Brander Matthews in the late September number of *Longman’s Magazine*, rather amusingly assumes that Dr. Holmes was of these, for he (the critic) writes: “Rhyme is a matter of pronunciation solely, not of orthography.

... Oliver Wendell Holmes’s contempt for the rhyme of *morn* and *dawn* was quite unjustifiable.” Severe as Dr. Holmes was upon aspiring poets, this is surely a hardship he never meant to inflict, namely, that two words may not be rhymed simply because they are spelled differently. The Bri-

* We are familiar with the reader of poetry who feels obliged to perpetuate a “poetic” pronunciation of the noun *wind* because he finds it rhymed with *kind*. And some one, in the ‘Standard Dictionary,’ is responsible for citing Mrs. Browning as authority for pronouncing *idyl* with short *i*, presumably because she rhymes it with *middle* in a poem in which she also rhymes *either* with *nature*!

tish critic does not know that there are tracts and provinces of earth where *dawn* and *morn* are poorer rhymes to the ear than *farm* and *warm*, poorer because the difference is not vocalic alone, but semi-consonantal—the difference, that is to say, of a distinctly pronounced or even trilled *r*. The narrowness of Dr. Holmes's view lay only in his regarding the suppressed *r* as Yankee or Cockney, therefore provincial, therefore outcast. If *morn* and *dawn* are perfect rhymes to the Londoner's ear (and Mr. Matthews even, a New Yorker, declares that any pronunciation of the words which does not make them quite impeccable as a rhyme seems to him stilted), there is no more to say. Londoners and Mr. Matthews's New Yorkers will use them, and there is no longer any hypercritical Dr. Holmes to object.

But something is still to be said for this rhyme to the eye, and we do not feel like dismissing the matter with a fling at the palpable absurdity of pairing *though* with *enough*. If the ear derives pleasure from a repetition of sounds, so also does the eye derive pleasure from a repetition of forms. The pleasure in this case is undeniably subordinate, for form as exhibited by collocation of printed letters can make but a low æsthetic appeal. But symmetry is symmetry, and the appeal is there. To-day we get our poetry mostly by reading it in silence, and while true lovers of poetry do not fail to realize the music of the verse to the inner ear, the fact remains that the ear is reached through the eye. Therefore, it does not seem wholly absurd to assume that the eye has now some shadow of a claim in this controversy. Many readers are conscious of a slight shock when they see *stuff* rhymed with *enough*. Spenser, with his fine artistic sense, recognized this when he used the large orthographic license of his day to bring into literal conformity the great majority of his rhyme-words; as, *knight*, *quight* (which he otherwise spells *quite*); *ayd*, *dis-mayd*; *world*, *horld*, and hundreds of others. And if similarity of spelling adds to perfection of rhyme, may it not be held also to detract from imperfection, to atone (as it were) for a fault of sound? Will not the eye assist in the illusion and make the imperfection seem less glaring? As a matter of fact, poets, and presumably their readers with them, have looked with a greater degree of favor upon the rhyming of *come* with *home* than with *roam*, or of *home* with *come* than with *succumb*. As a matter of principle and reason, have they not been right? So far as pleasure in rhyme rests upon a perception of the fitness of things, that pleasure may be enhanced by formal symmetry. But, of course, no poet will ever hold that a lack of such symmetry presents any serious obstacle to rhyme.

To come now to the main question—the question of license in rhyme considered as sound only. Those who argue against "allowable" rhymes and in favor of absolute perfection fail to take into consideration two fundamental conditions. The first is the elusive and unstable character of pronunciation. It seems to be assumed that pronunciation is a fixed quantity, and that we can say positively that two given words make a perfect rhyme and that two others do not. Now perhaps no two sets of vocal organs can produce quite the same sound. Of course this objection would be futile, for, while you may not pronounce *remember* just as I do, yet you are consistent with yourself in pronouncing

it like *ember*, *November*, etc. But when we come to pairing words of slightly different composition, it is hard even for the individual to tell what words he does or should pronounce as rhymes. Will he rhyme *airy* with *Mary* or with *marry* or with *merry*, or only with *fairy* and *chary*? He cannot let dictionaries decide the matter for him—they could not well register all subtle distinctions even if there were uniformity among speakers in making the distinctions. By many dictionaries the letter *o* is marked alike in the words *not*, *dog*, *loss*, *on*. Yet a pronunciation of the three latter words which should make the *o* as open as in *not* would be held affected. Although neither you nor I would dare to say *daug*, *lawas*, *awn*, neither presumably do we say *dög*, *lōsa*, *ōn*. The common pronunciation of *on* is probably somewhere between *don* and *dawn*, tending among careful speakers to approximate to or coalesce with the former.

Besides this individual divergence of pronunciation there is the provincial disagreement, which is a far more serious obstacle. It has been declared that an Ohioan's pronunciation of *pen* is not always distinguishable on the one hand from a New Yorker's pronunciation of *pan*, nor on the other hand from a Tennessean's pronunciation of *pin*. And sometimes this disagreement is found in words containing the same vowel. In London, *been* prevails with *seen*, and *rather* with *father*; in San Francisco, *been* rhymes with *sin*, and *rather* with *gather*. Clearly here is a difficulty in the way of this theory of perfect rhymes. Either the Londoner's poetry must be kept sacred to London ears or I, a San Franciscan, must give up my habitual pronunciation for the moment and say *fäther* and *räther*, and *dawn* and *mawn*. And what if *rather* and *morn* happen to come first in the pairs of rhymes? Can I in decency say *fäther* and *dorn*?

The second fact which the supporters of the perfect-rhyme theory seem not sufficiently to consider is the nature of rhyme itself. Our definition of rhyme has always been somewhat elastic like our usage; of course, usage has given the definition. Rhyme means recurrence of the same sounds. But of how many sounds, and in what position? We have beginning-rhyme (alliteration), middle-rhyme (assonance), and end rhyme; or we have all combined—identical rhyme (sometimes confusingly called perfect rhyme). Since the present discussion has to do with end-rhyme alone, the others may be dismissed. Now end-rhyme, or simply "rhyme" as we are in the habit of calling it, consists in the recurrence of how many sounds? Of all sounds, we say, from the vowel of the last stressed syllable to the end of the word, with at the same time a dissimilarity of the sounds or sound groups, if any, just preceding that vowel. If the words end with a vowel sound, we have end-rhyme pure and simple; if they end with a consonant, we go back and include the vowel sounds, making a combination of assonance and simple end-rhyme. This represents our ordinary understanding of the matter and affords a fair working definition. But this definition having been derived merely from the prevailing and fairly consistent practice of poets, there is manifestly no warrant for turning round and applying it as an iron-clad rule.

The question of legitimate rhyme is precisely a question of how far we shall carry uniformity of sound, and whether we must

always carry it to the same length. Now the quantity of uniformity, so to speak, varies much with different rhymes. *Length* and *strength* yield a fuller rhyme, fuller by a nasal, than *breath* and *satth*; *moan* and *sown* are fuller than *mob* and *sob*. We use such rhymes in succession; we do not object even when a single rhyme like *mob* and *sob* is followed by a double one like *ember* and *remember*. We accept very light rhymes and very heavy rhymes. Why, then, should we insist that in a single pair of rhyming words, no matter how heavy the rhyming portion may already be, that portion shall always extend back to and include the vowel of the accented syllable? Why not rhyme *amber* with *chamber* and *forest* with *soreset*, seeing that, although the stressed vowels differ, so much yet remains to constitute a rhyme? It is true, the stressed vowel carries great weight—it is the most distinctive element of the word; and that is doubtless why, in the great majority of cases, it is included in the rhyme. But that is not a sufficient reason why it should always be included, nor is it any reason why every sound following it should invariably be included. The principle of harmony amid diversity which we have seen to underlie our theory of rhyme, can be as legitimately applied here as elsewhere.

Let us see now what the actual practice of our poets has been. We are not concerned with the difficult question of the origin of end-rhyme, nor with its rise to recognition in English poetry. We know that at certain periods, even after its use by Chaucer, it was regarded by scholarly poets or "makers" as unworthy of their art and fit only for use in popular jingles. Whether the composers of these rude jingles were to be more trusted for exactness in rhyming than the poets who were conscious artists, is an open question. Mr. A. J. Ellis ('Early English Pronunciation') holds that they were. "When few people can read, rhymes to be intelligible must be perfect. . . . Licenses always produce a disagreeable effect upon children and unlettered adults." But it seems unlikely that rude rhymers of an early day would be very different from unskilled rhymers of the present day, who persist in mating such words as *rain*, *samc*; *keep*, *street*; *whether*, *coer*; *market*, *carpet*. Mr. Ellis's statement can be held true only so far as to be taken to mean that there must be perfect correspondence in some one sound, vowel or consonant. *Up*, *luck*; *home*, *Joan*; *fishes*, *ditches* were always good enough for nursery rhymes. But to turn to the poets, the practice of Chaucer and Gower is clear. They aimed to use only perfect rhymes as we understand the term to-day, with the difference that, under the influence of foreign models, they did not insist upon a dissimilarity of the consonants preceding the vowels, using very freely identical or "rich" rhymes. They admit a few rhymes which we cannot consider absolutely exact on any theory of pronunciation (as *were*, *beere*; *found*, *hond*; *remember*, *tender*), but such are clearly conscious departures from their ideal, forced upon them by the poverty of rhymes of which Chaucer somewhere complains. Wyatt, on the other hand, with a few other versifiers, went to the opposite extreme of sometimes ignoring the entire stressed syllable and rhyming upon unstressed suffixes; as *coming*, *parting* (the metre shows that the accent is penultimate); *uncertain*, *mountain*; *remember*, *measure*; *then*, *seldome*. Such are the extremes of practice

before Spenser. It is interesting to note that the oldest known Anglo-Saxon poem employing end-rhyme throughout (Conybeare's Rhyming Poem, Exeter MS.) contains just about the proportion of divergences from exact rhyme that we may expect to find in any poem to-day.

Beginning with Spenser, though the problem of pronunciation remains always a vexing one, we can make out a tendency toward greater definiteness in one direction with less exactness in another. The tendency is to restrict the limits of the license, but to extend the resort to license within those limits. The full, identical rhymes, though still used (*descent, per cent.*—Pope; *ray, array*—Shelley; *sea, sea*—Swinburne), are exceptional. Cases of mere assonance or vowel-rhyme (*broken, open*—Shakespeare; *win, him*—Rossetti), except where deliberately adopted, as in several poems by Mrs. Browning and George Eliot, are also of rare occurrence. Rhymes like Wyatt's upon unstressed syllables are scarcely to be found at all. The limits are practically narrowed to our present definition of end-rhyme as given some distance back. On the other hand, the practice of substituting for identical sounds (within the rhyming portion of the words) merely approximate sounds, whether vowel or consonant or both, has been freely adopted and extended. Spenser himself was still much inclined to cling to the Chaucerian ideal in this respect and allow no mere approximations, as is evident from his resort to violent distortion of words and to all sorts of dialectal forms to secure exactness of rhyme: *swim, clim (climb); jaws, waves (vases); rift, clift; grieffe, clieffe*. But there remains a very large number of positively imperfect rhymes which he allowed to stand, some of them mere assonances; *deckt, set; cherisht, florisht; mourne, learne*, etc. Since the end of the sixteenth century, poets have frankly adopted many imperfect rhymes, of which the following are types:

Shakespeare: *Noon, son; love, prove; feast, feast*.

Pope: *Toast, lost; devil, civil; remained, leand*.

Keats: *Essences, lees; woodlander, spur; honor, donor; innumerable, tell*.

Tennyson: *Curse, horse; gaze, face; Christ, mist*.

Rossetti: *Veterans, France; strong, flung; inkred, opened, fire-footed*.

ALPHONSO G. NEWCOMER.

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF EDWARD BURNE-JONES.

LONDON, January 2, 1899.

So much was written about Burne-Jones a few months ago, at the time of his death, that it would seem useless to attempt any further criticism, to offer any new estimate, if it were not that the two exhibitions of his work just opened in London are far too important to be passed in silence. One is at the New Gallery, the other at the Burlington Fine Arts Club. Of the two, the collection at the New Gallery is the more fully representative. The paintings shown begin with the water-colors of the early sixties, and end only with the large "Arthur at Avalon" upon which he was still working at the time of his death. His beautiful tapestries have been brought from Stanmore Hall. Innumerable drawings complete the collection. A famous series like the "Briar-Rose" may be missing, or single pictures like the

"Star of Bethlehem." You will look in vain for his stained glass; and, indeed, much of his work, having been done for definite decorative ends, must necessarily be omitted from such an exhibition. At the Burlington Fine Arts Club the collection is smaller and limited to his drawings, but for this very reason it seems to me more perfect and complete in itself, for I think Burne-Jones is always most interesting in his studies and sketches. The managers of each show have published an excellent catalogue which will relieve the Morells of the future of a large part of their labors where Burne-Jones is concerned; while in the introduction to the catalogue of the New Gallery, Mr. Comyns Carr quotes a few lines from a letter in which Burne-Jones has made for himself the record which it has taken an army of critics, in a whole library of books, to invent or imagine for the Florentine or Venetian painter of the past. So long as these lines survive, there can be no question of the origin and development of his art, of the masters he accepted, and the influences he came under at the most critical stages of his career—in a word, no chance for his psychological reconstruction. If few artists have been so successful in their lifetime, few have left such exact data about their work for posterity.

The passage in the letter to which I refer deserves to be quoted in full. It is, in the slang of a few years back, a human document of the utmost value. It explains Burne-Jones better than he could be explained by the eloquence of any one else:

"I think Morris's friendship began everything for me—everything that I afterwards cared for. We were freshmen together at Exeter. When I left Oxford I got to know Rossetti, whose friendship I sought and obtained. He is, you know, the most generous of men to the young. I couldn't bear with a young man's dreadful sensitiveness and conceit as he bore with mine. He taught me practically all I ever learnt; afterwards I made a method for myself to suit my nature. He gave me courage to commit myself to imagination without shame—a thing both bad and good for me. It was Watts much later who compelled me to try and draw better. I quarrel now with Morris about art. He journeys to Iceland, and I to Italy—which is a symbol—and I quarrel too with Rossetti. If I could travel backwards I think my heart's desire would take me to Florence in the time of Botticelli."

As you walk through the rooms hung with his pictures, you feel that the history of his art could not be more admirably summed up. Chronological order is fairly well followed, so that you come in the first room of all to the water-colors he painted when the spell of Rossetti was strong upon him—"Clara von Bork," "Sidonia von Bork," "Green Summer," "The Forge of Cupid," and too many others to mention, little gems of rich, warm, glowing color. You see in them often enough how much he stood in need of the counsels of Mr. Watts. The drawing is primitive to the last degree. His large, opulent ladies are opulent in one dimension only, I have heard it said of them. But there is a splendor, a vitality, an ardor in his work of this date that helps you to forget its shortcomings. "It was Watts much later who compelled me to try and draw better"—with some of the beautiful pictures of the seventies as a result; pictures painted when he had gained in knowledge what it must be confessed he had lost in ardor and vitality. The splendor of color had not yet faded, however, and the "Chant d'Amour," standing

midway between his early Rossetti manner and his later entirely Burne-Jones manner, is perhaps his masterpiece. I was a little afraid that 'seeing it again might destroy my old illusions; for the "Laus Veneris," on a second inspection, I found terribly crude and raw in color, and not to be redeemed even by the really exquisite design of the background. But the "Chant d'Amour" holds its own, to-day as in the past; and though without claim to originality, though you can trace throughout the influence of Rossetti, though you seem to see now Giorgione, now Botticelli struggling with him for supremacy, its beauty is unquestionable, and it is probably one of the pictures by which Burne-Jones will be best remembered. "Afterwards I made a method for myself to suit my nature"—the method, now accepted as characteristically Burne-Jones, which in the eighties and nineties mastered and overpowered him. Need I say what I mean by this? Does not the artist's very name suggest the strange, pale, gray-blue land, where weary heroes and anæmic maidens wander sad and heavy-laden with the burden of life? Weariness may have its pictorial quality, and I quite agree with Mr. Comyns Carr that an artist cannot always be in the mood to pose as an athlete. But I think that in many of the later pictures the new ideals had so taken possession of the artist as to come near destroying his feeling for beauty. There are designs in which his men and women as symbols of sadness become almost clumsy and grotesque; while the method that suited his nature sometimes made him forget the method that better suited the painter. Never, in his more mature years, though he had trained himself as a draughtsman, did he work with the same freedom and breadth as in the little water-colors. It is curious to contrast the beautifully indicated landscapes in several of these with the labored, tortured foliage in "The Beguiling of Merlin," for instance.

The full rein he gave to his imagination was, as he admitted, bad as well as good for him, and often caused him to lose a just sense of proportion. The strong absorbed him, was everything to him, and yet it is the strong that counts least in many of his compositions. If you take as an example the "Mirror of Venus," one of his most popular pictures, thanks to the engravings after it, you will find that the "painted poem" he always sought to produce is in the wonderful, the romantic landscape of the background, and not in the group of figures in which he intended the interest to be concentrated. I look at Venus and her maidens only to wish they were not standing there, on the edge of the pool, to break so fine a harmony; and I question, too, if Burne-Jones, had he not vowed himself to mysticism, might not have become one of our great modern landscape painters.

Of course, when Burne-Jones used the term "painted poem," and when his "poetic intention" was praised by Rossetti, we understand what was meant. Mr. Comyns Carr, in his introduction, explains it clearly by his reference to Rossetti's "endeavor to rescue from the traditions of the past, and to refashion according to present needs, a language that might aptly render the visions of legend and romance." But the true painter's poetry is quite a different thing, and lovely and picturesque as was their conception of many an old story or myth, both Rossetti and Burne-Jones were often serious-

ly handicapped by the medium with which they sought to give it expression. Burne-Jones, of the two, was the more accomplished technician, it is true, but he was not so inspired a poet, and unfortunately he cultivated the idea, the poetic intention, much to the neglect of purely technical qualities. At least, this is how I account to myself for the disappointment that mingled with my pleasure as I passed from one to another of the long series of pictures at the New Gallery. But in his drawings he was never so restricted by his medium, probably because, as a rule, he did not try to express so much with it. Pencil and chalk and crayon served him only for preliminary sketches and studies, frequently elaborate enough, but still notes and memoranda of designs and compositions to be carried out on quite a different scale and with quite different materials. For this reason, there is less to disturb or interrupt one's pleasure in his drawings, and as the collection at the Burlington Fine Arts Club is limited to them, it has proved, to me certainly, more wholly delightful than the larger and fuller collection at the New Gallery.

It is as impossible to enter into detail about each separate drawing as it was in the case of the paintings. I can merely explain the general character of the show and the impression one receives from it. Perhaps nothing more interesting is exhibited than the very early pen-and-ink drawings, dating from 1856 to about 1863. Like the early water-colors, they reveal the influence of Rossetti. Their amazing elaboration would seem a fault, for wash would have given the same effect far more directly and simply, if it were not that the results are so amusing. The catalogue does not explain whether they were designed for any definite purpose, but, as far as I can remember, none was ever reproduced and published at the time. Burne-Jones was one of the group of illustrators of the sixties, and he has contributed to *Good Words* and the other publications that have lately become so famous. But his illustrations of that period, all told, were very few, and no wonder, if he always presented the wood-engraver with such an impossible task as the engraving of these drawings would have been. Nothing could be more minutely finished, no design more intricate. There are as many as seventy figures in the largest, "Buondelmonte's Wedding," and the incident is varied in proportion. The subjects are usually mediæval or Biblical—the subjects, that is, which Millais and Holman Hunt and Rossetti and Sandys were treating in their illustrations; and not even Mr. Sandys ever "packed" a drawing more ingeniously and arranged it more decoratively. The manner is Rossetti's—so much so that when you look at two of the drawings, "The Waxen Image" and "Going to the Battle," you could almost be sure of the two Rossettis he had before him while he worked, if only the date in the case of the former did not show that the pupil really must have anticipated his master. His more recent illustrations, with one exception, are not here at all, though there are two or three series of designs for books and manuscripts which he and William Morris undertook together; schemes which ultimately fell through. It so happens that some of the Kelmscott drawings have been sent to a show of black-and-white in South London, but their absence is less to be regretted, since, as is well known, Burne-Jones left it

to his assistants to make the final designs for the wood-engraver, and his sketches can hardly be said to represent him as an illustrator of books.

Most of the other drawings at the Burlington Fine Arts Club are much more familiar and have been far oftener seen than his pen-and-ink work. There are the pencil drawings, entirely finished as far as design goes, and delicate and tender as silver points; the careful studies of drapery, of hands and feet, of plumage and foliage, proofs of the conscientious study and hard work he brought to the painting of every one of his pictures; dainty little sketches in washes or chalk on a ground of color, notes of harmonies and arrangements to be used later; the large, melancholy heads he drew so frequently in recent years, which he himself valued so highly that it was by them he chose to be represented in almost all the great international shows on the Continent. In some of his drawings there is a tendency to the same over-elaboration that mars his paintings; in others, especially the chalk studies on tinted paper, simply and freely put in, there is something of the bigness and stateliness of the Old Masters.

He is least satisfactory in his portraits done in chalk or pencil. A number hang in a room apart, as if to call attention to their weakness. They represent varying phases of one unalterable type; never, no matter how they are labelled, sitters or models of distinct character and individuality. I must say one word about his drawings for children, though they were never intended for exhibition. Apparently, he made them solely to amuse his own or his friend's children, and they are intentionally as primitive and childlike as possible. But they are full of real fun, as gay as his pictures are sad. A grotesque study of a cat and a delicious Noah's Ark are models of what such things should be, and one envies the children who possessed them.

That the two exhibitions are of immense interest, that they give an unequalled opportunity to study the life's work of Burne-Jones, I hope I have proved in pointing out the ground each covers. But, unfortunately, this opportunity, which may never occur again, has come too soon for a final decision as to the rank he holds as an artist. It will be some time before his work can be analyzed and judged dispassionately. He still lives for us in the glamour of romance through which we now see the Pre-Raphaelites and their followers. Though he was not one of the original group, he speedily became, in the eyes of the public, the central personage in the picturesque episode of Pre-Raphaelitism. He may have had his critics; Mr. Comyns Carr seems to take them so seriously as to resent their hostility. But without critics, there would not have been the same picturesqueness in his attitude, in his isolation, as it were, from the common herd of artists. It took many years for Frenchmen to believe that some of the giants of 1830 were but pygmies after all, while how often, on the other hand, do the pygmies of one generation become the giants of the next? It is probable that Burne-Jones will always remain one of the most striking and individual figures in the history of English art during the second half of the nineteenth century; whether he will seem one of the greatest artists is another question. But a certain fact is that his influence, never more than superficial, dies with him. With

him, there is an end to the movement which began as Pre-Raphaelitism, and which, though its fundamental doctrine was a return to nature, led to the mediævalism, the mysticism—the Neo-Gothic school, as it was called—of which the old Grosvenor Gallery was the Temple and Burne-Jones the High Priest. *E. R. Sennell* N. N.

Correspondence.

"DESTINY" LEGALIZED.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: You anti-expansion fanatics keep up such a bitter war that peaceful waiters upon "destiny" who would be content to sit still and see things come their way, are perforce dragged into the fight. I ask you, as a liberal adversary, to give this aid and comfort to your enemy. The argument seems conclusive:

"Tous les usurpateurs veulent conserver par les lois ce qu'ils ont envahi par les armes; sans cet intérêt naturel de jour paisiblement de ce qu'on a volé, il n'y aurait de société sur la terre."

The rôle of prophet was the last the universal old Frenchman would have aspired to; but he was a seer, and his wonderful foresight seems to have reached far into our age and time.

COLUMBIA, PA., January 23, 1899.

THE CALIFORNIA LEGISLATIVE INSTRUCTIONS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Was there ever a more palpable case of going back on one's own principles than the recent action of the California Legislature in instructing the California Senators to vote for Philippine extension and for imperialism? Their State has been fighting bitterly for years against Chinese cheap labor, and involving the country in all manner of stringent laws to shut it out, and now it turns around and asks, not only to have its ports open to similar labor, but that twelve millions of it be added bodily to the country itself! What can the workingmen of California and of the nation generally be thinking of in favoring such a movement? Is it said that the Filipinos are too poor and too ignorant ever to leave their own islands to come into competition with the workingmen of America? Doubtless that is true of them if left to their own initiative. But how inevitable it is that the same thing will be done with them that has been done in the past with the Chinese—great companies be organized, and steamships employed to bring them here by the thousands and to flood with them the American labor market. The Illinois coal-miners have been thrown into convulsions lately by having a few hundred negroes brought from a neighboring State to take the miners' places. But how will it be when swarms of their dusky brethren are brought here to be their competitors in every kind of work, and when, with them made their fellow-citizens, there will be no possibility under our Constitution of making laws against them, as we now have made them against the Chinese? And of all places in the country, to think that California, which will be the first State to be flooded with such labor, should instruct its representatives to prepare its way!

I have no prejudice against either Chinese

or Filipinos as human beings. I should like to see them all happy and prosperous. But it is nature's method, in bringing about happiness, to have each race of people and each type of civilization, the same as each species of animals and of plants, developed true first of all to its own type, rather than to have them mixed up in a common mush, where each, instead of helping the other, tends only to degrade the whole stock; and then, when they are thus separately developed, its method is to unite them in a larger organism where each, because of its very distinctness from the others, can best do its part. It is evidently to promote this separate type development that nature has placed races and nations in their separate localities and endowed them with their mutual antipathies. The hostility of Californians to Chinese, though brutal and wicked in some of its manifestations, is at its core the offspring of a divine instinct, and in its final result will be for the interest of a larger humanitarianism than any mingling with them now would be—a blessedness in which alike Californians and Chinese will share. To work out the problem of a free government in the midst of the ignorance and lower type of material we already have among ourselves, is the utmost we are likely to be successful in; and to weight the problem with millions more belonging to the same ignorant classes is almost sure to make its solution a failure, and a failure which will be the whole world's misfortune.

Instead, therefore, of instructing their legislators to vote for this enormous additional burden, ought not our California citizens, and our workmen the whole country over, to rise up and demand with one imperative voice that the vote shall be America for Americans and the Philippines for Filipinos?

JOHN C. KIMBALL.

HARTFORD, CONN., January 23, 1899.

THE TRUE SPAIN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have been a careful reader of your paper for the last year or so, and could not help noticing how unjust you are to Spain. You pick out a spread-eagle utterance of a Spanish general, as in your last number, and then, taking it as a text, you begin preaching to the Spaniards. If you will look at Prof. Altamira's article, "El Patriotismo y la Universidad," in the current numbers of the *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza*, you will see that what he has to fight against is pessimism, not spread-eagle talk. His reference to the late war is in very measured terms (issue of October 31). The University has to struggle against the accursed greed to which are equally subject the superior nations (England) and the inferior nations (Turkey), old nations (Spain), and young nations (United States). The young nation has walked in crooked paths, falling into the same errors for which it despised the old nations. While advocating a closer union with the Spanish-American republics, he says they confessed their faults without rebuke. When did the people of the United States ever confess without rebuke?

Many years ago, while calling on Echegaray, I was ushered into a room all adorned with laurel wreaths and oakleaf garlands, testimonies of the esteem in which he was held by his people; and that man, instead of glorying in what he had achieved as a dramatic writer, felt rather humiliated because

he had not pushed his mathematical researches as far as he might have done.

Yours respectfully,

P.

January 15, 1899.

"INTERLOCK."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The geographical features of North America are such that the sources of two or more streams are often so close together that, at certain seasons, as in times of freshet, they flow into one another; and the sources of rivers which fall into the Atlantic are said to "interlock" with those which find their way to the Pacific, or Gulf of Mexico, or Hudson Bay. More than two centuries ago, the Rev. J. Clayton, in a paper read before the Royal Society, called attention to this phenomenon in the following passage:

"The Heads of the Branches of the Rivers interfere and lock one within another, which I think is best expressed after the manner that an Indian explained himself once to me, when I enquired how high the Rivers of Carolina, Virginia and Maryland arise out of the Mountains, from those that ran Westerly on the other side of the Mountains, he clapt the Fingers of one Hand 'twixt those of the other, crying, they meet thus; the Branches of different Rivers rising not past a hundred Paces distant one from another: So that no Country in the World can be more curiously watered." *Philosophical Transactions*, 1693, xvii, 701.

Clayton wrote presumably in 1688; but it was not, so far as the present writer is aware, until the middle of the eighteenth century that allusions to this phenomenon became common; and then the word *lock*, employed by Clayton, gave way to *interlock*. This meaning of the latter word, which has received little or no recognition from lexicographers, is illustrated by the following extracts:

"The town of Shamokin . . . contains eight cabins near the river's bank right opposite the mouth of the west branch that interlocks with the branches of *Allegheny*." 1743, July 8, J. Bartram, *Observations* (1751), 14.

"From the Head [of the Ohio River], which interlocks with the Cayuga Branch of Susquehanna, to Canawaga, I have little knowledge." 1765, L. Evans, *Middle British Colonies*, 25.

"About five miles from the Vine Creek comes in a very large creek to the eastward, called by the Indians Cut Creek. . . . It extends, according to the Indians' account, a great way, and interlocks with the branches of Split-Island Creek." 1770, G. Washington, *Writings* (1889), ii., 295.

"At Kishwaukee (about 16 miles up) are two branches of this Creek, which spread opposite ways; one interlocks with French Creek and Cherdge,—the other with the Muskingum and Cayahoga." 1773, T. Hutchins, *Topographical Description of Virginia, &c.*, 30.

"In some future state of population, I think it possible, that its [the James River] navigation may also be made to interlock with that of the Potawmac, and through that to communicate by a short portage with the Ohio." 1783, T. Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia, Writings* (1894), iii., 90.

"Nearly one-third of this vast plain is what the inhabitants call swamps, which are the sources of numerous small rivers and their branches: these they call salt rivers, because the tides flow near to their sources, and generally carry a good depth and breadth of water for small craft, twenty or thirty miles upwards from the sea, when they branch and spread abroad like an open hand, interlocking with each other, and forming a chain of swamps across the Carolinas and Georgia, se-

veral hundred miles parallel with the sea coast." 1791, W. Bartram, *Travels*, 99.

"At five o'clock arrived at the dividing ridge, between the waters of the Osage and Arkansas (alias White river), the dry branches of which interlock within 20 yards of each other." 1806, Z. M. Pike, *Sources of the Mississippi* (1810), 126.

"The Arkansas river penetrates far into the Rocky Mountains, its ramifications interlocking with some of the waters of the Missouri, Columbia, San Buenaventura, Colorado of the West, and Rio de Norte." 1844, J. Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, ii., 195.

"The headwater of the Penobscot in freshets actually become intermingled with those of the Allegash, Aroostook and St. Croix; and the geographical marvel is many times repeated within our limits of rivers interlocking at their source and flowing off in different directions upon different slopes." 1861, G. J. Varney, *Gazetteer of Maine*, 11.

"What the Jesuit did believe seems to have been in a general way that the Missouri, somewhere in its springs, did interlock with other waters which sought towards the west an unknown sea near which were white men." 1894, J. Winsor, *Mississippi Basin*, 138.

ALBERT MATTHEWS.

Boston, January 22, 1899

Notes.

Henry T. Coates & Co., Philadelphia, have in press 'The History of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company,' by William Bender Wilson, in two octavo volumes with 273 illustrations.

D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, announce 'The Young Citizen's Reader,' by Charles F. Dole. Ginn & Co. have in preparation 'A Laboratory Manual in Astronomy,' by Mary E. Byrd, Director of the Observatory, Smith College.

D. Appleton & Co. will publish during the present month 'General Sherman,' by Gen. M. F. Force; 'The Cruise of the *Cachalot*,' or, Round the World after Sperm Whales,' by Frank T. Bullen, First Mate; 'The Story of the Cotton Plant,' by F. Wilkinson; 'The Story of Geographical Discovery,' by Joseph Jacobs; 'A History of Japanese Literature,' by W. G. Aston; and 'A Writer of Books,' by George Paston.

Further announcements by Macmillan Co. are 'Don Quixote,' edited for use in homes and schools by Clifton Johnson, with Cruikshank's illustrations; and 'The Development of Thrift,' by Mary Wilcox Brown, General Secretary of the Henry Watson Children's Aid Society of Baltimore.

R. H. Russell will publish immediately a profusely illustrated edition of A. W. Pinero's comedietta, 'Trelawny of the Wells,' and Mr. Whistler's 'The Baronet and the Butterfly.'

Mr. Frederick A. Ober is an old West Indian traveller, and his book on 'Puerto Rico and its Resources,' which the Appletons have just published, is therefore not an extemporized affair. Mr. Ober also knows his Spanish authorities and how to make good use of them. After a rather unnecessary placating of the expansionists in the introductory chapter, he proceeds to an orderly and intelligent account of the island, with full details as to the climate, agricultural products, cities and towns, routes of travel, government and people, etc. A series of illustrations add value to a book which, for being both timely and trustworthy, should be much in demand.

Considerable enlargement within and with.

out previously existing departments characterizes Mr. Douglas Sladen's happy thought, 'Who's Who,' for 1899 (London: A. & C. Black; New York: Macmillan). This country has been catered to by a list of American ladies bearing English titles, another of "great American newspapers of the rank of the great London dailies and weeklies," and by numerous additions to the American biographies. Though the editor refers in his preface to recent events as drawing England and the United States closer together, as the ground of this last extension, we find none of the heroes of the late war, military or naval, to have thrust their way into the columns of the élite (Mr. Roosevelt was in last year's issue). Some editors, including the *Tribune's*, have been included, but not the yellow journalists; our new Senator from New York, but not Platt or Quay. Mr. Choate will go to St. James's unheralded by 'Who's Who.' Mr. John Flake is rightly admitted; his neighbor, President Eliot, is still outside, though Presidents Harper and Gilman now first come in. A want of proper perspective is visible in some of these instances, but it shall not make us anything but glad to have this annual, with all its inevitable defects.

Almost a novel idea is that of an illustrated edition of 'Sartor Resartus' (London: George Bell & Sons; New York: Macmillan), and it has been freshly and interestingly carried out. The artist, Mr. Edmund J. Sullivan, has generally avoided the narrative and more obviously illustratable passages, and has embroidered a sort of emblematic and pictorial commentary upon the doctrine of the book. One may not always know certainly what he means, but one is always interested, and generally the connection between picture and text is clear enough. The drawings themselves, which affect a German archaism of style that recalls Dürer and Holbein with an occasional touch of the simpler manner of Rembrandt, are always able and sometimes remarkably powerful. It is seldom indeed that one sees modern book-illustration of so much merit.

R. H. Russell publishes a series of prints by Pamela Colman Smith "colored by hand in water-color and retouched by an artist" in the old manner. The art is, perhaps, worthy of revival, but in the present instance the prints are not specially fine in composition or drawing, and the color does not seem better than much that is produced to-day by mechanical means. A whole bookful of designs by Boutet de Monvel or Walter Crane costs no more than one of these prints, and almost any page of 'Joan of Arc' or 'A Floral Fantasy' is better as a work of art.

The late war with Spain is by far the most conspicuous theme in the May-October volume of the *Century Magazine* for 1898. What is noticeable, too, the new hostilities tend to revive the memory of the old, and there is a not insignificant series of chapters on our civil war. For the rest, the volume possesses the usual variety of article and illustration. Most curious, to the initiated, is the paper on the island of Naushton, whose noble owner was among the lamented dead of last year, with so much respect for privacy that his name is nowhere mentioned or suggested. Several engravings after female portraits by Gilbert Stuart contrast with as many by T. Cole after Romney and Hopper.

Of the two bound volumes of Scribner's

for the year 1898 the first has no trace of trouble in the West Indies. The series of articles on undergraduate life at women's colleges goes on; Senator Lodge's 'Story of the Revolution' begins and proceeds; Capt. Mahan is occupied with the naval campaign on Lake Champlain in 1776. With the July number, the first in volume two, the exigencies of premature manufacture of popular magazines yield to current events, and Mr. Richard Harding Davis makes his bow with "The First Shot of the [Spanish] War." After that, there is no lack of this subject, nor of the Anglo-American alliance as expounded by the Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, nor of "Imperialism and Industrialism" coming into "The Point of View." Mr. Wyckoff concludes his "Workers—the West."

The same demarcation is observable in *St. Nicholas's* two volumes for 1898; and in the later as crows the old, so crows the young, with guns and gun-foundries, voyage of the *Oregon*, flying squadron, man-of-war etiquette, etc. But the militant proportion is more modest.

A semi-monthly Latin journal, called *Vox Urbis*, is now being published in Rome. Its purpose is to discuss archaeological, literary, and art problems, and also to encourage the writing of Latin poetry. In a recent number there is an ode on the bicycle by Maurus Ricci, which is termed "birota velocissima." It is said that the periodical is proving popular and is on a paying basis.

The *Deutsche Rundschau* easily holds its place in the front rank of German monthlies with instalments of fiction from such writers as Helene Böhlau, Paul Heyse, and Hans Hoffmann in a single issue (January, 1899), besides the usual number of articles by eminent workers in the fields of literature, science, art, philosophy, and history. Prof. Stein (Bern) expounds with clearness and vigor the nature of the tragic conflict between society, as the arena of individualism, of social variability, on the one hand, and the state, as the representative of the race-interests, of social constancy, on the other. Optimistic philosopher as he is known to be, he does not consider the dilemma, individual versus genus, as insoluble. The Rembrandt exhibition furnishes to Otto Seeck the warp for a very complete picture of the painter's artistic activity, ingeniously interwoven with interesting details of his life. The usefulness of this essay (running through the December and January issues) is enhanced by the frequent references, in footnotes, to inexpensive, easily accessible reproductions of the widely scattered works of Rembrandt.

On the occasion of the festivities in memory of the Reformation, Prof. Dr. Gertz delivered in the University of Copenhagen an address which has caused a sensation among the schoolmen of Europe. Though himself the representative of classical philology in the University, he expressed in positive terms his opinion that the ancient languages, the Greek entirely and the Latin in part, are bound to lose their position in the secondary school, which "has to provide, above all things, for what is indispensable to the understanding of modern life and to an active participation in the same." Dr. Gertz does not anticipate a decline of classical philology in consequence of relegating the Greek, like Sanskrit, Hebrew, and certain other languages, entirely to the university—a view shared, as is well known, by Prof. Willamowitz-Möllendorf. The address is pub-

lished in the December number of the Danish review *Tilskueren* (Copenhagen), and, in its leading passages, in No. 4, 1898, of the *Zeitschrift für die Reform der höheren Schulen* (Berlin).

M. Alfred Fouillée, that staunch defender of classical studies, also advocates the dropping of Greek from the regular secondary school programme in his new volume, 'Les Études Classiques et la Démocratie' (Paris: Armand Colin et Cie.). The time and energy thus saved he would in part devote to the strengthening of the course in Latin. All these men are agreed in the judgment that the study of Greek in secondary schools does not yield results commensurate with the efforts.

Of the hundreds of papyri finds made in the winter of 1896-'97 in the ruins of the ancient Oxyrhynchos, the modern Behnesa, in Central Egypt, the discoverers, Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, have published, together with translations and notes and eight facsimile plates, only 207. It was seemingly the purpose of the lucky finders to issue in this first part specimens of the various kinds of documents found. The first six are called "theological" texts and belong directly to Biblical literature, two of them being of special value, namely, a small collection of extra-canonical Sayings of Jesus, and several verses from the beginning of Matthew in an uncial manuscript of the close of the third century; this being actually the oldest specimen of a New Testament manuscript extant. Nos. 7 to 15 are called "new classical" pieces, and Nos. 16-29 fragments of known authors. The names here represented are Sappho, Alcman (uncertain), Aristoxenus, Thucydides, Herodotus, Homer, Sophocles, Plato, Demosthenes, Isocrates, Xenophon, Euclid, and Virgil. From No. 33 to No. 124 we have a vast variety of Greek documents dealing with the details of public and private life. The philological gain from these new documents does not promise to be especially large, although, in connection with the Fayum papyri and some other new specimens of the Greek of that period, it will be now necessary to discard the unhistorical and uncritical myth of a peculiar "Biblical" Greek for the Septuagint and the New Testament.

The widespread interest taken in this papyri find is attested by the fact that, at the recent annual meeting of the Egypt Exploration Fund, it was reported that, of the separate edition of the Logia brought out soon after its discovery, 25,800 copies had been sold. At this same meeting Sir E. Maunde Thompson declared that it would not be surprising if entire books of the New Testament dating from the second century should yet be found among the papyri. New finds are constantly reported, and systematic investigations have been begun in Denderah, where not even a beginning of diggings had heretofore been made, as also in Sakkarah, in the tombs of Sheikh Said, and elsewhere. Prof. Petrie made the somewhat surprising statement that the British occupation of Egypt was not favoring scientific investigations. New restrictive rules hinder the diggings, while those who destroy the remains of the older civilizations are allowed free scope and are but rarely punished.

The welcome and significant service of photography to astronomy was never more aptly demonstrated, than during the last few weeks, by Messrs. Pickering and Chandler, in the prosecution of research on the orbit of that anomalous new planet D Q. The

peculiarities of its path rendering an accurate acquaintance with it necessary, search has been made among the library of photographic plates accumulating for many years past at the Harvard observatory; and Mrs. Fleming, after overcoming many discouraging circumstances and vexatious sources of confusion, has at last discovered six independent images of the planet on plates taken between December 19, 1893, and April 18, 1894. How accurate an orbit is possible from these chance photographs may be inferred from the fact that, during their interval, D Q travelled over a full quadrant of its path round the sun, and for two months of this time its distance from the earth did not exceed $18\frac{1}{2}$ million miles, or about half the distance of Mars at his nearest. Many astronomers have a sense of almost personal satisfaction in the reconciliation and renewed coöperation of these eminent astronomers, whose differences are now, it is hoped, forgotten and buried in the interests of a science too engrossing for personalities. One of them has ventured the name Pluto for the new planet. Why not Eireneka?

The *Consular Reports* for January contains an account of trade conditions in Japan, from which it appears that in 1895 we exported to that country, in round numbers, \$5,000 worth of dynamo-electric machinery, in 1897 \$241,000; of locomotives in the former year to the value of \$142,000, in 1897 \$1,192,000. Our largest import from Japan was of raw silk, valued at \$16,000,000. There are also interesting notices of the rubber industry in Pará, of which the most serious difficulty is insufficient labor, and upon the raising of poultry in Belgium, where great progress has been made recently in the improvement of the breeds and the care of the yards. The announcement that our Government is preparing to open at the Paris Exposition of 1900 a "kitchen for the preparation and gratuitous distribution of bread and other forms of food prepared from maize," has caused some apprehension among the German farmers, lest its introduction should diminish the consumption of home-raised wheat and rye. The exports of corn from this country to Germany, where it is fed to cattle only, in 1897 amounted to nearly one million metric tons, valued at \$12,709,200, or nearly 50 per cent. more than in 1896.

The British Trade Returns for 1897 show a decided innovation for the better over previous issues. Under the able management of Mr. T. J. Pittar, the Statistical Office has prepared a statement giving in parallel columns the returns of import and export for each article during the last five years. The convenience of such an arrangement in aiding the study of comparative movements of trade is obvious, and the compilation pictures at a glance the distribution of each enumerated article among the countries of supply or sale for a period of high commercial interest. The Treasury Bureau of Statistics issued a similar volume during the last year, and in these two volumes may be found the trade record of the two great commercial nations of the world for five years.

The Maryland Geological Survey has issued its second volume, containing several scientific papers which add largely to the economic and historical knowledge of the State. To the "Report on the Building and Decorative Stones of Maryland," Prof. George P. Merrill contributes a chapter on the physical, chemical, and economic properties of

building-stones which will be of value to quarriers and contractors. A more detailed study of the character and distribution of Maryland building-stones, together with a history of the quarrying industry, by Dr. E. B. Mathews, embodies the results of careful investigations in the field and in the laboratory. This paper is illustrated by numerous colored heliotypes which reproduce very vividly the characteristic appearance of the more important stones. The "Report on the Cartography of Maryland" consists of two sections. That on the aims and methods of cartography, by Henry Gannett, comprises a complete digest of topographic methods. Dr. Mathews's paper on the maps and map-makers of Maryland contains reproductions of some of the early maps, and reveals many interesting facts regarding physiographic changes which have occurred in historic times along the Chesapeake and Atlantic coastline. All the illustrations and maps are of a high order of excellence, and the book as a whole makes a most attractive appearance.

The Geological Survey of Canada has recently published its Annual Report for 1896, which opens with a summary of operations during the year by the Director, George M. Dawson, LL.D. The announcement is made that the general classified index to the publications of the Survey, including some 31,000 references, is approaching completion. Mr. J. Burr Tyrrell contributes a special report on the geology and natural resources of the vast wilderness which lies north of the 59th parallel and extends from Hudson Bay to Lake Athabasca, comprising an area of about 200,000 square miles. His explorations included an examination of the north shore of Lake Athabasca, the Doobaunt, Kasan, and Ferguson Rivers, the northwest coast of Hudson Bay, and two overland routes between Churchill and Nelson Rivers. Numerous half-tones, giving a good idea of the characteristic features of the country, and a map accompany this paper. Other special reports are on the geology of the French River, including the country around the north end of Georgian Bay, by Dr. Robert Bell; on a traverse of the northern part of the Labrador Peninsula from Richmond Gulf to Ungava Bay, by Mr. A. P. Low; and on the geology of southwest Nova Scotia, by Dr. L. W. Bailey. In his account of mineral statistics and mining, Mr. Elfric D. Ingall states that Canada's mineral product has increased 125 per cent. during ten years, while in the United States the increase has been only about 40 per cent. The total product of the former country, however, is but 3.5 per cent. of that of the United States.

—Under the editorship of Mr. William G. Stanard the *Virginia Historical Magazine* is not likely to be wanting in varied contents. The January number contains a contemporary translation of the capitulation of Fort Necessity, known hitherto only through the French version. That Washington should have deliberately signed a document describing himself as a murderer is incredible, and the question has been whether the one person present among the Virginian troops who knew French misunderstood the reading, or the published French articles had been garbled. Mr. Stanard points out that this contemporary translation, found among the Virginia archives, contained in the preamble the word "assault," for which the word "killing" has been substituted. The French term was "venger l'assassin"—not a very acceptable expression, for "assas-

sinat" would have been better. What is overlooked by Mr. Stanard is the phraseology of the seventh article, in which the French version uses "assassinat" and the translator "attack"—a bad translation, and not in keeping with the rest of the paper. It might be assumed that a careless copyist confused the French *s* as written, and so made "attaque" into "assassin," but such a supposition will not account for the occurrence of assassin in at least two contemporary copies of the capitulation in French, and the published *Précis des Faits*. This Virginia paper seems to obscure rather than explain the incident, but offers ground for some interesting conjectures.

—The accounts of some of the experiences in the educational and missionary field in Alaska, which the Commissioner of Education has included in his latest volume of Reports (vol. II., for 1896-97), are not without the fascination peculiar to stories of pioneer life. At Circle City, on the upper Yukon, so the schoolmistress tells us in her report, the people want to hibernate during three winter months: "They cannot help it, for there seems to be something in the air tending to that result." Still, the children would "straggle sleepily in," and by noon all would be in the school. In May the weather began to moderate and the birds slowly came, and "it seemed almost a sin" to keep the children in-doors. Kind nature came to the relief of the compassionate teacher: the weather suddenly grew intensely hot, and out of the moss filling the chinks between the logs of the school-house there came crawling, as they awakened from their winter's sleep, "all kinds of bugs and worms, . . . bees, hornets, and our terrible pest, mosquitoes; . . . so before long we had to stop school." Since then, we learn from Commissioner Harris himself (vol. I., p. xxxvi), the inhabitants of Circle City have removed to the Klondike, and the school has not been opened again. The school reports from several places in Alaska are more or less encouraging, but they all go to show the Sisyphean labor of bringing barbarous or semi-barbarous people within the pale of civilization. One teacher, on St. Lawrence Island, tells the sad story of a whaler bringing with him a woman who taught the people to make whiskey out of molasses and flour by means of an apparatus consisting of a coal-oil can and an old gun-barrel, and several families were making it all winter. According to another, at Karluk, of all the children born there during the last two years but one remained alive. "Still," he continues unconcernedly, "there is hope for the children in that they are rapidly learning the English language."

—This Report for 1896-97 of the Commissioner of Education to the Secretary of the Interior is dated October 1, 1897 (vol. I., p. iii). The second volume, however, has only just been sent out, and it is possible, therefore, that the more recent dealings with the Metlakatla reservation on Annette Island have led to the insertion of the interesting "Statement with regard to Mr. Duncan's Work among the Taimpachean Indians of British America and Alaska" (pp. 1626-28). This supposition is supported by the otherwise uncalled-for insertion in the "Statement" of section 15 of the act of March 3, 1891 (reserving Annette Island for Mr. Duncan's colony) which begins: "Until otherwise provided by law, etc." It appears that Mr. Duncan, who founded an Episcopalian mission at Fort Simpson, British Columbia,

as early as 1857, was induced to emigrate with his whole prosperous colony across the border, partly in consequence of the arrival, in 1880, of a bishop from England—so that he, the founder of the mission, would have had to take a second place, "which he could not very well afford to do," and partly by the surveyors of the Canadian Pacific Railway, who persisted in unceremoniously driving stakes over the lands.

—President Elliot's essays and addresses on educational problems are always practical and suggestive. There are, no doubt, many who will be glad to meet, in a convenient form, eighteen addresses which have been collected in a volume entitled 'Educational Reform' (The Century Co.). It is interesting to observe that, thirty years ago, in his inaugural address as President of Harvard, President Elliot's ideals of educational principles and methods were practically those that he holds to-day. In this, the earliest of the collected addresses, we find already outlined the principles which have been gradually turned into practice at Harvard, notably freedom of election in University studies. We fancy that we trace in these addresses, which range in date from 1869 to 1897, a modification of the optimism implied in the statement in the inaugural address that, "with good methods, we may confidently hope to give young men of twenty to twenty-five an accurate general knowledge of all the main subjects of human interest, besides a minute and thorough knowledge of the one subject which each may select as his principal occupation in life. To think this impossible is to despair of mankind" (p. 4). Does the President of Harvard really think that "a general acquaintance with many branches of knowledge, good so far as it goes," has proved attainable by "great numbers of men"? We wish there were any sign of the intelligent public opinion that such wide and accurate knowledge might create. On page 386 is a good suggestion for a sort of coöperative college entrance examination system by which the preparation of the entrance papers would be intrusted to a group of men taken from various institutions. By this plan, one college might demand more subjects than another, but, subject by subject, the requirements would be the same. The desirability of a uniform method is obvious. President Elliot's belief in the value of uniformity is made prominent in every address; and his insistence that, while we ought to aim at variety in education, it should be a variety of equal things, is a wholesome doctrine in a country in which the prevailing system of a general education is too apt to give a student the impression that he has been pursuing severe studies through courses in English Literature and Pedagogy.

—President Gilman's 'University Problems' (The Century Co.) resembles President Elliot's book in being a collection of addresses delivered from his inauguration as President of Johns Hopkins, in 1876, to the present day. Mr. Gilman is decidedly more conservative in tone than Mr. Elliot, and his addresses contain fewer suggestions. They are, in fact, in the main, a series of optimistic reviews of the progress of education in the nineteenth century, and call for slight comment. The 'Open Letter on the Proposals for a National University in Washington' has already been printed in the *Century*. President Gilman is naturally

averse to the establishment of a rival institution within an hour's ride of Johns Hopkins; his apprehension that political interference would hamper a national university controlled by Congress seems well grounded. His aversion to coeducation is plainly expressed. He is ready to admit women without restriction of age or qualification to the advantages of the learned university extension branch of the Smithsonian Institution which he proposes in place of a national university, where, however, there will be no degree to make it worth while for women to intrude. In 1876, curiously enough, he hoped that an institution similar to Girton College might arise in Baltimore; this was to overlook the fact that, through the presence of Girton and Newnham, coeducation flourishes in Cambridge in fact if not in name.

—Vol. xxxi. of the *Jesuit Relations* (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers Co.) is wholly occupied with Lalemant's Relation for 1647, without containing either the beginning or end of it. Although a single document thus absorbs the space, a large range of topics is considered by the writer; and that, moreover, without any reference to the Huron mission. Among them the most interesting are the story of Jogues's death (with estimate of his character), a long chapter on Druliettes's mission to the Abenakis, and a description of the Attikamégues, who inhabit the Laurentian hills at a considerable distance from the river. Besides mentioning some circumstances connected with Jogues's return to France after his first experience with the Iroquois, Lalemant describes how he returned in September, 1646, to the scene of his previous tortures. While nothing could be gained by repeating here the well-known story of his fate, it is observable that death at last came to him by a sudden blow rather than after a protracted agony. Much greater value attaches to the glimpses which are given of this remarkable man's character. Lalemant says that he was not physically brave; indeed, that he was by nature timorous. His first thought always took in the difficulties which might involve a question, and, recognizing this quality of temperament, he became deeply humble and always said that he was a coward. "Yet the Superiors who knew him depended on him as firmly as on a rock. . . . 'Go' was enough for him—there is no monster, there is no demon that he would not have confronted with that word." He was quick-tempered beneath his habitual self-restraint, but so charitable towards the cruelty and treachery of the Indians that he entertained no aversion towards them. "He looked at them with an eye of compassion as a mother looks at a child of two, stricken with a raging disease." The worst offence which can be ascribed to him is that he felt some complacency at the sight of death, "believing himself by this means delivered from the sufferings of this life." His swiftness of foot was such that he might have escaped from captivity at almost any time. He remained among the Iroquois chiefly to perform surreptitious baptism, and he is given credit by our author with having thus saved more than sixty souls. Once, by a piece of rare good luck, "he found in a cabin five little children who were all in danger of death; he baptized them at his ease, and without noise, every one having gone out to see the public rejoicings." The principal feature of Druliettes's sojourn among the Abenakis is that

he was thereby brought into contact with the Capuchins at Castine, and also with the English. His work even received approval at Plymouth and Boston. As for the Attikamégues, they are mentioned as a pleasant contrast to the Iroquois. They make war only on animals and readily accept Christianity. So "if God strikes us with one hand, he sustains us with the other; if he afflicts us, he consoles us; if we are persecuted by some savages at the south, we are sought after by those of the north."

—Vol. xxxi. comprises a variety of documents. In the first place, we have the conclusion of the report for 1647; then a letter in Latin from Brébeuf to Caraffa, the general of the order at Rome; thirdly, the *Journal des Jésuites* for 1648; and finally, the first eight chapters of Lalemant's contribution to the Relation for the same year. Lalemant's staple subjects are the Iroquois raids and a glorification, in anecdotal vein, of the good spirit manifested by Christian Indians. As both these matters have been copiously illustrated in your previous notes, we pass on to Brébeuf's brief letter and to the diary which is styled *Journal des Jésuites*. The former of these is only a little more than three octavo pages in length, but possesses considerable significance. Its aim is to secure for Paul Ragueneau a longer tenure of office at the head of the Huron mission than was permitted by existing rules of the order. He is credited with every executive and personal virtue which such an onerous post demands, and the plea is further urged that a continuity of leadership is desirable. However, the most striking feature of Brébeuf's letter is his consciousness of the doom which is hanging over the Huron nation. After enumerating the causes of thankfulness which the Jesuits in Western Canada have, he thus proceeds: "But, on the other hand, there are, altogether, many and considerable influences which not only hinder our work, but seem even to threaten the ruin of the whole mission. Some of these, indeed, are common to us with all the Hurons—especially the enemy whom we call by the name of Iroquois; they, on one hand, close the roads and obstruct trade, and, on the other, devastate this region by frequent massacre; in short, they fill every place with fear." These words, written in the year before the final catastrophe which overwhelmed Hurons and Jesuits alike, show that Brébeuf and his companions were by no means blind to the tendency of events. In styling the *Journal des Jésuites* "a rich quarry for the student of the economic and social history of New France," Mr. Thwaites by no means claims too much for it. A great many details which the Black Robes constantly make note of, but which would have seemed somewhat trivial or secular in annual reports intended for purposes of edification, are recorded here. Thus, a list of the New Year's presents for 1648 is given; the number of turkeys and capons which the Governors sent the Fathers on Epiphany; the price charged by a blacksmith for mending an arquebus; the state of the game, fish, and fur markets; the day on which the first snow fell, and a description of the manner in which the principal feasts of the Church were celebrated by clergy and people.

THE ZENO VOYAGES.

The Annals of the Voyages of the Brothers Nicolò and Antonio Zeno in the North At-

lantic about the end of the Fourteenth Century, and the Claim founded thereon to a Venetian Discovery of America: A Criticism and an Indictment. By Fred. W. Lucas. London: Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles. 1898. Royal 4to, pp. 233 and 13 facsimile maps.

The family of the Zeni, from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, occupied a position of considerable consequence in the commercial, social, and political life of the Venetian republic. Members of the family reached the highest official positions in the state, became merchant princes, and allied themselves with foreign families of royal rank. It was a period during which Venice had a conspicuous part in the commercial annals of the civilized world. Each year between 1317 and 1533, it is recorded that a fleet of Venetian vessels, under the authorization and protection of the state, sailed to Flanders and England with glass and sugar, wines, and silk, which were exchanged for wood, tin, hides, and broadcloth. Other fleets traded to Greece and Constantinople with bales of English and Flanders cloths, while still others went on to the Black Sea for skins, to the Syrian ports for gums and spices, to Egypt and to the caravan ports along the northern coast of Africa. On one of these voyages, that of 1386 to the north of Europe, Nicolò Zeno commanded the galleys bound for Flanders. A little less than a century later, when the expanding power of the Turk had begun to cut off some of the most profitable of these trading routes, another member of the family, M. Caterino Zeno, undertook the dangerous mission of carrying to the Persian King an appeal for an alliance against the common enemy which was threatening to overpower all its neighbors East and West.

In 1558 a small volume was published in Venice purporting to contain an account of the Persian mission of Caterino Zeno, and also of the adventures of two other members of the family, the brothers Antonio and Nicolò (there were three Zeni with this name in Venice in 1579), during the last two decades of the fourteenth century. The volume was issued anonymously, but it seems probable that it was compiled by a Nicolò Zeno, called the younger, who was great-grandson of the Persian Ambassador, who was in turn the grandson of Antonio, the brother of Nicolò. There is not the least evidence, if we may except the opinion of Mr. Lucas, that the publisher of the volume, Marcolini, was in any way responsible for the contents of the book printed at his house.

The contents of this Zeno volume were regarded as trustworthy by contemporaries and by fellow-citizens of the compiler, some of whom were well versed in affairs and in the records of European expansion. Since their time, a fair majority of students of Atlantic exploration have held the opinion that the volume was based upon documents contemporary with the events which it professes to describe. Many of the statements in the second, or North Atlantic, narrative, however, are manifestly improbable as they are related. The result has been that many students have looked upon this narrative with suspicion, and not a few have declared that it was a fabrication devised for the purpose of heightening the glory of the Zeno family, and perchance also of detracting from the fame of the Genoese Columbus. Those who have suggested these motives have perhaps not given proper considera-

tion to the fact, evident to any one who will examine the volume in question, that it does not contain a single expression of the satisfaction which the compiler might very naturally have felt in his kinship with the first Venetian Ambassador to Persia, nor is there any phrase which can be construed into a claim that his ancestors reached distant lands which were in any way connected with those discovered by Columbus, to whose name and exploit there is not the slightest reference.

Mr. Richard Henry Major, in 1873, translated for the Hakluyt Society that portion of the 1558 Zeno volume which describes the adventures of the brothers Nicolò and Antonio. An elaborate introduction contained Mr. Major's reasons for believing in the essential truth of his narrative, together with his efforts to identify the modern names of the localities mentioned in the Italian text. Mr. Fiske and others have adopted his conclusions without serious question, but there has been, nevertheless, an increasing disposition during recent years, among students who have had occasion to look into the subject, to doubt the accuracy of Mr. Major's identifications. This has led inevitably to a feeling of doubt as to the amount of reliance which could safely be placed on the whole narrative. It was manifestly desirable that the subject should be examined anew, in the light of the many recent cartographic discoveries, and that a fresh effort should be made to establish definitely the falsity of the entire narrative, or to determine what portions of it are deserving of credit.

This task has been assumed by Mr. F. W. Lucas. The result of his researches is a noteworthy contribution to the literature of American discovery. With the assistance of his publishers, the firm which has done so much during two generations to throw light on the dark places in our history, Mr. Lucas has produced a magnificent volume, a model for the setting forth of any serious work in cartographic history. The text is illuminated by facsimiles, made by the most trustworthy processes of reproduction, of the maps to which the larger part of this investigation has been devoted, and of the original volumes in which the Zeno narrative first appeared in Italian and in English. The appendices bear ample testimony to many hours of careful study of ancient volumes and maps, deciphering, copying, collating, comparing, classifying and tabulating names and legends and cartographic outlines. There is a bibliography which will prove of the greatest assistance to any one who desires acquaintance with the literature of European expansion into the Atlantic. There can be no doubt that Mr. Lucas has succeeded in producing a volume which will determine the treatment of the Zeno voyages by future writers of text-books and of popular history. The certainty and the clearness of his concluding summary, the generous fashion in which his theory is presented, the difficulty in discovering the precise grounds upon which the several steps of his argument are based, alike assure the acceptance of his dicta by those who will popularize his conclusions.

Mr. Lucas states frankly that he desires to say "the last word on this great and mischievous imposture," and he sums up his work with the declaration that he has proved "that Zeno's work has been one of the most ingenious, most successful, and most enduring literary impostures which have ever gull-

ed a confiding public." In the face of this utterance, Mr. Lucas will not take it amiss if he is met with equally clear and decided statements of opinion by those who continue to believe that the true and ultimate end of historical investigation is not mere negation—even in matters connected with the early exploration of America—and that the insinuation of dishonorable motives and the denial of personal honesty are not the safest and wisest, although they may be the easiest, method of dealing with the puzzling problems of history.

The difficulty in following Mr. Lucas to his conclusions begins with the very first of his assumptions, which is that the two divisions of the Zeno book—the account of the Persian Embassy and that of the Atlantic voyages—are entirely distinct in their character. A most careful examination of the original volume reveals not the slightest grounds for any such supposition. Even a superficial reading of the Hakluyt Society translation of the Persian narrative would suffice to show that the method of its compilation, the documents from which it claims to be derived, the style and the contents, are of exactly the same sort as the rest of the volume of 1558. Both, according to the compiler, are based upon his family archives. Both contain references to lost material of the greatest value. The story of the death of Archimedes finds its way into the Persian narrative in exactly the same manner as the myth of Dædalus and a North Atlantic Icaria into the other. Each illustrates a psychologic phenomenon which is familiar to most readers of mediæval voyagers. As a basis for historical criticism, the arguments taken from the Icarian story are on a par with those (to which Mr. Lucas returns more than once) based upon the fact that no one in the nineteenth century has been able to find the manuscripts of which the Zeno book purports to give the substance. The discovery of specific fourteenth (or sixteenth) century manuscripts is not easy, nor is the hunt for them ordinarily successful. If Mr. Lucas will try to lay his hands upon almost any one of the original manuscripts of the documents printed in Ramusio's great collection, he will learn much concerning the chances of survival of historical material. A similar search for the manuscripts copied by Richard Hakluyt would doubtless be instructive. In brief, the method of criticism adopted by Mr. Lucas would destroy the value of the Zeno Persian narrative just as completely as it assumes to do when applied to the account of the Atlantic voyages. The argument amounts to this, that if there is a statement in the text which can be found in print or in manuscript at an earlier date than that of the volume of 1558, then such a statement may have been taken from the earlier work; if no such earlier authority can be unearthed, then the statement may have been a creation of the compiler's brain. The transition from "may have been," when frequently enough repeated, to "was," is another psychologic phenomenon of frequent recurrence in historical literature.

The story told in the Zeno volume can be briefly outlined. The compiler states that when he was a boy, he got hold of a manuscript book which contained an account of the adventures of an ancestor who had made a voyage to the north of Europe. In childish fashion, he tore that book to pieces. Many years later, he discovered among the family archives, of which he would have become possessed through the death of his fa-

ther in the year preceding that of the publication of the 1558 volume, certain letters in which these same adventures were described. From these he endeavored to construct a narrative which should replace the one destroyed by his childish heedlessness. The resulting pages contain the substance of two letters written from the north by the elder Nicolò Zeno to his brother Antonio, a third presumably addressed to some other member of the family, and three letters written by Antonio, after he had joined Nicolò, to a third brother, Carlo. The compiler, the younger Nicolò, joins these together by connecting paragraphs. This, as Mr. Lucas remarks, is a well-known device of fictionists; it is also the method most naturally adopted by an intelligent honest person who desires to set forth facts in his family history from documents found in his family archives.

These letters relate how Nicolò the elder sailed from Venice around to the north of Europe, where he was caught in a storm and driven out of his course, until he was wrecked on an island. Rescued from the plundering natives by a powerful chief or "Prince" who chanced to be near, Nicolò's nautical skill was quickly recognized, and he was given a position of authority in the fleet of his rescuer. This position Nicolò soon improved by his success in several expeditions undertaken against the neighboring islands. Finding the life and its opportunities agreeable, Nicolò wrote urging his brother Antonio to join him. After the arrival of Antonio, they engaged in various expeditions, one of which took them a long distance into the western ocean, to a country which is described under a name that can be made to suggest that of Greenland, but in terms which apply, not to Greenland, but very aptly to Iceland. Returning from this place, where the cold had broken Nicolò's health so that he soon died, Antonio and his chief determined upon a voyage of exploration into the remoter west. They were persuaded to this, according to the narrative, by certain fishermen's tales, the interpretation of which presents the real crux of the Zeno problem. The voyage was undertaken, and, after various mishaps among the nearer islands, the ship started west before a fair wind for six days, "but, the wind changing to the southwest, the sea therefore becoming rough, the fleet ran before the wind for four days, and at last land was discovered." No one who has dissected the reports of early voyages of exploration would for a moment imagine from this passage that the discovery was necessarily made at the end of the tenth day. In returning from this country, Zeno sailed steadily eastward for twenty days, and for five days towards the southeast, before he hit upon land, which luckily lay within the range of his earlier adventures. There is not the least reason why this discovered land, upon which Zeno left his chief to found a city and conduct further explorations, may not have been Greenland. There is nothing in the description of the country to render this improbable.

There is little need of examining in detail all the points raised by Mr. Lucas in his indictment of the Zeno book. Even the treatment of the Frisland fisherman's story is amenable to the same sort of criticism as has already been discussed. So far as the text of Mr. Lucas's work is concerned, his evidently honest efforts to set forth the facts as they really are, have apparently prevented him from presenting any convincing proof

of the falsity or the improbability of the story which has been outlined in the preceding paragraphs. His efforts, indeed, have not been entirely negative, and he has offered two or three very suggestive hints which afford important assistance towards distinguishing between the true and the immaterial in the Zeno narrative, and in discovering the most probable identification of the localities associated with the northern career of the Zeni brothers. The most valuable of these contributions is the suggestion that the chief (or Prince) Zichmni, whose identification with the historical Earl Sinclair of the Orkneys has long been recognized as presenting many perplexing difficulties, may more probably have been the Vitalian pirate Wichmannus—the Italian language has no letter W—who was the leader of a very powerful band which conducted successful depredations in the Baltic and North Seas between 1388 and 1401. What little is told us of this leader and his doings renders this identification thoroughly plausible, making possible the explanation of many details which have been a source of much trouble to the defenders of the Zeno story. As regards the spelling of this and other names in the book of 1558, few things in Mr. Lucas's book are harder to understand than his insistence upon the difficulty of reconciling these names as spelled by Nicolò the younger with those of any known individuals and places. Even in this present enlightened age and land, it may be doubted whether many members of the United States Senate, even among such as possess ancestors five generations back, would be able to transcribe correctly any large proportion of unfamiliar proper names written in the course of a family correspondence by those ancestors. The handwriting of the fourteenth century was not more easily read by a man of affairs in the sixteenth than that of our seventeenth-century ancestors is to-day. Even among our own contemporaries, there are some who find difficulty in writing proper names so that they will be entirely legible. Add the fact that, in Mr. Lucas's opinion, these names in the Zeno book were copied from manuscripts which had been preserved for a full generation after having been torn to pieces by a boy, and some amazement may be pardonable at his surprise because these names of places in the least-known portion of Europe, written in 1400, were not transcribed in 1558 in a way to render them perfectly intelligible in 1898.

The few lines which are left for a reference to the material upon which Mr. Lucas bases the main portion of his indictment are perhaps not unfairly proportionate to its real importance. The Zeno volume of 1558 contains a map illustrating the narrative of the Atlantic voyages. According to the compiler, this map was redrawn by him from an old navigation chart found among the family archives, "all rotten and many years old." If any one will compare the photographic facsimiles of such well-preserved maps as the 1500 *La Cosa* or the 1544 Cabot with any half-dozen sketches or pseudo-facsimiles of these maps such as have appeared in scientific historical treatises within the last twenty-five years, he will be prepared to understand why the younger Nicolò may not have succeeded in producing an accurate reproduction of his model. Nicolò junior must have been familiar with the current notions about the North Atlantic lands as they were represented in the maps of his own time.

He would have been culpably negligent in his duties as an editor, according to the very proper standards of his age, if he had not endeavored to restore what he could not decipher in his model, in the light of what were for him the latest results of exploration and cartographic science. Mr. Lucas applies to this map the same critical method as to the narrative text. It is not easy to account for the adoption of such a method of cartographic investigation by one who understands as thoroughly as does Mr. Lucas the state of the navigating and cartographic sciences in the fifteenth century. In his researches he has succeeded in discovering a prototype for every feature on the Zeno map, with two exceptions. These two he assumes to be forgeries, hatched in the brain of the compiler of the map. It is hardly necessary to discuss this theory in detail; it should be sufficient to point out that in order to reconstruct the Zeno chart as it was published in 1558, Mr. Lucas has had to bring together facsimiles of more than a dozen maps drawn before that date, many of which exist only in manuscript at places remote from Venice. Had all of these maps been seen and examined, for whatever purpose, by any one man in 1558, it may safely be assumed that the result would have been very different from the map and booklet published for Nicolò Zeno in that year. Mr. Lucas has, however, now brought together in his volume admirable facsimiles of the pertinent portions of most of these, and of more than as many other maps of the same period, making the satisfactory study of them possible in hundreds of places far removed from the Old World storehouses where alone the originals may be consulted.

For his contribution to our facilities for historical and cartographic knowledge, no praise or gratitude can be too strong. If his methods and his results have been subjected to still further criticism and indictment, it is because the truth, even in such a matter as the Zeni voyages, can be reached only through the clash of intelligent opinion vigorously expressed. Mr. Lucas has set a most creditable example of vigor and intelligence. It would be unfair to him not to reply with equal earnestness and honesty of opinion, and with whatever intelligence can be gained through a diligent study of material inaccessible to the majority of students prior to the appearance of his volume.

THE CHILD IN EDUCATION.

A Study of a Child. By Louise E. Hogan. Illustrated with over 500 original drawings by the child. Harpers. 1898. Pp. 320.

The Study of the Child. A Brief Treatise on the Psychology of the Child, with Suggestions for Teachers, Students, and Parents. By A. R. Taylor, Ph.D., President of the State Normal School, Emporia, Kansas. [International Education Series.] D. Appleton & Co. 1898. Pp. 215.

The Development of the Child. By Nathan Oppenheim, Attending Physician to the Children's Department of Mount Sinai Hospital Dispensary. Macmillan. 1898. Pp. 296.

Not the least important of the results of the doctrine of evolution has been the emphasis placed incidentally on the study of the development of individual children. Darwin studied his own child. Earlier pioneers in such study were Tiedemann and Sigismund in Germany. The most systematic investi-

gation of this kind was made by the late Prof. Preyer, as reported in his classic work, *The Mind of the Child*. Since Preyer's study, similar investigations have been made by Paola Lombroso, daughter of the famous Italian alienist; Miss Shinn, Mrs. Moore, and others. *The Study of a Child* before us is another attempt to follow Preyer's example. It is a record of the first seven years of a boy's life made by a mother apparently with no special psychological training. It has many of the merits as well as the defects of a record by an untrained observer. Among the former are the simple and straightforward style, the evidence of freedom from psychological prejudice, and the absence of any attempt to make the facts support philosophical theories. Of the defects, one notes especially the scrappy notes on the psychologically interesting activities of the first year, the meagre record of the child's motor activities, apart from talking and drawing, the frequent gaps in the record throughout, and, on the other hand, the occasional lapse into unimportant details.

The book is a simple story of the ordinary activities of an ordinary healthy child who spent his time in eating, sleeping, and playing; in sleeping, playing, and eating; and, at a later period, in sleeping, eating, playing, and talking—a child who loved "choo-choos" and rabbits, was interested in drawing and mechanical activities, sang songs, held dialogues with his pussy, puzzled over the idiosyncrasies of the English language and the mysteries of the human body, and sometimes broached problems of ethics and ontology. There is nothing in the volume that is sensational, few records of precocious activities, and nothing that will appear to be either a great contribution or a stumbling-block to psychologists; and while much of it will be foolishness to practical fathers and mothers, still many homes would be quieter and pleasanter and many children healthier and happier if parents would apply the suggestions for the training of children contained in this simple story; and every such record is a welcome contribution, however small, to the psychology of development.

The *Treatise on the Psychology of the Child* is introduced to the public by Dr. William T. Harris, Commissioner of Education, as a "sound and wholesome book on child study," and Dr. Harris contributes a preface discussing the symbolic and functional stages of mind in childhood. That the book is wholesome and, for the most part, sound, is not to be denied, and we shall not quarrel with the preface; but it is milk for babes in child study rather than strong meat for mature students in psychology. The author states that the book is "intended simply to serve as an introduction to child nature and child problems," and such should have been the title. It would serve its purpose as an introduction better, however, if the writer had a deeper conception of the real significance of child study. He does not even give the results of many important investigations made in recent years, such as those by Garbini, G. Stanley Hall, Sully, Russell, and Barnes—names which, by the way, do not appear at all (unless in the bibliography) in the pages of his book. Instead of this, seeing that the results in child study already obtained are imperfect, he has attempted to systematize what is necessarily incomplete by filling the gaps in child psychology with the old con-

venient dogmas of adult psychology. Thus, practically, the author does the very thing which the whole spirit of the child-study movement forbids. He fails to recognize that what may be true of the mature mind is not necessarily true of the developing mind.

Dr. Taylor's style is not always clear, and some statements are unfortunate. For example, he says (page 60), "The bridge over from the physical to the mental is found in consciousness." To the psychologist this sentence is as luminous as the statement that the bridge over from Brooklyn to New York is found in Manhattan. How will it be understood by the beginner? Again, on page 42, quoting Compayré, the writer states that all young children are myopic. Now the functional myopia referred to by Compayré is a very different thing from what is usually called myopia. In fact, hyperopia is so common in young children that many authorities regard it as the normal condition of the eye in infancy. Apart, however, from such minor defects, the book is usually clearly written. No one will question the need of a work on this subject in the International Education Series. However commonplace some of its teachings, it contains much of practical importance; and especially the parts relating to hygiene should be read and remembered by teachers. And now that Mr. Taylor has given us an "Introduction," it may be hoped that the editor will find some one to write the "Treatise."

A praiseworthy contribution to such a treatise has been made by Dr. Oppenheim in *The Development of the Child*. His thesis is that a child is a different creature from an adult, and his insistence is upon the educational and hygienic significance of this fact. His data indicate that, so far as salient physiological and psychological factors are concerned, the child and the adult are almost totally different. "Multiply the proportions of the infant to those of the adult, and you will have a being whose large head and dwarfed lower face, whose apex-like thorax, whose short arms and legs give a grotesque appearance. The two do not breathe alike, their pulse rates are not alike, the composition of their bodies is not alike." The proportion of the different parts of the body is not the same; for example, according to Vierordt, the muscles form 23.4 per cent. of the total weight of the body in the newborn child, 43.09 per cent. in the adult. The brain forms 14.34 per cent. of the total body weight in the new-born, only 2.37 per cent. in the adult. The chemical constituents of the tissues are different in childhood and in maturity. The various organs differ. The heart and other viscera are different. There is a great difference in the relation of the heart to the arterial system. Oppenheim puts this graphically by saying: "In infancy the relation of the volume of the heart to the width of the ascending aorta is as 25 to 20, before puberty as 140 to 56, and after puberty as 290 to 61." There are corresponding differences in blood pressure, nutrition, secretion, excretion, and other functions. Such are some of the more obvious. Still more interesting are the differences in the nervous tissue, the greater part of the central nervous system being "unripe" at birth; and equally important are the psychological differences between the child and the adult. In a word, the organism in childhood is uneven, unstable, provisional, and a valuable service has been rendered in bringing to-

gether the evidence that the child is not the father of the man.

The meagreness of our knowledge of development is apparent from the limitations of this book. The author hardly attempts to show that at different stages the child differs from the adult. In fact, our present knowledge does not permit us to form any complete picture of the child in the various stages of development from infancy to maturity. Yet such knowledge lies at the very foundation of any true system of education. A German writer, Dr. Stimpff, has recently said that, after 2,000 years of talk, pedagogy is still in about the same stage of development as physics at the time of Galileo. Whether or not he puts this too strongly, he is certainly right when he adds that if biological research shall contribute a pedagogical physiology and psychology and a pedagogical hygiene in accordance with the laws of development, then pedagogy will undoubtedly acquire the status of an actual science.

Problems of Modern Industry. By Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Longmans, Green, & Co. 1898.

The authors of this volume are probably, on the whole, the best exponents of "collectivism" in its modern form. Of their sincerity there can be no question; it is established by internal evidence as well as by that *attitude*. The most conclusive test of it is to be found in the careful reasoning with which they support their theories and attack those of their opponents. They recognize the existence of difficulties, and struggle seriously to meet them. Whether their reasoning appears fallacious to others is a different matter; they, at least, are heartily convinced that it is sound. For the fullest statement of their economic theories their *'History of Trade-Unionism'* should be consulted; but in some of the essays reprinted in this volume readers will find everything essential. A few papers are mere padding, but most of them are substantial and relevant to the issue.

The views of these agitators are the only views of socialism that can logically be held. According to these views, the present system is unjust in that the people who work for wages do not and cannot get as much wages as their employers can afford to pay them. Hence the wage-earners must get hold of the Government and compel the employers to pay more. They must fix a minimum rate of wages and a maximum labor day; and if employers decline to carry on business on these terms, the Government will step in and carry it on for the public account. To the objection that profits will be reduced, it is replied that they have been much reduced in the past and can be still more in the future; and it is even maintained that this can be done without injury to foreign trade. Moreover, in the confiscation of the "unearned increment," there is an infinite possibility of revenue. In the attainment of these ends it is indispensable that all wage-earners co-operate; hence they must be forced into trade-unions and be prevented from becoming capitalists. Instead of rising in the economic world by prudence and by competition, they must retain their status, unless chosen by their rulers for positions of authority.

Such, in brief, is the logical basis of collectivism, which we need not here criti-

dise. Those who think the authors' reasoning sound will certainly enjoy these essays; those who think it fallacious will at least get the enjoyment which is derived from analyzing ingenious and plausible fallacies.

The Great Salt Lake Trail. By Col. Henry Inman and Col. William F. Cody. Macmillan. 1898. 8vo, pp. xii, 529, pl. 8 and other illustrations.

This book has no more to do with its title than had Inman's 'Old Santa Fé Trail' to do with its ostensible subject; both deal with any part of the West in a reprehensible and factitious manner. Neither is devoid of a certain readability for the unwary, which makes them both pernicious. Col. Inman's offence in the present instance is greater than in the other. The book opens, after a few pointless words, with an account of the overland Astorian expedition (pp. 3-31), with a footnote at the end of the chapter, "See Astoria, by Washington Irving"—acknowledgment enough for some specific statement on one page, perhaps; certainly not for the misappropriation of a whole chapter. The next chapter (pp. 32-62) is lifted from Coyner's 'Lost Trappers'—an apocryphal book, now happily so rare and little known that Col. Inman may have thought he could with impunity serve over the old fables concerning Ezekiel Williams. Chap. iii., pp. 63-80, is similarly derived from the Autobiography of James P. Beckwourth, without a word of acknowledgment. Chap. iv., pp. 81-96, has on its opening page a footnote, "See Washington Irving's Astoria," which settles that. Chap. v., pp. 97-109, is mainly quoted from some source not named. Chaps. vi., vii., pp. 110-162, on the Mormon emigration of 1847 and the Mountain Meadow massacre, are apparently thrown together from several sources, but mainly from Bancroft's History of Utah, as the word "Bancroft" constitutes a footnote on p. 120. Chap. viii., pp. 164-210, on the pony express, is said to be given "as related to the author of the book by Col. Alexander Majors"; but it includes some of "Buffalo Bill's" own yarns, and a rehash of the rubbish about Slade and Jules which Mark Twain made famous in 'Roughing It,' and N. P. Langford discredited in his 'Vigilante Days and Ways.'

So we might go through the several chapters, finding nothing new that is true, nothing true that is new, and all the pickings singularly botched in their transfer to these pages, till we come to chaps. xvi., xvii., pp. 382-461. These are Col. Cody's contribution to the volume, apparently genuine, inasmuch as they are what the writer chose to say of his adventures and of the Custer massacre; but not now original, as they are all in quotation marks, and so, we suppose, transferred from some previous book by "Buffalo Bill." But chap. xviii., pp. 462-476, contains the story of "Old Hatcher's" fit of delirium tremens, of which Col. Inman says it is "presented just as he used to tell it." The English of this statement is, that Col. Inman abstracted it in full from chap. xix., pp. 236-265, of Lewis H. Garrard's 'Wah-to-yah' (12mo, Cincinnati, 1850)—without the slightest reference to Garrard. What magnifies the offence is, that the whole is placed in quotation marks, yet persistently misquoted, as we find by comparing the two publications. The last chapter in the book, professing to

give the "Story of the Union Pacific Railroad" in twenty pages (!), is extracted with due acknowledgment from the address of Gen. G. M. Dodge before the Army of the Tennessee at Toledo, September 15, 1880.

Modern Political Institutions. By Simeon E. Baldwin. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1898.

Although this book is made up largely of addresses delivered before various associations, it has a sufficient unity of purpose. According to the author's use of the term, modern political institutions are those "which became such by the recognition and approval of our own century, or are contending for that of the twentieth." Chief among these he reckons the foundation of all government on the consent of a majority of the people, religious liberty, the written constitution as the supreme law, the combination of political absolutism with democracy, the regulation of succession to the dead in the interest of the state, international arbitration, and the Monroe Doctrine. To these are added some institutions of a legal rather than political character, and certain general propositions which have a rather remote connection with institutions of any kind. It is at least doubtful if the Monroe Doctrine can be properly described as a political institution; it might now, perhaps, be properly considered in the essay on "The Decadence of the Legal Fiction." Nor is it apparent why the assertion by the Government of a claim to share in the property of decedents should be regarded as anything modern; and the combination of political absolutism with democracy was familiar to Aristotle.

We must confess that we find a certain inconsistency in proclaiming this political absolutism and in calling the written constitution the supreme law. It is unnecessary to say that the framers of our Constitution intended to limit the power of the Executive. Many of them dreaded this power extremely, and they took great pains to hedge it about with constitutional restrictions. Nevertheless, this author describes, almost in terms of exultation, the vast extent of the powers now exercised by the President, which he puts on the same level as those of the Czar of Russia. "The President, during half the year, is the United States more truly than ever Louis XIV. was France." We will not stop to discuss the correctness of this view; but we cannot read without amazement that there is no danger to the liberties of a people in the rule of a despot. "The most impetuous man is held back if a hasty word or act of his might put the peace or welfare of a nation in peril. It is his very absolutism that has made the President, in respect to all matters of foreign policy—and there he is most powerful—the great conservative force in our constitutional system." We are tempted to recall the episode of Venezuela; but that episode, we find, the author regards with much complacency.

In his examination of some departments of legal procedure, the author's scholarship is well employed. The paper on "Freedom of Incorporation" contains a careful account of the achievements of the Roman lawyers in the creation and development of corporations of all kinds, the renewal of the process in Europe after the Middle Ages, its course in England, and the main lines which it has followed in the United States. This is the most elaborate essay in the book; but there are others, such as that on legal fictions, and

the exemption of the accused from examination in criminal proceedings, which are of especial interest to lawyers.

The True Benjamin Franklin. By Sydney George Fisher. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. [1898.] 1899. 12mo, pp. 269.

The word "True" in Mr. Fisher's title is clearly intended to refer to the book, and not to the man, for his pen-portrait leaves an impression of a being far better described by its opposite, false. There is a story current in literary circles that a Philadelphian was employed to prepare, for a series, a life of Franklin, and that the MS. as first submitted was returned to him by the publisher with the comment, "If he was no more than this, he does not deserve a place in our series." Of this curiously persistent Philadelphia prejudice against its greatest citizen, the present book is a good expression. Without any iconoclastic intention, by an entire disregard of proportion, Franklin is made so ignoble and so repulsive that one marvels that the most cultivated classes of both Great Britain and France could ever for a moment have tolerated his friendship, much less have held him in veneration. It is Cromwell with the wart, and the wart so magnified by the depicter that it has become in truth a mask rather than a blemish. Scarcely a merit which Franklin possessed but is belittled into obscurity, while each fault is so accented that it is fairly thrust in one's face. Defects he had, known chiefly through his own honest confession of them in his Autobiography; but in that very book, which Mr. Fisher has so largely quoted from and so openly paraphrased, the author should have learned the proper ratio of space to give to the well and evil-doing of the man. That a runaway apprentice thoughtlessly and youthfully sinned is no reason for writing a life of him, but there is reason when we find that this 'prentice, step by step, atoned for every slip so far as lay within his power, and advanced himself to the foremost rank. To his own generation Franklin was a man of morality and honor whose aid could always be counted upon for good, and whose friendship was a privilege. Is this judgment of his contemporaries, is a life given to the public weal, to count for nothing?

But we have a more special bone of contention. Poor Richard remarked that "One mend-fault is better than two find-faults, but that two find-faults are better than one make-fault," and it seems to us that the epigram applies. Although Mr. Fisher notes in two places that women correspondents, in writing to Franklin, called him father, and signed themselves "your daughter," and though a little more research would have shown him letters of Franklin couched in the same parental terms, on an allusion in a letter of John Foxcroft to "your Daughter," and on three equally vague messages in Franklin's letters to "my daughter," he founds the positive statement that he had "an illegitimate daughter." As a lawyer, Mr. Fisher should know the true value of such testimony, the more that elsewhere he practically acknowledges that "speculations" over this newly discovered child "are mere guesses unsupported by evidence," leading us to conclude that the author is one of those described by Franklin when he declared that "historians relate, not so much what is done, as what they would have believed." Fortunately, a little light can be shed on Mrs. Foxcroft, which will go far to show the

value of Mr. Fisher's historical methods, both in research and in conclusion. John Foxcroft was married in London on August 2, 1770, by the Rev. Thomas Coombe, at St. James's Church, Westminster, to Judith Osgood of "this parish," resident in King Street. The groom was deputy postmaster under, and an old friend of, Franklin, and the latter was present at the marriage as one of the witnesses. If, after a due consideration of the dates of Franklin's English sojourns, Mr. Fisher wishes further knowledge on this subject for "speculation," we recommend him to read Franklin's letter to Foxcroft of September 7, 1774.

Space has been given to this matter because it is announced as a startling discovery, and it is best that the bane should have its antidote; but otherwise it is not possible to take the book seriously. It is written in a hopelessly slipshod manner as to form; errors of quotations abound, and still more errors of fact; indeed, it seems as if the author went out of his way to err. He looks into the Autobiography, and, finding that Franklin had the pleurisy, and that his friend Dunbar died of "I forget what distemper," he promptly kills the latter with the pleurisy. Franklin's statement that he "burnt" his "wicked tract" becomes "tore up." "\$1,000 Pennsylvania currency" is transmuted into \$5,000—an exchange that would have delighted any one possessed of the depreciated paper money of the time, but not one for a writer to make in these days. The long-sought-for "first appearance" of the "Speech of Polly Baker" is nonchalantly dated and placed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, but with a lack of preciseness that leads us to conclude that the author has

been no more successful than his predecessors, and we cannot advise a waste of even Mr. Fisher's time in following up the clue he has so temptingly evolved. In the same manner he decides the moot point as to the approximate date of the birth of William Franklin, but unfortunately neglects to give us better authority than his own statement. Collectors of Frankliniana will be interested to learn that "Poor Richard" had, previous to Franklin's arrival in France in 1776, been the "delight for years" of the French, for it has generally been supposed that the first French edition was issued in 1777. Bradford, the printer, we are told, had come to New York "recently," though he had been a resident for twenty-nine years. England is engaged in preparations for war with Spain in 1743, which raises a question as to the status of the expeditions against Porto Bello, Carthage, etc., of the previous years. Worse still is the assertion that the Seven Years' War began with Braddock's defeat. A commoner error is the statement that Burgoyne surrendered, though the General would have indignantly denied it, with the dictionary and all military men in his support. Finally, the author has made a dead brother executor for a living one—something difficult even for a lawyer—by mixing William and Thomas Whately. Such are types of the errors strewn as thickly through the pages as the author has strewn the "errata" of Franklin's life, but, unlike his, without counterbalancing virtues or attempted atonement.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Bailey, L. H. *The Principles of Agriculture*. Macmillan. \$1.25.

Bardess, C. W. *Commissioner Hume. A Story of New York Schools*. Syracuse: C. W. Bardess. 1898. 32 pp. 10c.

Cornwall, D. W. *Spencer and Sand. A Narrative of Five Years' Pioneering and Exploration in Western Australia*. M. F. Mansfield & Co. 32. Clark, J. O. L. *Verona*. Lancaster, Mass.: The Author.

Emerson, R. W. *Select Essays and Poems*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. 30c.

Garretson, Beulah O. *Florida Fancies*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.

Gunter, A. C. *Jack Oursen*. Homer Publishing Co.

Haigh, A. E. *The Little Theatre*. 3d ed., revised, enlarged, and in part rewritten. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde.

Hall, Tom. *An Experimental Wooling*. R. E. Herrick & Co. \$1.25.

Jordan, Kate. *A Circle in the Sand*. Boston: Lamson, Wolfe & Co. \$1.25.

King, Capt. Charles. *A Wounded Name*. F. T. Neely.

Lost We Forget. Illustrated. E. R. Herrick & Co.

McMann, Blanche. *Told in the Twilight*. Illustrated. E. R. Herrick & Co. \$1.25.

Newton, Rev. R. H. *Christian Science*. Putnam. 25c.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1899.

The Week.

Congress finds itself in something more than its usual condition of congested legislation, only five weeks from the end of the session. The appropriation bills are in a backward state, and as for the sea of legislative troubles which expansion has brought upon us, both houses seem to be floundering in the waters helplessly. There is the army bill but just passed the House; there is the Nicaragua Canal bill still stuck in committee; there is the Hawaiian bill, dangling somewhere between heaven and earth; there is the shipping-subsidies bill, not yet discussed in Senate or House. That all these measures can be acted upon intelligently before the 4th of March is impossible. This is not saying that they will not be acted upon. They may be squeezed through and into conference in some rough-hewn condition, or Congress may conclude to throw up its hands in despair, and follow the new fashion of "leaving it all to McKinley." If Congressmen find a bill to dig a canal too much for them, it seems simplicity itself to "authorize the President" to go ahead and dig it. So of raising an army. Solemn Mr. Marsh of Illinois told the House on Thursday that he "violated no confidence" in saying that the President would not enlist one man more than necessary. How easy and natural to turn the whole matter over to such an Executive. If Congress is at its wits' end—no long journey—there is always the President to call upon to do its work, and he, if we know him, has wisdom to spare for all.

The President has at last sent to the Senate copies of the instructions which he gave the Paris Peace Commissioners. The documents were confided to the Senate under seal of strictest secrecy; therefore, their contents were at once known all over Washington. It appears that Mr. McKinley did not instruct his Commissioners to demand the entire Philippine archipelago. The island of Luzon alone was the extent of his original instructions. It was the Commissioners themselves who found, in discussion with the Spaniards, and after consultation with our army and navy officers, that it would be necessary to adopt the policy of all or none. Being the men they were, it is needless to say that they decided for all. They so informed the President, and he acquiesced, "reluctantly," as usual. Without pinning our faith to the accuracy of all these details, as they come from the sacred secrecy of the Senate, it is suf-

ficient for the present to say that they are inherently probable, and that they are supported by independent evidence. But if the treaty is the Commissioners' and not the President's, if, as Senator Davis has boasted, they got more at Paris than they went for, what becomes of the theory of the strong silent man in the White House, foreseeing everything and settling everything? It was because he made the treaty that we are to trust everything else to him; but if he didn't make it, if it was forced upon him, we shall have to look elsewhere for a supernatural being to save the country from the necessity of thought and work.

The pending treaty has this unusual stipulation:

"The civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories hereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by Congress."

The command is peremptory. Only Congress is vested with the authority, not the President and Senate, nor the Cubans, nor the Porto Ricans, nor the Filipinos. When Congress must determine is not stipulated. The treaties with France, Spain, and Mexico, ceding to us land and peoples, stipulated that the ceded inhabitants "shall" be admitted as soon as possible, "according to the principles of the Federal Constitution," to all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens. That with Russia also stipulated for citizenship of all (excepting uncivilized Indian tribes) who preferred to remain in Alaska. Why the new departure in the pending treaty? Spain had naturally little interest in the sold and quitclaimed natives, and she did not promote the stipulation. Why did the President and his Commissioners at Paris exclude the usual phrase, "according to the principles of the Federal Constitution," which Senator Teller now insists have nothing to do with Territories till Congress shall so ordain? A treaty is the "supreme law of the land," and, therefore, if the treaty shall be ratified, then the present or the next Congress can dictate the political status of the dozen and more millions of ceded people. If the fourteenth article of amendment of the Constitution cannot expand over those millions, then Congress can declare that their children, as well as the existing natives, shall never be citizens. No President can veto anything that Congressmen may do in that relation. Will Congress determine those "civil rights and political status" before the treaty has been made and exchanged? If the Senate shall advise that the treaty be made in its present form, and if the Constitution will not, *proprio rigore*, expand over the new acquisitions, then Congress can, if it has the physical force, constitutionally reduce all the Cu-

bans, Porto Ricans, and Filipinos to slavery, or any other form of involuntary servitude such as exists in Zanzibar. That Congress will not do that, but will only reduce them to subjection as subjects, and not elevate them to be citizens, is inconsequential so far as concerns the wisdom or unwisdom of the treaty.

Senator Davis's willingness to have the treaty brought to a vote on February 6 doubtless means that he and the President are confident it will then be ratified. The opponents of the treaty, or of the dangers which they see lurking in the treaty, have been at a great tactical disadvantage. Ardent friends of peace, they have had to appear in the ungracious rôle of antagonists of a treaty of peace. It is as a treaty of peace that the instrument will be ratified, if at all. Merely as a charter of conquest, as a justification of government forcibly imposed on distant races, as a document embodying grave departures from the established policy of this Government, it is evident that the treaty would be repugnant to the moral sense and the political instincts of the people, and would be doomed in Senate and nation alike. But garbed in the livery of a treaty of peace, it may have to be accepted. Several Senators who are reckoned against it, and who are against it, *per se*, will doubtless say that, under the circumstances, they do not feel justified in refusing to put an end to the anomalous and critical situation in which the country is placed as a result of the war with Spain. The demands of the business interests of the country that a possible menace to the present prosperity be removed by ratifying the treaty, have already made themselves heard, and would speak in more imperative tones if the treaty were thought in serious danger of falling. Then there is the undoubted fact that the treaty would certainly be ratified after March 4 if defeated now. This takes the heart out of Senators who fight for victory, not for principle.

One of President McKinley's nobles says in his paper, the *Tribune*, apropos of the Senate's delay in ratifying his treaty:

"It is for the President to judge whether, in the light of all information at his command, the time has come to put an end to uncertainty in the Philippine Islands about the intention of the Government. Perhaps the most merciful thing for the stupidly guided natives, and the wisest for those who are more or less consciously the tools of foreign Powers, would be without further delay to smash up the shadow of opposition, scatter their forces, and take into custody some of their leaders who send insulting missives to Washington. Certainly such behavior on the part of Cubans, who do at all events show a better disposition towards responsible self-government, would not have been tolerated at any time."

We could hardly have desired a better

illustration than the foregoing of Prof. Sumner's thesis produced the other day at New Haven, that it was the Spaniards who had conquered us, not we the Spaniards. Could there be anything more thoroughly Spanish than the above suggestion that, being disgusted with the slowness of constitutional processes, the President should take the matter out of the hands of the Legislature by military force, execute the treaty in his own way, and lay violent hands on foreigners who owe him no allegiance, and over whom he has not one particle of legal authority, because they do not obey his orders?

We hope the professors of political science in the colleges are taking note of these things. They could not have a better example of the way in which public liberties have perished in all preceding republics. First you get up a war; then you make the people drunk with conquest; then you make your conqueror your great man; then you get more and more to admire the swiftness and efficacy of military processes; then you are struck by the additions he has made to the national glory and fame and importance; then you conclude that a man whose military undertakings have ended so well must be a good and wise man; then you get furious with the legislators and advocates and editors for debating or gainsaying his plans; then you think he, as commander of the army, is really in possession of the power he has asked for; then you advise him "to take away that bauble," the mace, to stop all gabble and lock the gabblers up, and you say that it is intolerable to have a great man's plans impeded by such people. The whole process is as familiar to students of history as the public highroad. One of the most effective of its arguments is that criticism encourages foreigners and domestic "kickers" to resist the great man's arrangements for their welfare. "See," the nobles say, "you infernal grumblers, if it were not for you these darned greasers, yellow bellies, or dagoes would have submitted long ago. Your talk about the Constitution makes us sick; what do you want with a Constitution when you have good men like Alger and Hanna and Eagan and McKinley on deck? What is the matter with you, anyhow? You are always grumbling."

Senator Lodge seldom sheds tears (except in political conventions where, as is well known, "strong men weep" at certain crises), but he was near the melting point in his speech in the Senate on Tuesday week. This was especially the case in that part of his oration where he contemplated a possible "humiliation of the United States in the eyes of civilized mankind," with a brand fixed upon us as "incapable of great affairs or of taking rank where we belong as one of

the greatest of the great world Powers." At this point his voice broke, and he took refuge in poetry:

"One more devil's triumph and sorrow for angels." Now, what is this threatened humiliation of the country before which Lodge blanches? Why, it is simply the demonstration that we are not a swashbuckling nation desiring or fitted for a career of vulgar conquest. What is it that is to make us "incapable" of setting up as one of the greatest of the great world Powers? Why, our Constitution, our laws, the habits and temper of our people. We are incapacitated from becoming an empire by the fact that our government is republican. We cannot rule subject races because our system contemplates only the self-government of men free and equal. Our Executive cannot go about the world annexing and governing according to his good pleasure, because our Executive is a creature of law, a man of limited powers if of unlimited wisdom. If these are the facts, where is the disgrace of taking action to reassert the nature and purpose of our government "in the eyes of civilized mankind"? The real disgrace, the real humiliation, attaches to the President and his advisers, and to Senators and Peace Commissioners who have attempted to depart from the established policy and the settled laws of the country, and are now whimpering when they find themselves in a scrape.

Mr. Lodge has formulated and proclaimed his Philippine creed. He believes that the United States has the right and power to acquire, hold, and govern foreign lands and peoples for "constitutional purposes," but Congress is the sole judge of the constitutionality. His creed makes no mention of Constitutional methods, nor of the President and Senate, the treaty-making power, as having to do with either. He believes that Congress has "absolute" power to make a petit jury in the Philippines consist of only one man or of two men; to establish there the Mormon or any other religion, and empower a Government officer to seize the private papers of a citizen. He condemns a modification of the treaty so that it will deal with the Philippines as with Cuba. He confesses that he has no plan respecting the Philippines, knows not what it is expedient to do with them; avers that nobody knows, but believes "that we shall have the wisdom not to attempt to incorporate those islands with our body politic, or make their inhabitants part of our citizenship, or set their labor alongside of ours and within our tariff to compete in any industry with American workmen"—which belief presents the precise condition of things set forth in the Vest resolution as condemning the constitutionality of the acquisition. He fancies that if the treaty falls, the protocol will fall, Cuba, Porto

Rico, and Manila will go back to Spain, the war will begin again, and McKinley's war power will have no more likelihood of end than it now has. Senator Lodge should have privately submitted his creed, before promulgation, to a good lawyer like Mr. Justice Gray of the Supreme Court.

The "friends of the Hawaiian bill" are reported from Washington to be exceedingly anxious lest their measure fail of enactment in this crowded and distraught session of Congress. We should think they would be. But if their work creates another such muddle in the islands as was brought about by the hasty annexation resolutions of last July, the longer it is delayed and the more carefully it is studied the better. An extraordinary judicial situation has been disclosed by a recent decision of the Hawaiian Supreme Court. We referred some time ago to the habeas-corpus proceedings before Chief-Justice Judd, in the case of returning Chinese. He held that, having certificates of residence in the islands, issued before annexation, they were entitled to return. Appeal was taken to the full Bench, which has now reversed Justice Judd's decision, on the ground that the annexation resolution destroyed the jurisdiction of the Hawaiian courts in all questions "arising under the laws of the United States." Congress destroyed, but it did not create. Until it acts to establish such courts as may be necessary to pass upon questions of Chinese exclusion, cases in admiralty, suits between citizens of Hawaii and citizens of California, no causes of that description can be tried in the Hawaiian Islands at all. This is the decision of the Hawaiian Supreme Court, which has naturally excited something very like consternation in Honolulu.

One of the quiet little changes in legislative practice which nobody notices, which the press barely reports, but which are of far-reaching importance, was effected in the Senate on Monday week. It was, the determination to take away from the committee on appropriations control of seven of the great appropriation bills. This change has been urged, and has been fought, for years. It is a change which took place long ago in the House, with the result, as Mr. Cannon has openly confessed, of increasing extravagance. Of the thirteen annual appropriation bills, the House committee on appropriations has long had charge of only six. To increase the power and prestige of other committees, the right to frame their own appropriations has been intrusted to them. This breaking down of a centralized control over expenditures is undoubtedly one of the chief causes of swollen appropriations. It has been steadily resisted in the Senate by Mr. Allison. He has stood for

the need of a central and coördinating authority presiding over all annual expenditures. Two years ago a strong movement was made to break up and distribute the appropriation bills among several Senate committees. Senator Allison was able to defeat it then, though with difficulty. Now he has surrendered. The small men of the smaller committees have proved too numerous for him, and have got their way. They will now be able not only to deliberate on agriculture and the army and navy and the post-office and the Indians, but to draw up money bills. What the sure result of this disintegration will be there is no doubt. Responsibility will be destroyed, and so will the surplus.

The very judicial processes of the army, the attempts of its officers to keep the honor of their ranks unsullied and to punish and expel black sheep, are meddled with and thwarted by the politician at the head of the War Office. The Secretary allows a court-martial, but the verdicts he hangs up or reverses, according to the underground political influences which the accused can bring to bear upon him. We say nothing of the pending Egan court-martial; when we see an honest verdict in that case enforced without fear or favor, we shall believe in it. But the court-martial of Capt. Carter has already become a public scandal, so outrageously have the President and Secretary Alger, in connection with it, interfered with the regular course of military justice. That officer was tried by court-martial in December, 1897; he was found guilty of corruption in engineering contracts, was sentenced to dismissal from the army, the court also recommending that criminal proceedings be brought against him. What has been the result? The President and Secretary of War have kept the papers in their possession all these months, and have been straining every nerve to find some way of letting the inculpated officer escape full punishment. Reason? Political and social "pull." Capt. Carter is an Ohio man to start with; he is rich and has rich relatives; he has powerful political friends, including Senator Platt. In a desperate hope to save so well-connected an offender, the President employed Mr. Edmunds to review the proceedings, to see if some legal flaws might not be found. Mr. Edmunds's bill of \$5,400 the President then had the effrontery to order paid out of the National Defence Fund! This was too much even for a friendly Comptroller of the Treasury, who said he was unable to see what Capt. Carter's case had to do with the war with Spain. Yet people wonder that under such a President and such a Secretary and such debauching and dishonoring methods, regular army officers should not think everything for the best in the best possible of worlds.

The average active stock on the New York market has already risen 30 to 50 per cent. in price within nine months. Many stocks have nearly or quite doubled in market value. Moreover, the last few weeks of almost unrestrained outside demand have not been wasted by the expert "promoter" of Wall Street. Such periods are his harvest seasons. A recent careful compilation by the *Financial Chronicle* shows that new corporations of the so-called "industrial" type, organized during 1898, reported aggregate share capital of no less than \$916,000,000. A good part of these shares is now being rapidly floated on the sea of Wall Street speculation. No doubt much of this mass of capital stock is intrinsically worthless—a mere bundle of paper certificates given away to the incorporators as a "bonus" on their moderate investment of real capital. But when, as has happened, the quoted price of even these shares on the Stock Exchange is doubled or trebled, and when they freely pass current at such a valuation, it must be evident that the void in the supply of investment issues, good or bad, is being filled with great rapidity. In other words, supply is overtaking demand. We do not profess to know when it will fully overtake it, or whether it has already done so. But what every experienced man does know is, that a season of excited stock speculation creates factitious values; that sooner or later the bubbles must be punctured and prices forced back to their proper level, and that when this happens, a large part of this "outside public" will be left with securities in their hands, some of them intrinsically worthless, others bought at a valuation which may not be reached again in years, if ever.

The Memphis authorities have lately sought the permission of the Legislature for the issue of the bonds needed in their city to extend the waterworks system, and had a bill passed, general in its nature but really applicable to their case, authorizing the taxing of districts, cities, and towns with a population of at least 60,000 to build or buy water-works, and to issue therefor bonds not exceeding \$2,000,000 for any place, which "shall be payable in such money as the legislative council or other governing agency of the said taxing district, city, or town may determine." This would, of course, authorize gold bonds, which the Memphis authorities would have issued. But, unfortunately, Benton McMillin, the new Executive, has always been a great "friend of silver," and he could not consent to see any discrimination against the metal of his love. He urged that the inevitable effect of the authorization sought would be to permit the payment of the proposed bonds in gold, and that experience had shown that this privilege would be improved. He declared that

he had never believed in the single gold standard, or monometallism, and that he could not be a party to any scheme which "is intended, so far as it does anything, to break down the bimetallic principle and advance the principles of the single standard." Accordingly he vetoed the bill, which kills it. The result is, that the taxpayers of Memphis must pay a higher rate of interest on their water-works bonds than they would have to do, did not consistency require the statesman who is Governor of Tennessee to stand up on all occasions for "the bimetallic principle."

It is probably from abundance of caution, solely, that the French Government have adopted the bill to bring the Dreyfus revision before the full Court of Cassation, civil as well as criminal department. Premier Dupuy is keenly aware of the difficulty of getting the country to acquiesce in any verdict favorable to Dreyfus; and he seems to have resolved to omit no measure which could satisfy even the most querulous of the perfect integrity of the court. The suspicions thrown upon some of the criminal judges by the clamorous ex-Judge Beaurepaire are but so many trifles light as air—M. Dupuy himself called them in the Chamber foolish and disgusting—yet, in the present inflammable state of public opinion in France, it is well to anticipate and disprove in advance even the most ridiculous charges. On the whole, we cannot but think that the situation is clearing. The Government steadily get in the Chamber large majorities in favor of orderly proceedings; and if the Court of Cassation is able in the end to present a harmonious and legally overwhelming report in favor of revising the Dreyfus trial, there is good reason to think it will be quietly received by the French people.

Tariff wars are almost as disastrous in their ravages as those waged in real earnest. The one that has been raging between France and Italy for ten years was of the most foolish and reciprocally harmful character. France clapped extra duties upon Italian imports, and cut them down from \$62,000,000 in 1887 to \$26,000,000 in 1897. But Italy was not idle meanwhile. Her customs taxes were levelled at the enemy, and reduced the value of French goods sold in Italy from \$65,000,000 in 1887 to \$32,000,000 in 1897. What could be a more perfect demonstration? How could silly legislation and bad policy be writ larger? Yet it has taken eight years of persistent negotiation, as the ex-Ambassador to Rome, M. Billot, shows in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, to bring either nation to its senses, and to end this unnatural commercial struggle, as it now has been happily ended. In tariff wars, like others, the difficult thing is, not to begin, but to stop.

WHAT IF THE TREATY IS NOT RATIFIED?

The consequences of the failure of the Senate to ratify the treaty would undoubtedly be unpleasant. The first and most serious would be the increased difficulty and expense of "getting delegates" at the convention for the revered McKinley, and the consequent revelation to mankind of our ingratitude to one of our greatest men. It would be like a failure to reëlect Abraham Lincoln in 1864. But there would be something which his nobles would feel even more acutely than this—that is, the failure of a tremendous money-making scheme for which they are now all ready. Distance from home, a fertile soil, a subject population, strong military and naval support, complete power over taxation, and great sympathy in the Executive mansion and in the War Department—all are there. To miss them is to miss the finest chance ever offered to speculators in America. These are consequences not openly spoken of.

The consequences which are spoken of and dwelt upon are, the loss of the national dignity, the renewal of the war, the awful anarchy that would ensue in the Philippines, and the failure of any real "expansion." Two months ago we all thought we had expansion, at least, by the tail; we now find it is in danger. We ask ourselves, Can we bear it? Can we dispense, at this time, with the innumerable blessings which many local prophets have assured us would flow from expansion? Frankly, in our opinion, we shall find it hard. We find it hard already to wait for the report of the President's commission, which we shall probably now have to do. The conduct of the natives in compelling our revered ruler to send out a commission, instead of submitting themselves at once to that proclamation, will meet with no apology from us. We have always been on the side of authority, and we shall so continue. A greater set of rascals we have not often heard of, except George Washington, who defied several similar proclamations in a most unseemly manner. Let us say, *en passant*, that the way this old fossil has been puffed and belauded strikes us as very silly. It was, of course, easy enough to preach peace and isolation to us when we were so small a people that we could not rob or bully any one; but the "cheek" of preaching peace and honesty to a nation of 70,000,000, which can rob and bully anybody it pleases, as some of the anti-annexationists are doing, strikes us as colossal.

Now let us examine the dangers to expansion seriously. Of the dangers to the McKinley delegates we say nothing—that is too serious a subject for us to meddle with. But what about our having to begin the war again if the treaty be not ratified? We were sorry to see as sensible a man as Senator Gray lend-

ing his countenance to so fantastic a supposition. In the first place, Spain is used to remaining at war for indefinite periods, on paper. She was for many years at war, on paper, with her South American dominions before she made a treaty of peace with them, after she had stopped fighting. Then who would bring on the war? Every war needs two parties, so that both we and the Spaniards should have to fight. What would the Spaniards fight with? They have no longer any navy, and their army is now beyond the sea and in a very dilapidated condition. They have no ships to carry it to fight us either here or in Asia. We, on the contrary, have both an army and a navy, but we are without something just as important—something to fight about. We have got Cuba and Porto Rico without question or dispute. No one is meddling with us in either island, and we know of no one who desires to do so. Spain cannot and will not fight us in the Philippines, for the same reason for which she will not fight us in Cuba and Porto Rico—want of ships, men, guns, ammunition, and money. So with whom is the fight to be, and what is it to be about? The only way to bring it on is to invade Spain, when the Spaniards would probably defend their homes; but there are no "glory-crowned heights" in Spain, as the elder Napoleon proved to his cost.

The "loss of dignity" is next to be considered. To this also we are used. Gen. Grant was seized with the same desire for "subject population" as the revered McKinley, and, like the revered McKinley, he sent out the gifted Babcock to negotiate a treaty for the acquisition of the island of San Domingo, and he contracted for it. But the Senate refused to ratify the treaty. All the friends of the Administration said we had "lost our dignity," but the country decided to go without dignity for a few years until we had accumulated a fresh stock, and all was soon quiet again.

It is not for the likes of us to advise the Senate what to do with the treaty, but we are able to assure them solemnly that a renewal of the war is not one of the consequences that will follow their refusal to ratify it. Nothing will happen if they refuse. We may have to continue a war with the Filipinos, but we shall probably have to do that anyhow. And should we not have a nice war in Asia? Think how many wars with subject races the British have had. They had one only last winter in India, and we have not had one since our last war with the Western Indians. Is it not high time to make a "subject race" or two feel the valor of our young men? It seems to us it is. So the thing now is to hurry on a good war with the Filipinos.

The impudence of the rascals in claiming independence when their skin

is brown as copper pan, strikes us, as it does, doubtless, most true-hearted Americans, as the height of brass. As usual, too, there are certain black-hearted villains at work among us encouraging them in their resistance by advising the Senate not to ratify the treaty, when they have been distinctly told by our excellent President, more than once, that it is a good treaty. Many of them are probably encouraged by the example set in the San Domingo affair, but they forget that there was no war accompaniment to that. As Senator Teller said the other day, if American blood be shed by these rascals in resisting the great McKinley, everything will be forgotten except the sacred duty of slaughtering more Filipinos than they slaughter of us, and of inflicting more misery on them than they inflict on us. Then we must remember that for fully a century certain unutterable traitors have been constantly at work, trying by some scheme to prevent the other party in American politics from winning an election, and, our word for it, they are at it still. The dogs little know that the eyes of the other party are on them, and that they may be locked up for treason any day.

MORE TANNERISM.

The country was startled or shocked, two or three months ago, by the proposal of Gov. Tanner of Illinois to make laws himself for the State, and execute them in advance of the meeting of the Legislature, which he proceeded to do by prohibiting the entrance of certain colored citizens into the State in search of work, and threatening them with death in case of disobedience. The doctrine as laid down by himself was as follows:

"It sometimes becomes necessary for an executive to enforce the law in advance of its enactment. Public sentiment crystallizes into law. I am thoroughly satisfied that the public sentiment of the good, patriotic citizens of our State is overwhelmingly opposed to this system; that if the operators import this labor they do it at their peril, and receive no aid from this State while I am Governor."

The fact that but few of the newspapers and no public man, not even the President, took any notice of it, did not, in our minds, in any degree diminish the importance of the occurrence. On the contrary, it increased it. A distinguished English jurist who happened to be in the country at that time and thought the matter astounding, ran about, with somewhat diverting diligence, in search of explanations of this disregard of the Constitution, but never got any, and, we presume, is pondering over the matter to this day.

As we expected, Tanner's action has been full of suggestion to the party who wish to rule without constitutional restrictions. The second article of the Constitution says, defining the President's powers: "He shall have power,

by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur." Nothing can be plainer than this provision. It has been acted on without question for 110 years. It has been explained and expounded by a large number of publicists, native and foreign. We have never heard of any hostile or doubtful comment on it, at home or abroad. It has exactly the same force and authority as any other provision of the organic law. The President has no more right to disregard it than to declare himself entitled to a second term, Spanish-American fashion, without an election. Nevertheless, our good William McKinley began to disregard it, without the least hesitation, on the 21st of December last, by his proclamation to the Filipinos. To these ignorant people he made the following extraordinary announcement:

"With the signature of the treaty of peace between the United States and Spain, by their respective plenipotentiaries, at Paris, on the 10th inst., and as the result of the victories of American arms, the future control, disposition, and government of the Philippine Islands are ceded to the United States. In fulfillment of the rights of sovereignty thus acquired and the responsible obligations of government thus assumed, the actual occupation and administration of the entire group of the Philippine Islands becomes immediately necessary, and the military government heretofore maintained by the United States in the city, harbor, and bay of Manila is to be extended with all possible dispatch to the whole of the ceded territory."

There was in this statement hardly one word of truth. The signature of the draft of a treaty of peace by Commissioners appointed by the President no more made a treaty than the resolution of a nominating convention. The "future control, disposition, and government of the Philippine Islands" were not thereby "ceded" by Spain to the United States any more than they would have been "ceded" by a contract for "spot cash" with Mark Hanna. The whole proclamation was not simply unconstitutional, it was what is called "bogue"—that is, it was an attempt to impose on ignorant or helpless people.

As there was little or no protest against this bold usurpation of power, we felt sure it would not long lie fruitless. Sure enough, it is being promptly followed up. The people who have been sure that expansion would do no injury to our own institutions, have not been kept waiting very long to see lawlessness "expand" in every direction. The Constitution was undoubtedly intended for civilized human use, and the requirement that the Senate shall advise and consent therefore means that, with a view to advice and consent, it shall deliberate and take its own time. It is to decide, without help or interference, when the time to advise and consent, or to refuse to do so, has come. But to lovers of arbitrary power this is an exceedingly inconvenient arrangement. All military men like prompt action and fret under legislative delays.

The state papers of European monarchs between 1820 and 1860 are full of demonstrations of the folly and inexpediency of granting constitutions to turbulent peoples, on the very ground now put forward by one of the McKinley noblemen. The King of Prussia, the Emperor of Austria, the King of Naples, all withdrew constitutions after having once granted them, on the express ground that they caused delay and confusion in executive action, besides throwing impudent doubts on royal wisdom. Our own William knew perfectly well when he took office that he took it as the creature of a constitution over 100 years old. He knew when he went to war with Spain that the war would end in peace, he knew that the Senate would have to share in making the peace, and he knew the manners and customs of the Senate. More important still, he must have felt, when Dewey's victory, joined with the suggestions of Satan, tempted him into converting a war of humanity into a war of conquest, and issuing Windischgrätz proclamations to a people fighting for their liberty, that there was much danger that both the Senate and the public might take a good while to make up their minds before entering on this new rôle, or that at all events he would have to submit to the law to which he owed his own political existence. But a more excellent way is evidently stealing into the heads of the lawless gang who surround him. Persigny and St. Arnaud were not more fertile and daring in expedients. Listen to this delightful Tanner suggestion from one of the great men who negotiated the treaty, produced in his *Tribune* on January 25:

"Under these circumstances, notwithstanding the fact that a vote twelve days hence has been ordered, it may be necessary to consider whether the hands of the Administration are really and necessarily tied up by the delays of the Senate. Spain having thrown up her hands, the United States is morally responsible for the protection of life and property in the archipelago. Can it be morally justified in standing much longer on a technicality about the actual ratification of a treaty to which both nations are committed, with the certainty that this delay increases tenfold the inevitable destruction of both?"

Not a bit, your Highness. We would go right ahead and execute whatever treaty we thought best, both for the Filipinos and the Americans. This tiresome deliberation of legislators has lasted long enough.

THE NEXT STEP.

Does it not seem as if it were time for somebody who is interested in this expansion business, to do something besides discuss the powers of the Supreme Court, of Congress, and of the President, and the vigor of the Constitution, and the behavior of Jefferson? To this there seems to be no end. Everybody is taking a hand in it, in and out of Congress. The country is literally swarming with people who happen to

know how short-sighted Washington was, and how antiquated his opinions have become, and how well it will be to stop minding the Farewell Address. In fact, it looks at times as if the whole colonial question were about to be turned into one of those debauches of constitutional interpretation in which it was so common to indulge in the old days of the anti-slavery agitation, and which are so apt to occur at monthly meetings of clubs. It sometimes seems as if the expansion movement were about to fade into a piece of constitutional construction, leaving the great McKinley in possession of the field and Dewey of Manila harbor. We learn through a morning paper that a nephew of the Admiral, who lives up the Hudson River, is in favor of the annexation of the Philippines, and that the whole Dewey family are of the same mind. Surely this ought to settle the matter. Why go on arguing?

But we used to hear last summer, when the expansion movement first began, that we would promptly organize a colonial civil service for the administration of these new possessions, on the model of that of Great Britain. Those who feared that the result of these annexations would be simply a descent of our old political class on the islands, were for a time in a pitiable position, and kept out of sight as well as their private business would permit. The old régime was to pass away promptly, and a new order was to arise in a conquering notion. Did you doubt it? Had you not seen the readiness with which our wealthiest young men rushed to the war? Could you question that on the return of peace the same young men would engage vigorously in organizing colonial services, and supplying the unhappy islanders with a pure, lofty, and skilful administration?

It may be said that there is no use in doing anything about this until the treaty is ratified; but, as we have been given to understand, we are certain, treaty or no treaty, to "keep what we have got"—that is, to do what we have undertaken to do. We are going to keep the islands, no matter what anybody says, and should rather like on the whole to have somebody question our right or ability to do so. Consequently, the signing of the treaty or its ratification really makes no difference. We are bound to prepare a system of government for the islands, especially for the Philippines, which, we are told, we are to keep as a conquest. Now this cannot be done in a day. It will take months or years to get such a system organized. We cannot begin to prepare it too soon. We cannot govern and educate and civilize indefinitely through a few military officers, however good they may be, whose experience is limited and whose health is made precarious by the climate. Have we anybody to-day ready to take their places when they drop off,

except the old heelers who had or controlled votes in the last nominating convention? Absolutely nobody; when vacancies begin to occur in Cuba or Porto Rico or the Philippines, it looks, at present, as if the good and wise McKinley would fill them promptly by old heelers such as the Consul-General whom he sent the other day to Singapore, and of whom there is an unlimited supply now awaiting his orders.

War is an exciting pastime for young people. It sets all the maidens weeping for joy and excitement, and makes the young men drunk with martial ardor, but it does not prepare for the dry drudgery and details of a government service. Conquering is great fun, but administering in any way except the Spanish way is tiresome in the extreme. Who would not sooner discuss the constitutional authority of Congress or of the President, or the extent of the "war power," than draw up rules for a civil service?

The result is that, eagerly as our young men rushed to the war, we hear of nobody who says a word now about the organized colonial government. Millions to-day "refuse to despair of their country"; tens of millions feel that "all will come out right in the end"; but we do not hear of a single patriot buckling down to the work of providing any better system than that of the Spaniards, for the rule of our subject races. We could not give a better idea of what that rule must be, if it is to do us any credit, and of the kind of men who must carry it on, than a description of the duties of one of the British Commissioners in British India, where the climate, the population, and the degree of civilization are very similar to those of the Philippines. They are exactly the kind of duties which the agents of our authority in those islands will have to perform if we are to do any civilizing or any educating, or, in fact, do anything but "keep what we have got." Is the conquering Griggs, who "assumed responsibility" so readily, doing anything about this matter? Here is the official account of the work a district commissioner in India has to do, and, inferentially, of the kind of man he is to be:

"Alike in regulation and in non-regulation territory, the unit of administration is the district—a word of very definite meaning in official phraseology. The district officer, whether known as collector-magistrate, or as deputy commissioner, is the responsible head of his jurisdiction. Upon his energy and personal character depends ultimately the efficiency of our Indian government. His own special duties are so numerous and so various as to bewilder the outsider; and the work of his subordinates, European and native, largely depends upon the stimulus of his personal example. As the name of collector-magistrate implies, his main functions are two-fold. He is a fiscal officer, charged with the collection of the revenue from the land and other sources; he is also a civil and criminal judge, both of first instance and in appeal. But his title by no means exhausts his multifarious duties. He does in his smaller local sphere all that the Home Secretary superintends in England, and a great deal more; for he is the representative of a

paternal, and not of a constitutional, government. Police, jails, education, municipalities, roads, sanitation, dispensaries, the local taxation, and the imperial revenues of his district, are to him matters of daily concern. He is expected to make himself acquainted with every phase of the social life of the natives, and with each natural aspect of the country. He should be a lawyer, an accountant, a surveyor, and a ready writer of state papers. He ought also to possess no mean knowledge of agriculture, political economy, and engineering."

MADE IN SPAIN.

Considering our cultivated dislike of foreign-made goods, and especially just now our contempt for all things Spanish, we are importing a surprising amount of political ideas from Spain at present. To say nothing of our sudden fondness for militarism just as Spain is finding it a burden too grievous to be borne; waiving the question whether we are not in a fair way to pay Spanish methods of colonization the sincere compliment of imitating them; we beg to ask if the debates and proposals in Congress do not show a marked tendency to Hispanicize our institutions.

We refer especially to the readiness displayed in Washington to evade or suspend Constitutional guarantees, and to load upon the Executive duties and responsibilities not his by Constitutional provision. Spain is the true home of this way of treating a constitution like a nose of wax, and of exalting the executive power. It is "rancidly" Spanish, as the Spanish phrase is. No country can boast of a finer line of constitutions than Spain. There is the Constitution of 1812, another one of 1833, another of 1845, and so on. They are all beautiful pieces of work. The division of governmental powers, the rights and guarantees of the citizen—all are there. But the trouble has been that if any constitutional provision ever got in the way of a dictator or prime minister, it had to go. Out came a "royal decree" urging a "reason of state" or a "case of necessity," and lo! the inviolable Constitution was violated, the indefeasible liberties of the Spaniard suspended. We have seen the process illustrated again and again during the past few years. Cánovas and Sagasta vied with each other in snapping their fingers at Cortes and Constitution and doing the most unheard-of things by "royal decree." At this very moment the government of Spain is being carried on by a delegation of practically absolute power. The poor Constitution is lost in the shuffle.

Even more conspicuously has this political habit been displayed in Spanish America. The case has been more glaring there because all the Spanish-American constitutions are notoriously modelled on our own. The severe division of legislative from executive, and these from judicial, powers; the familiar "checks and balances"; the strict limitations imposed upon the President—

the Spanish-Americans have them all. But having also Spanish political instincts in their blood, they make ducks and drakes of their written constitutions. A convenient method of reducing the Constitution to waste paper has been displayed again and again in Mexico. We speak of President Diaz as if he were an absolute ruler, and so he is; but the Mexican Constitution limits his powers very much as ours does the powers of our President. And the Mexicans appear to be as devoted to their Constitution as we are to ours. Officials address each other as "citizen" (*ciudadano*), and always append to their public letters, as a kind of pious whoop, "Liberty in the Constitution." But all that does not hinder them from driving right through the sacred document—worse than with the proverbial coach and four, they go through it with a diligence and twelve mules. Bill after bill has been passed by the Mexican Congress, in the years during which Don Porfirio has been building up his autocratic government, of which the general tenor is about as follows:

"Section 1. All powers devolved by the Constitution upon Congress are hereby and till further notice conferred upon the President of the Republic.

"Section 2. This act shall take effect immediately. Liberty in the Constitution."

How far the American Congress is now treading, or preparing to tread, in the footsteps of the Spanish Cortes and the Mexican Congress, every attentive reader of its proceedings can judge for himself. The "discretion" of the President, the "wisdom" of the Executive, these are now the great watchwords of debate. It may be said that this is all a part of the "war power," and so it is; but the war is over and yet the power remains. Is it under the "war power" that the Senate shirks passing a Nicaragua Canal bill and "authorizes and directs" the President to see that the job is properly done? Is it a military operation to govern Hawaii, as it is proposed to, largely by executive order? Is it because we are or have been in a state of war that the President is to be given power to say what ships and what lines shall have subsidies? If all this is not heading straight towards the Mexicanization of our government, then sign-posts are erected in vain.

Do we then dare to say that the good William McKinley is a wicked usurper? Would we compare him with Espartero or Marshal Prim or Gen. Diaz? Far from it, and that is the worst of it all. As usurper he would be a ridiculous figure. No one who so assiduously holds his ear to the ground to hear what the back-country districts are saying, can ever be a successful man on horseback. The very children would laugh at his pasteboard helmet and tin spurs and sword of lath. The hardest thing to be said is not that he is a dictator, but a dictatee; not a usurper, but a tool. To a really strong President the

party leaders and political speculators would not venture to give such extraordinary powers. They give them because they know he will exercise them as they direct. They find it a wearisome task to get Congress to assent to their schemes, and so they take the short cut of getting Congress to put everything in the President's hands. This button pressed, they do the rest. Thus it is that our Constitution is subverted and our institutions Hispanicized, not in the interest of personal rule by one strong will, but in the interest of a group, of a vulgar oligarchy, who make the President their stalking-horse. The result is what a Spanish statesman once called a "bastard system"—neither the directness and force of absolute rule, nor the free play of a constitutional regimen, but a crass and feeble imitation of arbitrary power without either the dignity or the efficiency of a frankly monarchical government.

A GLIMPSE INSIDE.

We have many times pointed out that the text-books on government which are in use in our schools and colleges are grossly defective in that they relate entirely to a form of government which has ceased to exist among us. The methods which they explain, in regard to nominations, to legislative functions, and to the general business of government, are all out of date in all our large cities and in a great many of our States. We have done away with all that, and have substituted a very simple system of autocratic rule by a single man—the boss who carries on the government through his machine. Sometimes one boss does this, sometimes another. When one gets in a tight place, the other helps him out, as when Boss Platt helped Boss Croker to gain possession of the city by running Gen. Tracy as a decoy candidate.

But while there is a very accurate general impression of the real workings of the boss machine, it is only at rare intervals that we get exact information as to details. We are getting some of this now through a case which is in progress before Justice Fursman in the Supreme Court. A member of the celebrated machine family, Hess, is suing a member of another and scarcely less celebrated machine family, Einstein, for libel in making some unpleasant charges against him as a candidate for Congress a few years ago. In support of his charges, Einstein is relating his own experience, and is fortifying it with that of some of the ablest Republican machinists we have, and together they are giving testimony which is of the highest educational value. It appears from the testimony of three of these experts that it is the regular practice to refuse to nominate a candidate for office until he has first given satisfactory assurance of

his ability to "put up" a handsome sum for expenses. The sum demanded in the case of Hess ranges from \$2,500 to \$5,000. The experts appear to have had doubts of the good faith of Hess, for they insisted upon having the cash in hand before the nomination was made. This is a method of procedure in our nominating system which is not even referred to in our current text-books on government, but see how exact and scientific it is! No cash, no nomination.

The witness who explains this method most lucidly is the defendant Einstein himself. He testifies that he had doubts of Hess in various ways—first, doubts as to his party loyalty, Hess having been first a Republican, then a Democrat, then a Republican again; second, doubts as to his eligibility, since he believed Hess to be a resident of New Jersey; third, doubts as to his fitness, since Hess "had been mixed up in lobbying to prevent importers from paying the duties that they ought to pay under the law," and it was suspected that he wished to get into Congress to continue this kind of service. These objections were laid before Mr. Lauterbach, who at the time was the executive head of the Republican machine. Now see how easily Lauterbach disposed of them. We quote from the court testimony:

"Q. What did Mr. Lauterbach say in answer to that? A. He said it was awful hard to get a decent candidate to run on their side in that district, and that he was depending on Scannell to elect him [Hess], and that Hess had given him \$5,000.

"Q. Please state your reasons for objecting to Mr. Hess's nomination. A. First, that he had bought the nomination away from Luther Little, to whom it had been promised by Mr. Platt. That was one reason. The other reason was that he was a Democrat masquerading as a Republican. There were several other reasons that I am not allowed to state.

"Q. Did the suggestion that he was to be elected through the help of Scannell have anything to do with it? A. I thought it was a disgraceful way of being elected.

"Q. Did you know who Scannell was? A. I knew he was a Democrat and a Tammany Hall man.

"Q. Did you know that Scannell had at one time been tried for murder in this city? A. Yes.

"Q. Did you have any conversation with Mr. Lauterbach about the expenses of the campaign? A. Mr. Lauterbach told me that the county committee had got tired of putting up impecunious candidates, and I am pretty certain he gave me that as the reason for not putting up Luther Little—that he could not pay his campaign expenses.

"Q. Did Mr. Lauterbach tell you that Hess had put up money? A. He told me that he had given him \$5,000."

There is the whole system in a nutshell. The man who can put up the cash gets the nomination. "You cannot run a machine on wind," is the usual formula, but Lauterbach, being a man of more than the usual machine erudition, puts it more elegantly: "I am tired of putting up impecunious candidates." If Luther Little had had the money, he would have been as sure of the nomination as Hess, but even the Old Man's promise was not sufficient without the cash. The aid of Scannell of Tammany Hall is not unusual in matters of this kind. You will

remember that in the critical days of 1896, when Cornelius Bliss and other good Republicans were assailing the machine as such a disreputable band of political rascals, led by a boss who was so bad that "self-respecting men could not be allied with him even for a good purpose," it was shown that the boss and Lauterbach had saved the machine from destruction through the aid of Tammany men in the primaries. It is a part of the system and must be set forth in all future text-books. Scannell, who took the stand after Einstein, denied all personal knowledge of Lauterbach, or of this or similar transactions, swearing that he had no relations with Republican machinists, merely knowing Lauterbach well enough to say "How do you do?" to him three or four times in his life. This also is part of the system. Croker and Platt never meet, might not recognize each other if they did, yet they "get together" easily and work harmoniously in a "deal" when occasion requires.

The trial in which these revelations have been made is still in progress. Hess himself has taken the stand, and it is much to be hoped that he will give us the whole story, for, taken all in all, the Hess experts, including Jake of the Police Board, are the best examples we have of what can be done with machine executive government when it gets into the hands of really first-rate ability.

LICENSE IN ENGLISH RHYME—II.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY,

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Thus far, then, we are led to the conclusion that the attempt to set up the rule in English that "no rhyme but a perfect rhyme is ever worth a poet's while" is both impractical and without historical warrant. It is impractical from the very nature of language. Doubtless a poet could, with sufficient painstaking, be consistent in his own practice; but if he is going to train his ear to demand absolute perfection of rhyme, he will soon be reduced, for unalloyed pleasure, to the reading of his own verses. It is without historical warrant, because few poets seem to have regarded exactness of rhyme as a desirable ideal, and scarcely one since Chaucer has come measurably near to consistency in practice. This license of "allowable rhymes" regarded as a departure from some definite rule has been mostly a fiction of writers on poetics and makers of rhyming dictionaries, from King James down. It is the system-makers, carried away by their passion for reducing everything to uniformity, who have tried to dictate to the poets, whose verses, to be sure, if they observed uniformity, would have inestimable value as a criterion of old pronunciation to philologists a thousand years hence. We may not convert the system-makers; men who, like Dr. Guest, talk solemnly of this or that poet's "sinning," and declare that "the blunders of no writer, however eminent, should weigh with us as authority," are scarcely open to conversion. But the question may be safely left with the lay reader: Shall we take Spenser and

Milton and Shelley and Browning and Tennyson and Poe as our authorities, or George Puttenham and Dr. Guest and Prof. Matthews?

The most important consideration—the æsthetic value of “imperfect” rhymes—remains. It might seem to be already settled. When a prosodist in search of “pure rhymes” is forced to point to “the learned Sir William Jones,” the heretical doubt is suggested whether a pure rhymer be a dispenser of unadulterated æsthetic delights. If Poe and Tennyson liked the echo of *floods* and *woods*, of *unholy* and *melancholy*, I take it that the sooner I can cultivate a similar liking, the better for me. It is idle to say that the poets have not employed such rhymes with full approval. It may be admitted that the most musical poets have sometimes, in straits, written rhymes which they would not commend for imitation. But that will not account for the numberless recurrences of certain imperfect rhymes. It may be admitted, too, that certain rhymes, once good, have now and then, after a change of pronunciation, continued to lead a conventional existence for a time on the supposed suffrage of earlier poets. But that will not account for the steady growth in favor of certain rhymes, nor for the continuation of some to the exclusion of others. If *blood* and *wood* and *have* and *grave* live on, why have *take* and *speck*, *desert* and *heart*, *find* and *joined*, also at certain times or in certain localities perfect rhymes, been abandoned? There is but one answer: certain dissonances have approved themselves to the poet's ear, while others have not.

Imperfect rhymes may be in themselves musical. There is a degree of positive pleasure in all rhymes. Many of the happiest effects of both poetry and prose are due to the conscious or subconscious presence of subtle rhymes. Take this passage from Swinburne's “Triumph of Time”:

The low downs lean to the sea, the stream,
One loose, thin, pulseless, tremulous vein,
Rapid and vivid and dumb as a dream,
Works downward, sick of the sun and the rain.

A susceptible ear must find a keen delight in the delicate rhyme of *downs* and *lean*, *sea* and *stream*, *loose* and *pulseless*, *rapid* and *vivid*, *dumb* and *dream*. Why then must end-rhymes have always a certain fullness in order to yield pleasure?

Indeed, a most serious objection to the requirement would lie in its sweeping uniformity, its levelling tendency. Variety in poetry, as in all things, means life, and monotony means death. A slight divergence or disagreement of vowel-color in a rhyme may give it a new zest. Even granting that such a divergence constituted a positive discord, the poet might still defend his use of it as comparable to the musician's introduction of discord for the sake of heightening the effect of the perfect harmony to come. The spirit of English poetry, except in its most barren, rule-bound periods, has led it to seek variety. The terrible monotony of the metres and coupled rhymes of Pope's day is a standing warning. Inversion of feet, substitution, slurring, have been employed by masters of rhythm from Marlowe and Milton to Rossetti and Swinburne. And these same poets have avoided monotony of rhyme as they have avoided monotony of rhythm. Almost totally discarding identical rhyme to begin with, which renders French and Italian poetry so often distasteful to English ears, they have ended by frankly re-

cognising the principle of approximate assonantal or consonantal rhyme, with a frequent felicity of effect that justifies the liberty.

Of course we must recognize degrees and observe due bounds in our license. Reason in all things, says the old proverb. Mr. Brander Matthews, in the article cited above, failing to remember that he himself had been willing to admit such slight imperfection as *Devon* and *Heaven*, is disposed to argue that our rule must be hard and fast because the admission of one imperfection will lead to others, and there is no stopping this side of *hear* and *wood-pecker*, *Picnades* and *slides*. We may dismiss the argument with the smile it was intended to provoke. It is of a piece with his argument against eye-rhymes as forcing our acceptance of *clean* and *ocean*, *plague* and *ague*. Such absurd extensions were never contemplated. Mr. Matthews refuses to distinguish between degrees, and intimates that a miss is as good as a mile. But we know better; and even those who feel these things to be imperfections forced upon poets by the paucity of our rhymes, might well overlook them rather than cool the ardor or check the onward rush of a Shelley in the fever of composition. Your inelastic man is likely to be most uncomfortable, in ethics as in poetics, whether he be a preacher who insists that to steal a cocky is as bad as to rob a bank, or a school-teacher who does not know when it is politic to wink at the peccadilloes of a mischievous charge. The mischievous charge may be allowed to titillate now and then without any certainty that he will end on the gallows. Because I rhyme *come* with *home*, and *river* with *ever*, is no reason why I shall some day find music in the wedding of *Mamelukes* and *parallax*.

What bounds shall we set to the license? It is difficult to say. There seems to be no reason for setting definite bounds. The matter may be safely left to take care of itself. There is a system of checks and balances at work in the realm of art as in the realm of nature. The poet must find the golden mean between rule and license, and by his success in that we measure his artistic triumph. Tastes will, of course, differ greatly, and while it seems worth while to add here in conclusion a somewhat definite demarcation of the bounds of the license, it must be regarded as an observed demarcation and in no sense a prescribed one. If personal preference creeps in, it is offered only for what it is worth.

Cases of extremely imperfect rhymes, like the forced double and triple rhymes of Byron's “Don Juan” (*appendix*, *index*; *laureate*, *Tory at*, *are ye at*) or Browning's “Pied Piper” or “Flight of the Duchess” (*office*, *trophies*; *from mice*, *promise*; *ins-and-outs*, *thin sand doubts*), need not be considered. They are mainly *lours de force*, most properly used in humorous or grotesque poetry, since their chief merit is their difficulty and they serve to amuse rather than to please. Restricting consideration only to those imperfect rhymes that have been more or less freely employed by all poets, we may divide them into three classes—rhymes in which the consonants are not identical, rhymes in which the vowels are not identical, and light rhymes, or rhymes upon a syllable having only a light or secondary stress. The first class—rhymes in which the consonants following the rhyming vowels are not identical—are the least common, which may be

taken as evidence of general disfavor. Perhaps there is dislike of having the rhyme interrupted after it is begun. Perhaps, too, no one will tolerate a wide divergence of consonant sounds. Even the nasals, which are so close together that every unpractised versifier insists on rhyming *time* and *rhine*, are rarely thus linked by poets; Spenser's *stiraine*, *became*, and Rossetti's *win*, *him*, being quite exceptional. The only different consonants commonly mated are voiced and voiceless fricatives: *s*, *z*; *th*, *th*; and more rarely *f*, *v*; thus, *sees*, *peace*; *breathes*, *wreath*; *love*, *enough*. Greater licenses are sometimes taken in double and triple rhymes, as in Spenser's *shepherd*, *better'd*; Shakspeare's *broken*, *open*; Swinburne's *linger*, *singer*; or Mrs. Browning's *Eden*, *heeding*; *silence*, *islands*; *panther*, *saunter*; *trident*, *silent*; *know from*, *snow-storm*; *angels*, *candles*. Here, however, we are getting into the region of mere assonance or mere consonance.

The second class—rhymes in which only the vowel sounds differ—comprises a large number of almost universally used rhymes, of which *love* and *prove*, *charm* and *warm* may be taken as types. It is certain that many ears find these both in themselves satisfying rhymes and further welcome as a relief from the monotony of regular rhymes. That vowel-difference does not constitute so marked a departure from exact rhyme as consonant-difference seems to be due to the fact that all vowel sounds have a similarity of utterance, so that any two vowels do in a sense rhyme, of which the old alliterative practice in regard to vowels is strong evidence. Further, given two vowels that are nearly alike, and follow them up with a semi-vocalic *r* or a nasal or any consonant whose sound can be prolonged, and you have a combination that is musical and satisfying. There is more real rhyme in *mourn* and *burn* than in the more exactly corresponding but shorter and weaker *sip* and *lip*. And if the poet considers the effect of vowel-gradation, the consequent cadence is often more beautiful than any exact similarity could possibly be. In several lines cited above to show the musical effect of subtle half-rhymes, there is another exquisite musical effect which is to be traced to a felicitous gradation of vowels: *ā I ū ē, ow I ū ā—*

Rapid and vivid and dumb as a dream
Works downward, sick of the sun and the rain.

In like manner the gradation of vowel sounds in rhyme-words may be extremely euphonious. We must content ourselves with two or three examples:

Oh yet we trust that somehow good
Will be the final goal of ill,
To pang of nature, sins of will,
Defects of doubt, and taints of blood.

Her care is not to part and prove;
She takes, when harsher moods remit,
What slender shade of doubt may flit,
And makes it vassal unto love.

Outside it must be winter among men;
For at the gold bars of the gates again
I heard all night and all the hours of it
The wind's wet wings and fingers drip with rain.

The last example suggests that there is a situation in which this imperfect rhyme is peculiarly effective—that is, where more than two words rhyme; where, there being a sufficiency of rhyme already, another perfect rhyme is not called for or might even seem excessive. A striking example is Swinburne's “Faustine,” a poem of forty-one quatrains, each ending with the word *Faustine*. After half a dozen rhyme-words like *lean*, *queen*, *clean*, *sheen*, we welcome a change

to *this, his, sin*, etc. Or take another case of three rhyme-words:

From too much love of living,
From hope and fear set free,
We thank with brief thanksgiving
Whatever gods may be
That no life lives *forever*;
That dead men rise up *never*;
That even the weariest river
Winds somewhere safe to sea.

The third class is that in which light syllables rhyme, or are rhymed with fully stressed syllables. These too have generally approved themselves to poets, who even venture upon a slight wrenching of accents to secure this kind of rhyme, as in *sing, tha'nks-giv'ng; her, ha'rp-playe'r*. But there are limitations. In the matter of wrenching accents, we scarcely find *giv'ng, flowe'r*, though we find *tha'nks-giv'ng, su'nflowe'r*. In the latter case, it is a change of a secondary accent only that is at stake, a change which in such compounds is made easy by the natural tendency in our language to avoid two successive stressed syllables. One may rather like to have a poet compel him to pronounce *mermaidens mer-maidens*. So, too, if we can follow Keats and Rossetti and Swinburne in their liking for the rhyme *dwell, desirable*, we will follow still more gladly when, by the interpolation of another light syllable, the rhyme is *dwell, memorable; sea, amorously*; and one may very much dislike the rhyme *stable, memorable*. In short, the shifting of secondary accents is a light matter.

But apart from this there are still limitations to the effective use of light rhymes. It should be noted first that there are some final syllables getting but a secondary stress that are yet so heavy in themselves as scarcely to come within the definition of light syllables. Such are the final syllables of words like *Minotaur, widowhood, portraiture*. It would be a pity to deprive poets of such rhymes as *Mim, cherubim; sent, Mendisment*. If objection arise at all, it must arise in the case of weaker syllables. But some of these are essentially musical. The word *musical* itself, for example, or *coronal, or festival*, pairs easily with *fall or call*, especially if we allow a fuller articulation to be forced upon the words by such rhyming. Not that we should make them exact rhymes by pronouncing *festiva'l*, but there can be no harm in giving words a somewhat fuller sound in poetry for rhyme's sake than they would ordinarily have. So with final *ed; head, tenanted*. Of course the poet must not forego the requirements of art; he must see that the word be vital and organic enough to bear the enforcement of such pronunciation and of any rhyme at all. The pairing of two such words (as *festiva'l, Bacchanal*) is in questionable taste. And when the syllables are still weaker, as when Tennyson pairs *philosophy and Arcady*, the case becomes worse. Such weak endings are better paired with stressed syllables only, and even then, when the endings are so weak as the suffixes *ness* or *ly*, they are very ineffective if they precede the word they rhyme with. They do not make good rhyme-givers. But when they stand in the second place they may be effective, because of the cadence, the dying fall they give to the verse. This will be felt still more if two full rhyme-words precede. Mark the cadence of such a triplet as this by Whittier:

Ah, cruel fate, that closed to thee,
Oh sleeper by the northern sea,
The gates of opportunity.

Let it be repeated, in closing, that the

whole subject is a delicate one, lying in the field of aesthetics, and not to be treated in a positive or dogmatic spirit. The poets themselves are the only legislators, and while a poet may sometimes give us offense by thrusting upon us an ancient rhyme like *eye, liberty*, or a Hudibrastic one like *false, tails*, we must content ourselves with a smile rather than a frown.

ALPHONSO G. NEWCOMER.

AN AMERICAN IN LONDON IN 1835.

SIR: When recently engaged in writing the life of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, founder of the colonies of South Australia and New Zealand, the advantage I derived from the correspondence of Francis Place, the celebrated political tailor and disciple of Jeremy Bentham, induced me to look into some of the numerous folio scrap-books, full of cuttings from newspapers and other printed matter illustrative of the social condition of the people, which he bequeathed to the British Museum. On taking one of them down, the paper of which I enclose a transcript fell out. I forward it to you for publication if you see fit, hoping that you may be as much interested as myself in the nocturnal adventures of an impulsive, good-hearted American, too devoid of the historical sense to admire Westminster Abbey, but chivalrous as a Knight of the Round Table, and emphatically one of Nature's gentlemen. His narrative has, moreover, genuine literary worth from the picture it conveys of a wet night in London, and the glimpse it affords of the condition of the London poor. It is exceedingly to be regretted that all his other notes of a residence in England, extending over nine months, should have been destroyed by him. If as racy and graphic as this estray, they would have formed a volume of singular interest.

The writer's name would have been unknown but for Mr. Place's endorsement on the MS., which appears to have been sent to him some months after it was written, together with a list of books borrowed and returned, and the note I have transcribed for publication, which is written on a blank leaf. I read the name Robert Hunnesley Blak, but "Robert" might be "Roberts," "Moberts," or "Shoberts," "Hunnesley" might be "Hannesley," and "Blak" must be an error for "Black," or less probably "Blake." It would appear that Dr. Black must have remained in England for some time after February, 1835, but the books would probably be returned on the eve of his departure. As the State to which he belonged is mentioned, it should not be impossible to trace him.

The election of Mr. Abercromby as Speaker, mentioned at the beginning of Dr. Black's narrative, was a highly important event, being the first test of the strength of parties in the new Parliament.

I remain, dear sir, yours very truly,

R. GARNETT.

BRITISH MUSEUM, January 9, 1899.

By DR. ROBERT HUNNESLEY BLAK
from Kentucky
Some time after his arrival in London.

Some time since I kept a diary of such matters as suited not my intended book on England. Two months ago I made up my mind to burn them and did so—except, as I now

find, this one of the night of Feb'y 19th last which being in a blue book escaped.

Feb'y 19th 1835. London.

At 7 o'k to M. [orning] N. [ews] Office. [344, Strand.]

Abercromby elected! — maj. 10 votes. Saw several conservatives dispirited, petulant, some morose and silent.

I laughed at them—they bore it. To two of them I had predicted the result of the election. To them I prophesied again (for I had twice before deliv'd it) that this session would bring great excitement and give rise to political discussions wholly new to the general community—excitement differing from that of any previous time in having in it far more intelligence and less passion. They thought otherwise, indeed, laughed at what I said—I laughed at their blindness. A few months will shew which was right—they or I. One of them, a very young man, connected with the newspaper press said—"The people are mad—there is, I really think, more excitement about the election of Speaker, than there was about the passage of the Reform bill." I said . . . you yourself furnish proof of what I predict!

When I got into the street I found it crowded with people, (where I was being in the neighborhood of the Newspaper offices) although it rained very hard and blew harder than on any day since my arrival in England in May last.

As I entered my door in Leicester square, I found standing under the portico—or stoop, a female who had stooped there for protection from the rain. My American thought, was to ask her in; but that would not do in London. I spoke to her, and soon perceived from her countenance, voice, and language that she was not a pad—but some poor melancholy being. I enquired if she lived far off?—"In Westminster." I asked, in tones which I suppose communicated what I felt, if she had a family—a child. How old?—four years. Is any one with it?—*I do not know, perhaps not*. If you will wait a moment I will bring out my umbrella, and see you a part at least of y' way home. Thank you Sir, said the poor woman, in a voice that I will swear came from an honest heart. We may play false with every thing else, but not with the voice—we are too unconscious of its elements and their combinations to play the hypocrite to any perfection with it.

I got my umbrella (which is very large), took her arm and saw her home. The wind blew so fiercely that it was sometimes impossible to carry the U^a stretch'd, and the rain fell—or flew rapidly upon the pavement and upon all in the streets.

Our way led us through Haymarket past the splendid club houses—and by the Palace—like Terraces between which stands the monument to one of England's greatest rascals,* down the steps from this monument into St. James's Park through which we past. Here the gay lights dispersed around this beautiful place—shone like mere dots in the dark and dreary expanse over which the wind blew so excessively hard as to make our walking difficult. Few persons were passing—the military centres were all in their boxes—against one tree, whose branches like those of all the trees, whistled in the wind, stood an old man in a cloak, and before him a young woman whom he was sheltering from the wind and rain. We past close to them and by the light of a lamp near could distinguish their features. The inclemency of the night made them and my companion totally unheeded of each other. We soon left the Park surrounded with its magnificent dwellings and after a while reached — Street—blazing in light from the shops lit up by gas. Busy and cheerful trade, unmindful of wind or rain, kept its accustomed display. From this we turned two or three times, through small and darker streets (for in London all streets are well lighted) until we reached her abode. On our way we had scarcely spoken to each other. The fierce wind—the pelting rain, the wet

*H. R. H. the Duke of York.

ground and pavements gave our thoughts too much employment notwithstanding, she, poor thing, had doubtless enough of misery—and I an abundance of speculation to indulge.

At her door I said—'Shall I go in?' *Do come in a moment*—perhaps the rain will abate—for you must be very wet. I was not for I had thick shoes and a big coat on. But I went in—perhaps more from curiosity than proper feelings—for my pockets were almost as empty as hers. She took me into a little back room on the first floor. There burned—and hardly burned a small coal fire—by it sat on the floor her child playing with pieces of rags and bits of broken crockery arranged on a chair without a back.

The moment the mother entered it sprang to meet her—but seeing me, put on its little wondering look and stood silent and close to its mother. 'This is a sad place, Sir, said the woman, to bring you into—but by your kindness and your behaviour to me I know you can make allowances.' I told her that was all nothing and took a chair. The little ragged baby whispered its conversation to its mother, while I surveyed the room. Near the fire was an old square deal table—another half-round on which stood a tin cup, a sort of Glass case stood near one wall, in one corner was a low bed, covered with a faded print quilt or spread; in another corner was a small trunk, on which lay a frock, in different parts of the room were four or five chairs, in various states of dilapidation, over the mantle piece was pasted and hung up twenty or thirty small pictures, chiefly coloured prints—some bad—some pretty good; on the hearth lay a frying pan, a piece of tin which evidently served for a shovel and a rod of iron for a poker. There was a closet, which I supposed, contained some things—but little did the poor woman's room offer to the eyes.

'Come here, dear,' said I to the child, and it came instantly to me. It was a beautiful little creature—but nearly all young children are. I talked to it and played with its graceful little hands—and it readily began to move the joints of my fingers. The poor little thing saw that I was its friend and was at once assured. I gave it two pennies. The moment it clasped them, it darted to its mother, but just as it reached her lap, it drew back, and said poutingly—'you shan't have it'—'Don't be a saucy girl.' 'Yes you shall have it,' said the little creature, 'and I'll go and ask Mary to buy you some gin with it—shan't I?' She drew the child to her and gave her a slap that brought tears and sobs.

The two things I hate most in man or woman, but especially in woman, was this poor woman guilty of—drinking and of beating children—in a moment my sympathy was changed into pity and disgust—and I left the house.

Returning by Westminster Abbey, I thought of all the foolery, all the robbery, and all the rascality connected with that ugly and venerated pile of barbarism.

In Parliament Street I met quite a genteel looking young female, alone and without an umbrella, she was hastening along at a tremendously rapid pace. I got a glimpse of her face which appeared to be very pretty. I turned—overtook her—held my umbrella over her, and then asked her to allow me to protect her with it from the rain. She seemed quite at a loss what to do and scarcely answered me. I took her manner for assent and kept on by her side—talking as much as the wind and rain and wet pavements would allow. She crossed Westminster bridge. The wind here blew furiously, and once we were compelled to stop in a recess till the blow passed by. At last her tongue began and went rapidly and sensibly. Just as we got over the bridge she said, 'You are going Sir, perhaps, far out of your way.' 'Exactly in it, if I am in the slightest degree serviceable to you.' 'You are'—and she stopt speaking evidently not knowing whether to turn me back or not. I said—'will you allow me to be very candid and tell you why I put my umbrella over you and why I still

keep it above your head?' 'Yes.' 'The truth is that I was going beyond Charing Cross when I met you, but a glimpse of your face caused to flash upon me the thought that some accident had placed alone in this inclement night, a young lady who deserved protection from rain and from insult too, and that I would at least offer that protection as politely and as gently as I knew how whether it were accepted or not.' 'You are—very kind and I thank you very much indeed.' I asked her for her arm which she rather reluctantly gave me. But we got into chat and notwithstanding the night of wind and rain she talked as wittily as any one I ever heard—sorry am I that I can not now three hours after, put down any part of it with the slightest hope of success. We travelled on some distance and took the right hand street from the bridge.

[Here a diagram.]

She had undergone a chapter of accidents—and had ventured alone through that night lest her parents should be uneasy about her. She would not tell me her name, her residence, or any one particular about herself. She said she hoped that we might meet by some accident, because altogether I had behaved strangely but so respectfully and kindly that she was bound to wish to see me hereafter to shew me that she really thanked me for my politeness—but that she would not tell me any thing about herself nor hear my name or residence (which I offered to tell her) because that would be making an acquaintance contrary not only to rules of propriety but to her parents' feelings. I told her that she was a good girl—to remain so—and to tell her parents what had past (that I will say she)—

At length she said 'now you must go no further with me—because indeed you must not know where I live.' 'Indeed,' said I, 'I do not desire it under existing circumstances, for pretty, and witty, and good tempered as I am sure you are, I esteem your respect for your parents' instructions and feelings far more—so good bye.' And away she tripped.

I returned over Waterloo bridge. The wind increased—the rain increased, the pavements swam in water—and I reached home at ten o'clock like a drowned rat.

A TRIBUTARY OF THE SEINE.

PARIS, January 12, 1899.

M. Huysmans was one of the early friends of Zola, and a contributor to the *'Soirées de Médan'*, a collection of stories which made a great noise at the time of its appearance on account of its scandalous impropriety. M. Huysmans was then one of the apostles of the realistic school; he was coarse *con amore*; he had a studied vulgarity of thought and expression. Of late years he must have experienced grace; a great change had come over him. He wrote first a novel called *'En Route'*; he was on the way to conversion. It was, however, difficult to make out whether the author was sincere or not. Here again the imitation of Zola was apparent, and if Zola had not written his *'Lourdes'*, very likely *'En Route'* would never have been written. The doubt which this last book left in the mind was dispelled by a new work called *'La Cathédrale'*. Here the disciple had evidently gone further than the master. If *'The Cathedral'* was meant to deceive its readers, the attempt was really successful; but we would rather believe that there is no attempt to deceive in it—that the author's conversion is now complete. His journey has brought him to the Church, and there he has found complete rest.

Huysmans, in his *'Cathedral'*, still follows the method of his master. When Zola undertakes a subject, he surrounds himself with

all the technical works which belong to it; he introduces in his story all these details, often without having quite mastered their character. He likes to appear encyclopædic, to know the names of all the parts of an engine, of a locomotive, of a mine, of all farm implements; all the locations of the market and the shop; all the slang of the Bourse, etc. This method helps him give an air of reality to his characters. Huysmans, following this same method, must have surrounded himself with volumes of mediæval architecture before beginning his cathedral. He must have read all the *'bestiaires'* which explain the sense of the figures found in the Gothic churches. But, more than this, he studied carefully the history of all the monastic orders, convents, and nunneries; and in this way he prepared the elements of a work which as a novel is very uninteresting, but which will be read with curiosity by those who make the development of religious ideas a concern.

I would now only call attention to a volume which has interested me, I confess, infinitely more than the symbolism of *'The Cathedral'* or the theology of *'En Route'*. It has for its title *'La Bièvre et Saint-Séverin'*, and may be added to the collection of works on old Paris. There is already a large number of documents on the ancient streets, quarters, monuments of the old city, which was confined at first to an island of the Seine, and which, throwing bridges across the river from time to time, expanded by degrees to its present limits. The heart of old *'Lutetia'* is still in that part of the valley where you can admire Notre Dame, the Sainte-Chapelle, the towers of the Conciergerie, the Louvre, and the Tuilleries. Saint-Séverin belongs to that old part of the city; Saint-Séverin, the old church, dear to the Jansenists, marks nearly the place where the Bièvre, a small affluent of the Seine, joins the great river.

It is not easy to translate the affected style of Huysmans. I must, however, give his own words on the Bièvre:

"The Bièvre represents in our day the most perfect symbol of feminine need exploited by a great city. Born in the pond of Saint-Quentin, near Trappes, it runs, slenderly, in the valley which bears its name; and mythologically you can figure it to yourself incarnated in a very young girl, in a small naiad, still playing under the willows. Like many country-girls, the Bièvre, as soon as it arrives in Paris, falls into the industrial snares. Stripped of her grassy vesture, of her rural ornaments, she has been obliged to go to work at once, and has exhausted herself in horrible tasks. Surrounded by hard men, she has to go from one to the other, but they all keep her in turn in prison; day and night, she has to wash the dirt from the skin of dead animals, to take care of the wool, of the leather; she has to bear the biting of alum, of chalk, of caustics. How often, behind the Gobelins, in the pestilential smells of ooze, she may be seen, trudging along in the mire, beneath the rays of the moon, crying, stupefied with fatigue, under the tiny arch of a little bridge."

This is not exactly the style of the ordinary guide-book, yet Huysmans's volume is really nothing but a picturesque guide to the valley of the Bièvre. The head of the valley, not far from Versailles, is still in the most rural state; thickly wooded, very solitary, so that you feel in it as if you were a hundred miles from Paris. Port Royal was in that region, and a few remains of it are still to be seen. The place inhabited by the *'solitaires'* will always be dear to many. The water of the Bièvre was so pure that Oberkampf established on it the first manu-

factory of cotton prints at Jouy-en-Josas. Napoleon visited it with all his court, wishing to encourage an industry which rivalled that of England. The "toiles de Jouy" became the fashion, and are even now sought after by many people for their pretty designs.

Victor Hugo inhabited for some time the neighborhood of Bièvre, a little place which takes its name from the rivulet. In the "Feuilles d'Automne" you will find a piece entitled "Bièvre":

"Où, c'est bien le valloir! le valloir calme et sombre!"

Then comes a charming description of the valley, in Victor Hugo's best style and his early manner, with changing rhythm. I will cite only two passages:

"Et dans ce charmant paysage
Où l'esprit flotte, où l'œil s'enfuit,
Le buisson, l'oiseau de passage,
L'herbe qui tremble et qui renaît,
Le vieil arbre que l'âge ploie,
Le donjon qu'un moulin couloie,
Le ruisseau de moire et de soie,
Le champ où dorment les aïeux,
Ce qu'on voit pleurer et sourire,
Ce qui chante et ce qui soupire,
Ce qui parle et ce qui respire,
Tout fait un bruit harmonieux!"

The second, which ends the piece, is very characteristic of Hugo:

"Et l'on ne songe plus, tant notre âme saïe,
Se perd dans la nature et dans la poésie,
Que tout près, par les bois et les ravins caché,
Derrière le ruban de ces collines bleues,
À quatre de ces pas que nous nommons des lieues,
Le géant Paris est couché!"

The giant Paris is all that interests the less poetical Huysmans. He takes the Bièvre only when it ceases to be "a riband of moire and silk" and becomes a filthy current, is hidden by houses and factories, runs invisible under vaults and bridges, along dark streets which bear strange names, between high walls, through long tanneries, and finally loses itself in sewers.

"Following, in old times, the walls and towers of Paris, which it did not enter, the Bièvre played, here and there on its road, with little mills where it turned wheels; then it amused itself by mirroring the abbey spire in the trembling azure of its waters, and accompanied with its murmur the offices and the hymns, echoing the talk of the monks who walked on its grassy borders. All has disappeared under the action of ages—the convent of the Cordelières, the abbey of St. Victor, the mills and the trees."

Every Parisian or lover of Paris will read with some pleasure, even in Huysmans's strange style, what concerns the quarters of the capital which surround the Bièvre—the parish of Saint-Séverin, the Rue de la Harpe, the Rue de la Hachette, the Rue de la Bûcherie, the Place Maubert, the abreuvoir Maçon, now replaced by the Place St.-Michel, by the Boulevard St.-Germain. Great as have been the changes in those quarters, some parts still remain to testify of them. The churches especially have been respected. The Church of Saint-Julien-le-Pauvre is one of the oldest in Paris. It existed as early as 507; it was ruined in 886 by the Normans, and rebuilt, in the last part of the twelfth century, by the monks of Longpont. Nothing remains now of their cloister; the priory and the chapter were attached in the seventeenth century to the Hôtel Dieu, and the sanctuary where, during the Middle Ages, were held the general assemblies of the University, was abandoned to all sorts of corporations. During the Revolution, the church became a salt-depot. In 1806 Napoleon gave it back to the Hôtel Dieu, and it became the chapel of the dead. The Augustine Sisters, who still care for the sick in the Hôtel Dieu, used

to take the veil and to pronounce their vows in it. It was finally, about ten years ago, given to the United Greek Church. M. Huysmans gives a very accurate and detailed account of this poor little church, which, from the outside, looks like a small country chapel; he also describes the Greek service, which is after the liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom. I had never read such an elaborate comparison of the Greek and the Roman mass. Huysmans evidently thinks that this intrusion of the East into the parish of St.-Séverin is an absurdity; he would like to see the chapel given back to the popular order, such as the Franciscans, whose mission is to take care of the people. The inhabitants of this poor quarter never enter the church of St.-Julien-le-Pauvre; and, if they do by chance, they do not understand the service.

St.-Julien-le-Pauvre is unknown even to Parisians. St.-Séverin, though it is almost concealed by new houses, is still often visited, and it deserves to be. Nothing remains of the oratory dedicated to St.-Séverin in the sixth century. It was burned by the Normans; it was rebuilt in the eleventh century, and again destroyed; the existing church was built piecemeal from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. During the Revolution, it became a depot of saltpetre and powder; the nineteenth century saved it, and added to it a delicate door, taken from the church of St.-Pierre-aux-Bœufs, demolished in 1837, as well as stained-glass windows coming from St.-Germain-des-Prés. The church itself, the nave, the apse, are very good and delicate specimens of architecture; some of the chapels have an exquisite ornamentation. The church was once very rich, and is now very poor. Huysmans cites curious customs of the Middle Ages attached to this church. It was the habit of women who had been confined to hear their first mass in it when they were able to go out, and a great mantle was kept in the church to be thrown over their shoulders. Travelers starting on a journey used also to go and pray in St.-Séverin to St. Martin, the patron of travellers on horseback. The students who came on horseback to Paris from the provinces were expected to make a visit to St.-Séverin.

St.-Séverin became one of the centres of Jansenism, but Huysmans, who has become intensely orthodox, as is natural in all converts, tells us very little about the Jansenists who lived in its cloister and were buried in its vaults. He seems surprised at the persistence of heresy in St.-Séverin, where the worship of the Virgin Mary had long been very ardent; even after the Revolution, in 1807, when St.-Séverin became again a church, the Jansenists succeeded in having Joseph Baillet, a fervent disciple of Port Royal, appointed its curate. Jansenism survived there till 1869, but there is no trace of it left at this time.

Correspondence.

A CITIZEN TO THE SENATE.

SENATORS: The pinch of the war with Spain will begin to be felt within two years. When that pinch comes, there will be no ninety men in the United States, excepting the President, who will be regarded as so accountable for its consequences as yourselves. A large part of the American

people believe now, and a great many more will believe then, that the sequences of the war ought to be no greater than the necessity of the case requires. To the end that there may be a clear record for future reference of what you may do, and of what they want you not to do, we now formulate their chief objections:

First. They object to a large standing army. They believe that a standing army in time of peace is a poor place for the American citizen. They object to a man being taken from the field of industry and thrift and usefulness and set to doing nothing, and five other men being set to work to furnish him with food and clothes and lodging and transportation and arms and ammunition, and his proportionate cost of a great military establishment. In time of war Americans will volunteer to fight, and will uncomplainingly endure hardship and suffering and neglect and injustice such as would be submitted to by no other soldiers in the world. In time of peace the American loathes the idleness and monotony and constraint and confinement of a fort or barracks. As you are aware, desertions during recent years of peace have been so numerous as to cause serious solicitude in military circles; and it has not been an easy task to keep our little army supplied with good recruits. When it comes to an army five times as large, and for service in what we now consider foreign lands, where the men will be practically imprisoned in unhealthy climates, it may be reasonably assumed either that the pay of the army and the cost of the military establishment will be vastly increased, or that we must come down to the source of supply of those foreign governments which some of you are desirous of emulating—*conscription*. Still more will they object to a great standing army of foreign mercenaries. In these days of Mauser rifles and smokeless powder and dynamite shells and long-range artillery and range-finders, a standing army is a fearful machine to be moved by the hand of one man. Such a machine is intrinsically a menace to liberty. We must recognize the fact that the day of "the embattled farmers" has passed.

Second. They object to the introduction into this commonwealth of semi-civilized millions of the inferior races. The inferior races have been the bane of the American people since the beginning—the source of all their national troubles. If the negroes of the South had been white slaves, as were the slaves of the Roman Empire, slavery would have died of itself before the century began and there would be now no antagonistic classes in the South. If the Indians had been Caucasians, they would have made peace long ago, and, like our brethren of the South, would have melted into the body-politic and become stanch and patriotic citizens. If the Chinese were of our own blood, they would have acquired our habits and thoughts and ideas, and would now be useful citizens. And the negroes of the South, the Dakotas, the Cheyennes, the Navajos, and the Chinese were incomparably better material for American citizenship, for industry and civilization, than the hordes of treacherous and indolent Malays and Mohammedans that you now contemplate bringing within the responsibilities of the Republic. Americans do not want these people—as to that all men are agreed. They do not want, if you persist in bringing them in, the ugly problem of what their status

shall be. They do not want to admit them to citizenship; they do not want to exclude them; they do not want to govern them; they do not want to misgovern them. What they want is that all Americans shall be equal before the law, and that the American flag shall be the symbol of American citizenship.

Third. They object to your trying to ride two horses and serve two masters. The Constitution was framed and adopted by our fathers, "To form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." "Ourselves and our posterity"! Have you never read those words before? We grant that the cession and acquisition of territory is an inherent power of government; we concede that there is no clause in the Constitution which prohibits you from doing this thing; but, taking up the Constitution where our fathers laid it down, we insist that the only trust confided to you is to legislate and to make treaties for the welfare of "ourselves and our posterity." Will it be a blessing to the people who now dwell within the United States and their children if the whole world be ruled from Washington, and the Senate consists of two hundred Senators and the House of a thousand members? If your duty, as you understand it, bids you to confer the hard-won blessings of our liberty upon alien peoples, the path of your duty leads straight across the boundaries of the United States. You may go as missionaries or as soldiers, or in whatever character you please, but so long as you sit in our national capital as a part of our Government, your one official business is to act for the welfare of "ourselves and our posterity."

Fourth. They protest against the false pretence that the Federal Government can extend to distant colonies the blessings of liberty and good government. One of two things is certain, either that you intend to bring these semi-civilized countries into the Union as States, or that the Federal Government will do in these distant colonies what it has never yet done at home. You know that our growth and greatness and advancement and intelligence are due to our American system of general and local government. You know that the Federal Government is only the half of our governmental system, and that it has never more than half-governed when it has governed alone. Look, we beg of you, at the "Century of Dishonor" and the great territory where it is said that every square mile has been needlessly stained with blood. Call to mind the treaties negotiated by the executive branch of the Government and broken by the imbecile procrastination of the legislative. Remember how the Indians were abandoned year after year and decade after decade to the tender mercies of our border ruffians, and how our white women and children were abandoned to the Indians; how the Indians, maddened by hunger and threatened by starvation, rushed upon the settlements while appropriation bills were sleeping in committee-rooms. You have not forgotten how the buffalo were exterminated from the face of the earth in four years, and how, in consequence, we had to spend millions in fighting and feeding the Indians because there was not government enough in Washington to stop the ruthless butchery which tainted

the air and made the plains black with rotting carcasses. And now, to-day, in this year of political regard for humanity, is there not the San Carlos Indian Reservation, one of the infernal spots of the earth, a sage-brush desert without a tree, without a blade of grass, with insufficient streams for irrigation, where the thermometer stands at 120° in such shade as can be found, and where dust-storms blow from the arid plains? Have we not, at this time, imprisoned there men bred in the free air of the mountains, men who fought faithfully in our ranks and guarded our public property without a single theft and aided us in subduing their own race, relying upon promises which were to be broken by the Government? Siberia contains no such scene of human wretchedness. A pretty set are we to be sending our knight-errant Government around the world to right the wrongs of those who suffer through misgovernment! Why, the Czar might come over any day and give our rulers lessons in justice and humanity! And then, too, there are the Freedmen. Is it forgotten how they were fooled by the assurances of the National Government into bringing the first earnings of their freedom to Washington and depositing their money in the Freedmen's Bank, and how they were robbed of it within the sight and hearing of Congress by a corporation which seemed to have been chartered by Congress expressly for that purpose? And the unhappy people of the South during the atrocious years of the reconstruction period! The South had no just cause for rebellion in 1861, but between the close of the civil war and the close of the Grant Administration there were wrongs, and cruelties, and indignities enough to justify a dozen rebellions. Civilization itself was overturned by the Federal Government when the most ignorant and degraded and incompetent class of each community was put in charge of the State and allowed to rule and govern the others. "Was it not good enough treatment for rebels?" There were at that time eight women and children to one man in the South. Was it good enough treatment for them?

Fifth. Especially do all true Americans object to and resent the imputation that the American people, under the guidance of Washington, have not heretofore been one of the nations of the earth, and that it is now their duty to take part in the strife and complications of the European political world—which means, as we understand the situation, that our official and political classes, with their usual contingent of lobbyists and contractors, are to take part with the official and political classes of European governments, and that our industrial classes are to pay for it. We believe, as our fathers believed, that the American name has been honorably known in all lands; that American ideas have influenced all peoples; that our great army of industry, if it could be let alone, would compel the disarmament of Europe; that our national progress has been without precedent or parallel; that our national life has been, among international forces, the great moral power of the world; that our national sentiments have been in favor of peace and arbitration and industry and education, of little government, and that little devoted to the welfare of the governed. This example and these sentiments are not to be flung away by those to whom we have intrusted the responsibility of government. We believe, moreover, that there

are few things for which we owe more unceasing gratitude to the Father of his Country than for his farewell words bidding us as a nation to pursue our own quiet way. Under the teaching of Washington, the American flag was borne by merchantmen to every port on every sea; under the teaching which seems to greatly influence your action, it is to be borne by subsidized steamers and ships of war, for both of which the industrial classes are to pay. We do not hold the influence of brute force, or (if you prefer it) of military force, an honor. We hold fast to our American ideas, to our American foreign policy, to simplicity of government, to all of those great principles which have made the American nation, without a great army or navy, a commanding power in the troubled and misgoverned world.

A large majority of the American people so think and believe, and will in due time make their thoughts known. When that time comes, there will be no ninety men in the United States, always excepting the President, who will be held to so strict an accountability as yourselves. A CITIZEN.

THE BALANCE-SHEET.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is often said of late that the recent war with Spain was worth all it cost in cementing the North and South closer together and in making our relations with England more friendly. In making this contrast, it is evidently intended to compare moral effects with money cost. Probably few out of the masses of people perceive that there are moral losses as well as gains connected with the war. It seems worth while to enumerate some of these, if for no other reason than to get a juster view of the situation.

International arbitration received a severe blow, and the Czar's disarmament proposals a setback, when the peace-loving United States thought it necessary to fight Spain. The war has left us as a heritage the hatred of all Spaniards, the hardly concealed ill-will of the Continental nations of Europe, and the rapid growth of the hated *militarism* among large numbers of our people.

If our new colonial policy is carried out, it will involve us in the wars and rumors of wars of European diplomacy; it will put us in the position of going back on the Declaration of Independence, with its doctrine that government should always be conducted with the consent of the governed; it will remove the strongest ground for maintaining the Monroe Doctrine; it will raise the question as to the sincerity of our *humanitarianism*, and will even cause us to confuse two of our Lord's beatitudes, making one read, Blessed are the *peacemakers*, for they shall inherit the earth.

Other questions are involved, as the increase of the standing army, and the diffusion of the evils of our civilization, such as the greed for gain, intemperance, and spoils politics, among the conquered races where these evils would be likely to take strong root. The introduction of the drinking habits of this country into Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines might with justice be compared to the forcing of the opium traffic on China.

Fortunately, by retracing our steps as rapidly as possible, giving in the meantime order and good government to the conquered

provinces, we may avoid much of the evil described. But it is going to cost a vigorous and persistent discussion to secure this result.

JOS. V. COLLINS.

STATE NORMAL SCHOOL, STEVENS POINT, WIS.

WAR AND PEACE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In Charles A. Dana's 'Recollections of the Civil War,' p. 167, I have just found a letter from Gen. W. T. Sherman to Mr. Dana, which is so interesting that I beg leave to call your attention to it. It has both literary and historical value. A business letter written by a general from his military headquarters in time of war, it nevertheless rises to literary excellence. It is also a commentary on this same General's famous remark that "War is hell."

The circumstances can be briefly stated. Sherman was trying to feed a large army and accumulate supplies for an important forward movement. But people who desired to reach the front for various laudable reasons, and who brought letters from Washington, were making such demands upon his transportation facilities as seriously to interfere with his military operations. He wrote a letter of earnest remonstrance to Mr. Dana, Assistant Secretary of War, then at Washington, and closed with these words:

"In peace there is a beautiful harmony in all the departments of life—they all fit together like the Chinese puzzle; but in war all is ajar, nothing fits, and it is the struggle between the stronger and weaker; and the latter, however it may appeal to the better feelings of our nature, must kick the beam. To make war, we must and will harden our hearts. Therefore, when preachers clamor and the sanitaries wall, don't join in, but know that war, like the thunderbolt, follows its laws, and turns not aside even if the beautiful, the virtuous and charitable stand in its path. When the day and hour comes, I'll strike Joe Johnston, be the result what it may; but in the time allotted to me for preparation, I must and will be selfish in making those preparations which I know to be necessary."

FREDERICK W. MOORE.

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY, January 26, 1899.

A TEMPERED LIFE TENURE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Referring to a paragraph in the *Nation* of January 19, 1899, wherein the "virtual life tenure of judgeships" in Vermont is favorably noticed, it may be well to qualify the compliment by the proviso that judges who do not decide questions favorably to railroad companies are excepted from life tenure. Compare the case of Judge Barrett.

F. J. P.

MR. STILLMAN AND THE "CRISPIANS."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I must, in justice to Signor Crispi as well as to myself, disclaim the honor which your friendly reviewer of 'The Union of Italy' puts on me, of being the exponent of the party of which Crispi is supposed to be the head, or of his views of Italian politics. In the first place, there is no such party. Crispi was, many years ago, the effective head of the "party of action"; but since I have known him he has never had a following for his personal views, so far as I know them, of half a score of Deputies. His strength has been in the popular voice and vote, but what his views are on other topics than that of

the relations between England and Italy and the Abyssinian policy (as to which I disagree with him), I do not know. I have never been intimate with him or in his confidence, except in momentary crises, like that of the affair of the French consulate at Florence, the tentative reconciliation by the Pope through Padre Tosti, and the convention for the Kassala frontier in 1890, in which instances he desired the support of the *Times*. Crispi is extremely reticent and taciturn, and, so far from admitting me generally into his confidence, he has repeatedly refused to be interviewed by me; and what I know of his policy, except in the cases I have mentioned, I have gathered from his acts and public declarations. Above all, it is necessary that I should declare that I have never discussed with him the statesmen or the policy of the past—I don't think I ever heard him mention the name of Cavour, hardly of Garibaldi; nor did I ever talk with him of the revolution of 1860 in Sicily and Naples. And so far as I had any party sympathies in Italian affairs, they were with the Right; and the man with whom I have the most sympathy is Sonnino. To suppose, then, that I represent in any way the political tendencies of any party, and especially those of Crispi, is to make him responsible for the view taken in my book and do him the greatest injustice. The "Bill of Grievances," of which your reviewer speaks as "drawn by the Crispians against France," was not that of the "Crispians," but of all Italy; and, with the exception of the intrigues in Abyssinia, they were all in evidence before Crispi came to power or had any leading influence. The true father of the Triple Alliance was Gen. Robilant, who was of the Right and a true statesman.

So far as there were any "views" expressed in my book (and I tried to limit myself to the narration of facts and their logical consequences) they are my own, and, so far as I know, they do not agree with those of any of the Italian publicists or historians, certainly not with those of Villari, Chiala, Bersezio, La Farina, or Signora Marlo, who are the main authorities on Italian history. With regard to the facts, I am, of course, indebted to them and others, especially to Tivaroni; for the opinions based on those facts I am personally and entirely responsible. I am nobody's advocate, and nobody's defender or antagonist except where I believe that I correct misrepresentation, as in Crispi's case, in which, from purely partisan motives, misrepresentation has been so great as to pervert the history of the time. In fact, the most common objection to 'The Union of Italy' made by the English critics has been that it lacks warmth and color. But how could I give it warmth and color without departing from the severe impartiality which I had imposed on myself? I began my study of the epoch with the warmest sympathy for Carlo Alberto, but the facts dispelled it. I still retain the highest admiration for Cavour, but it does not prevent me from seeing that he made mistakes; and the enthusiasm I felt for Mazzini in my days of participation in conspiracy did not resist the evidence which accumulated that he was a dreamer whose influence in Italian affairs was disastrous from beginning to the end, and that he had no judgment or political foresight.

I wish that your reviewer had quoted the passage on which he founded his assertion

that I "imply that the Italians inherited from Cavour their much-deplored subservience to France." The exiles, including most of the men who in later times have controlled popular feeling, and all the republicans and revolutionaries, refused to follow Cavour in his alliance with France under Napoleon III., and the "subservience to France" dates from the time of Depretis, Mancini, and Cairoli. I have said (p. 364) "the immemorial predisposition of the Italian people to regard the French as a friendly Power"—an expression which distinctly excludes any such hypothesis as that this predisposition was an inheritance from Cavour; and (p. 393), "The Italy to which Cavour aspired was an enlarged Piedmont, and, so far as the differences of nature permitted, he desired to make it a new England." So long as Napoleon III. was on the throne there was no "subservience," but hostility, ill concealed.

But in that passage of the review in which Cavour and Crispi are put in contrast there is a distortion of what I have said which has no excuse. As to my judgment that Cavour was a poor judge of men, I have the authority of some who knew him personally, which I never did; the case of Crispi and Garibaldi was only a case in point. What I criticised was not a question of "refusal to hand Sicily and Naples over to Crispi in 1860," but of driving Garibaldi by intrigues out of the kingdom which he had conquered for Victor Emmanuel, and over which Cavour had not the slightest moral right of control—it was sheer usurpation of the fruits of other men's labors. It was unjust, it was impolitic, and the event has shown that it was ruinous to the completion of Italy, and that Garibaldi had a prevision which Cavour had not. No one would compare Garibaldi or Crispi with Cavour as statesman; and Crispi is even a worse judge of men than was Cavour; but we must remember that Cavour had with him the mass of the patriotic men who made Italy, and a strong King who knew his duty to the country, though, of the list of men quoted by your reviewer, Ricca, Farini, and Minghetti are the only ones fit to be placed in the same rank as Crispi. Supported by all the moral influence of a generation of patriots, and governing the least turbulent half of Italy, Cavour could well dispense with martial law, while Crispi, in 1893, being refused the assistance of all the heads of groups (for there were no more parties or chiefs) except Sonnino, had to fight, not only a growing insurrection, but secret attacks from Court, Church, and the revolutionary element, united in personal hostility to him, with nothing but public opinion and the army to depend on. And the army, to its honor be it said, has always been true to Italy, for it has been educated in the traditions of the old Piedmont. To understand the politics of Italy to-day or to pronounce judgment on Crispi's "administrative ability," one must have lived in Rome when he was in power and understand the partisan rancor which is tearing the state into fragments, for such is the present fury of factional antagonism that ministries strike hands with the Vatican, or with the revolution, to keep in power. And when, in 1893, the whole country was calling on Crispi as the only strong man, and (I speak of what I saw and heard) many of the most conservative Italians united with the moderates in the call, and he was urged to assume dictatorial powers even by some of his own ministry,

the King himself (so I was assured by a conservative Deputy fresh from a royal audience) being ready to grant them, he refused, saying that "he was an old man with few years to live, but he would not set an example of violation of the Constitution." But neither Crispi, nor Cavour with Victor Emmanuel to back him, could have governed Italy in 1893 without martial law and the state of siege, and even with them there were days when the issue seemed doubtful. It is all very well to belittle the dangers past, but I do not forget, and Italy ought not, that to Crispi's iron will we then owed the speedy solution of the question, "to be or not to be," for the House of Savoy. Cavour was a great parliamentary statesman, Crispi a great revolutionary statesman; each was past master in his line.—Yours truly,

W. J. STILLMAN.

W. BOURNEMOUTH, ENG., January 16, 1899.

Notes.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. will publish in the near future Carlyle's letters to his younger sister, Mrs. Jane Hadding; a Life of Thaddeus Stevens, by Samuel W. McCall; a Life of Edwin M. Stanton, by George C. Gorham; 'Fields, Factories, and Workshops,' by Prince Peter Kropotkin; 'A Federation of the World,' by Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood; 'Papias: A Study of the Second Century,' by the Rev. Edward H. Hall; 'Every-day Butterflies,' by Samuel H. Scudder; and 'Corn Plants,' by F. L. Sargent.

'A Primary History of the United States,' by Allen C. Thomas, is shortly to be published by D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.

A text-book on New York's history is in preparation for high schools and colleges by Charles H. Rammelkamp, instructor at Cornell.

The Helman-Taylor Co., Cleveland, will publish 'An Anglican Study of Christian Symbolism,' by Miss Elizabeth Clifford Neff.

The Macmillan Co. will bring out an entirely new edition of the 'Development and Character of Gothic Architecture,' by Prof. Charles Herbert Moore of Harvard University, with many fresh illustrations.

In mere luxury of edition Lieut. W. Nephew King's 'Story of the War of 1898' (New York: Peter F. Collier) leaves nothing to be desired. It is a great oblong folio, printed in large type on heavy paper, and overflowing with illustrations, mostly half-tones from nature. The author is a naval officer, and has secured Capt. Robley D. Evans to write an introduction for the navy, while Gen. O. O. Howard supplies one for the army. Capt. Evans's summary review is a criticism of Congress for forcing the navy to do its thorough work with such poor tools. Gen. Howard opens his with a praise of the preparation of the navy of late years, "as if in anticipation of a conflict." He intimates a criticism of the War Department for shelving Miles in favor of Shafter, permitting the latter to complete Miles's work "and receive the credit for it." The "story" proper need not be examined. It is not meant to be read in such a shape as this, being but a sort of obligato to the illustrations. These are mostly of a high degree of excellence, if more or less familiar. The lurid colored plates could well have been dispensed with; and what is the riddle of the allegory, "Her Consolation," a widow seated near her hus-

band's military portrait, with the legend, "Gettysburg, 1863—Santiago, 1898"? Was the lamented gentleman slain by Lee avenged by shooting Spaniards?

Similar in shape, and possibly superior in the number of colored prints of imaginary war scenes, but otherwise inferior to the foregoing, is the volume, 'Lest We Forget,' published by E. R. Herrick & Co. There are some good portraits of naval commanders and heroes, but the rest, with rare exceptions, is rubbish. There is no text.

Few historical characters have been more thoroughly itemized than Washington, thanks to his journals, letters, military orders, public documents, and a cloud of witnesses among his contemporaries. For almost every day of his adult life we can follow him in his lying down and in his rising up. We know what books he owned, read and didn't read; we know his two favorite "familiar quotations," both from Addison's "Cato." These last form a natural introduction to the latest publication of the Dunlap Society, 'Washington and the Theatre,' by Paul Leicester Ford. We learn here when he went to the play, what he paid for the tickets, when he treated others; and his private account (surely not as juicy as old Pepys's) is supplemented by the press advertisement of the performance, or by a facsimile of the title of the published play, or a copy of an old print representing a scene, together with other invincible documents, including a whole play reproduced. Incidentally light is thrown on the dawn of the drama in the colonies, and Mr. Ford records other shows than the theatre, of which the record pure and simple is rather meagre unsupported.

Mr. John Thomson, librarian of the Free Library of Philadelphia, issues as its first Bulletin a Descriptive Catalogue of the Writings of Sir Walter Scott, which must prove very useful for reference, as the annotations are very full. The whole serves as a summary life of Sir Walter, while the index is to a certain limited extent an index to Scott's characters. The plan of extending such catalogues to other collected works is much to be commended. The Bulletin may be procured for twelve cents, post free. No. 2 will analyze the "Library of Old Authors"; No. 3, 150 volumes of the Rolla Series, as catalogued by Mr. Thomson. The enterprise may be said to emanate from the library of the late Jay Gould.

Mr. Foster's *Monthly Bulletin* of the Providence Public Library for 1898, in a handsome bound volume, is rich in lists and catalogues on a great variety of topics, mostly of monthly current interest. Washington, Gladstone, Bismarck, Egypt, China, Spain and Spanish America, Cuba, the Philippines, are illustrated in a careful array of titles with annotations; as are California, Florence, Thackeray, Photography, Latin Hymnody, Domestic Science, etc. All these bibliographical directories are good for the frequenters of any large public library. We regret that this feature of the Bulletin has come to a close for lack of funds, and that hereafter the Bulletin will be little more than a record of additions. The loss to the Providence public schools is palpable.

G. P. Putnam's Sons announce the publication of a new quarterly journal under the auspices of Section H of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. It will bear the title of the *American Anthro-*

pologist (new series), and will be addressed to the general reader as well as to the specialist in the study of man. The board of editors is a distinguished body of American (including Canadian) authorities. The managing editor is F. W. Hodge, No. 1333 "F" Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

A handsome quarterly magazine, the *Technology Review*, aims to do, in part at least, for the Massachusetts Institute of Technology what the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* does for the neighboring university. A feature in common is the reports from the various class secretaries, who, in fact, together constitute the committee in charge of the *Review*. Another is the General Institute News. The introductory paper is very properly a biographical sketch of President Crafts, with a portrait. No doubt this publication will tend to hold together the alumni of the prosperous school in which it originates.

Mr. Henry F. Waters's shrewd and almost "detective" face in the January number of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* will be welcome to the thousand readers of his "Genealogical Gleanings in England." The current instalment of these deals with Bromfield, Quinby (Quimby), Haskett (and Derby), Hedge, and other well-known New England connections. Mr. Hodges's notes on Roger Williams, endeavoring to fix the dates of his birth and death and the name of his wife, are good workmanship. The pedigrees of the namesake benefactor of Yale College, of the Hoar family, and of the Plymouth Brewsters in the early generations, are also among the unusually substantial contents of this number.

The *Geographical Journal* for January opens with Sir Clements Markham's address before the Royal Geographical Society on the progress of geographical work, in which he dwells especially on the proposed exploration of the Antarctic regions. Next follows a description of Christmas Island, in the Indian Ocean, about 190 miles south of Java, by Mr. C. W. Andrews of the British Museum. Separated from other lands by seas of enormous depths, and uninhabited until the last ten years, this island has developed an interesting fauna and flora without the interference of man. Apparently an upraised coral-reef, it also affords an excellent opportunity of studying the nature and composition of such formations. Major S. Paterson gives an interesting account of an expedition into the unexplored region in the valley of the Orinoco in southern Venezuela. He characterizes the up-country Venezuelans, or "rationales," as they call themselves in contradistinction to the "Indigenos," or Indians, as "avaricious, thriftless, independent, faithless, untruthful, lazy, capable of hard work, quick-tempered, vindictive, changeful, and full of laughter." In a land of great natural resources, which he is convinced "will one day develop into one of the richest commercial centres in the West," they "daily live on the verge of starvation, frequently for lack of energy to hunt for food." They were most friendly to the English, and were "disposed to view the boundary difficulty as merely a question of brag, out of which their own politicians, whom they distrust, hope to aggrandize themselves in some unexplained way." Some of the results, geographical and historical, of the Pamir Boundary Commission are briefly shown from a recently published report. In addition to maps accom-

panying these articles is one of the Shire Highland District in British Central Africa.

The *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for January opens with a lively paper on the "New Seismology," by Prof. C. G. Knott, based on Prof. Milne's recently published work, but containing references to personal observations of earthquakes in Japan. The most startling result established by the new science is the fact "that the earth's surface is in a continuous state of movement." The delicate instruments now used "have brought to light quick tremors, gentle pulsations, and slow tiltings, not merely in so-called earthquake countries, but in every country under the sun." In regard to true earthquakes, the writer thinks there is some evidence of a tendency to increased frequency at times of new moon and full moon. He devotes himself mainly to a discussion of the problem of determining the velocities of the various waves of disturbance. There is also a useful summary of a report to the British Foreign Office on the trade of Central and Southern China, in which considerable information is given in regard to the important places in the Yangtse valley, the products and natural resources of the country, trade routes, and taxes.

That most excellent scientific compend the *Annuaire du Bureau des Longitudes* for 1899 keeps well up to the high standard of previous years. There is much, of course, besides astronomy; M. Cornu contributing on weights and measures, optics and electricity, M. Moureaux on terrestrial magnetism, and M. Levasseur on geography and statistics. The special committee of the Bureau on the preparation of the *Annuaire* is composed of MM. Janssen (who recites the progress of his high-level work on the summit of Mont Blanc), Cornu, and Loewy, the last of whom is now director of the Paris Observatory. The appendixes to the *Annuaire* occupy rather less space than usual, and embody several papers of interest—"Sur les ballons-sondes," by M. Bouquet de la Grye; "La Géodésie moderne en France," by M. Bassot; and, most important of all, a paper by M. Gautier on the great siderostatic telescope he is now building for next year's Exposition. It has an object-glass of nearly fifty inches diameter set up on edge in a fixed position, its focal length being nearly 200 feet. This is the largest glass ever constructed, being nearly one-quarter larger in diameter than the Yerkes glass, and collecting about one-half more light. But, being fed by an enormous mirror or siderostat, which must occasion a large loss, it remains to be seen whether its performance will equal that of the Lick and Yerkes telescopes, even supposing the objective to have reached the high standards set and maintained by the Clarks.

Minerva, the so-called (Italian) review of reviews—rather, an eclectic magazine, translating or abridging notable articles from periodicals in many languages—enters on its ninth year as a weekly, instead of a monthly, and introduces illustrations (even comic pickings) for the first time. In this country the change would, to the expert, signify a want of prosperity; but we will hope otherwise. The publication office is in Rome, Corso, No. 219.

A significant article on Armenia is published in No. 289 of the Berlin *Rundschau*, the editor assuring his readers that the author is a recognized Oriental scholar and traveller, and that the inside information here

given is based on the best of authority. The article states that the Turkish Government does not wish a repetition of the massacres of 1895 and 1896, but that it is not able to carry out this resolution as against the Kurds. This explains the recurrence on a small scale of these atrocities, as recently at Bitlis. The writer states that "the last Oriental war of 1877-78 did not cost the Turkish Government as much as the events in Armenia in 1895-96." In round numbers, about 250,000 persons were killed in these massacres; and still worse was the thorough spoliation of the entire people. As a result, agriculture and cattle-raising, as well as taxes, are out of the question. "The order came from Constantinople to decimate the Armenians, in the sense that everywhere those who were conspicuous for their property, education, or influence should be killed, and in general the younger element should be put to the sword." "To attain this end, three methods were chosen, namely (1), the Turkish population were informed beforehand and were armed; (2) the irregular troops were employed, especially the Kurds; (3) the regular troops were also used." In some cities even the artillery were employed.

A number of prominent gentlemen in France have organized themselves into an Association Historique pour l'Étude de l'Afrique, the object of the society being to send exploring expeditions into the desert of Sahara for the purpose of finding remains of former cities and to prosecute studies in reference to their early condition. Among the members of this society are found such influential men as the Prince of Arenberg, Prince Bonaparte, Count de Blizemont, Baron Hultot, Count Greffable, General Larchey, Marquis de Vogüé, and others. Sufficient funds have already been secured to send out an expedition during the current year, which will operate in Morocco, Tunis, South Algiers, and Tripolis.

During the current winter semester of 1898-99 the twenty-one universities of the German Empire, including the Academy of Münster, have been attended by 32,597 matriculated students, of whom the nine Prussian universities had 16,416. The number of foreigners is 2,092, of whom the greater proportion are in Berlin (504), Leipzig (305), and Munich (202). If we include in these statistics the schools of technology, veterinary science, mining, forestry, and agriculture, the whole number of students in Germany would be 44,333 matriculates and 8,918 hearers. Without entering into details, we may add that the technical schools have 9,380 matriculates and 2,536 hearers, and 1,598 foreigners, of whom 540 are Russians; the veterinary schools have 1,206 matriculates and 160 hearers, and 54 foreigners, of whom 24 are Russians; schools of mining, 602 matriculates, 45 hearers, and 201 foreigners, of whom 96 are Russians; forestry, 201 matriculates, 7 hearers, and 85 foreigners, of whom 43 are Russians; agriculture, 347 matriculates and 66 hearers, and 26 foreigners, of whom 18 are Russians. This preponderance of Russians is a remarkable phenomenon, and the fear has been expressed that, with the opening of the new Institute of technology at Danzig, the Russian may outnumber the German students.

A unique book has been prepared and published by a special committee appointed by the German Stenographical Association, namely, a 'Häufigkeitwörterbuch,' a dictionary of which the object is to determine

statistically the relative frequency of occurrence of the more common words in the German language. No fewer than eleven million words were counted. It appears that the three words most frequently used were "die," "der," and "und." The first-mentioned occurred 358,054 times; the second, 354,526; the third, 320,985 times; so that these three little words figure nearly one-tenth in the actual use made of the German tongue.

The Presidential appointment of the late John Russell Young to the headship of the National Library was an historical event, not to say scandal; consequently the curiosity of posterity as to Mr. Young's personality deserved to be satisfied. Mr. F. Gutekunst, Philadelphia, has done his part in an imperial panel photographic likeness belonging to his notable gallery of public characters. It bears the usual marks of his expertness in his art.

—We record with regret the death, on January 28, at Westborough, Mass., of the Rev. H. Warren Fay, a voluminous contributor to the *Nation* for a long period in the department of Notes and Reviews. Mr. Fay was a classmate at Harvard (class of 1862) of the late John Richard Dennett, who in 1874 passed away under his friendly roof. He was afterwards for a time settled in Nantucket, but returned to his old home, with health fatally impaired. For several years he had been completely bedridden, and his suffering was constant and periodically intense. His spirit, however, was indomitable, and he was a standing lesson in courage and endurance to all his acquaintance. He was an omnivorous reader, and kept himself abreast of French literature in particular. The private notes, latterly written in pencil, which issued from his sick-chamber, were admirable for lightness and good cheer. He had a great capacity for friendship, a warm and generous disposition. His unabated interest in the intellectual movement of the time, while racked by his malady, was truly remarkable.

—The issue of Mr. R. L. Poole's great Historical Atlas by the Clarendon Press (New York: Henry Frowde) goes steadily on, with none of the vexatious delays so apt to occur in the production of such a monumental work. Part xx. is already at hand, and the remaining ten parts, it is expected, will appear during 1899. The later numbers (xiii.-xx.) on the whole maintain the standard of the earlier issues. With their appearance the series of maps illustrating the history of the British Isles is enriched by Mr. G. G. Smith's Scotland, c. 1600; Mr. W. H. Stevenson's England and Wales before the Norman Conquest; the Editor's England and Wales after the accession of the Tudors; and Mr. R. Dunlop's Ireland (1541-1643). Miss Ewart continues her series of Italian maps with the House of Savoy in Italy, and Italia Sacra; while Mr. Rhodes adds to his French series France in the thirteenth century, and Gallia Sacra, besides Europe in the eighteenth century prior to the French Revolution. Prof. Bury contributes two maps of the Eastern Roman Empire, one in the tenth century (two plates), the other 1025-1472, and Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole has three maps of Western Asia—under the Mohammedans (c. 970 and c. 1070); under Saladin (1190); and under the Mongols (1330). The series of ecclesiastical maps is further enlarged by the Editor's map of the ecclesiastical organization of the Spanish Peninsula, and the gene-

ral European series by Prof. Prothero's Europe, 1814-1863; Mr. Oman's Europe in 1360, and the Editor's Europe at the time of Otto (963). Mr. Poole further contributes two maps of Germany, one under the Hohenstaufen (1138-1254) and one in the later Middle Ages (1273-1492). The promise of the title of the Atlas to comprise parts of the New World connected with European history sees a partial fulfilment in three maps by Mr. H. E. Egerton—European Explorations and Colonies from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, European Colonies and Dependencies 1763, and European Colonies, Dependencies, and States Independent of European Powers (1815-1897). Unfortunately, these (in particular the maps relating to the United States) by no means equal the European maps in accuracy or execution. It is matter for regret that this part of the work could not have been assigned to a competent specialist in American cartography. In that case, to take three examples of many, Oregon, the Louisiana Purchase, and Texas (plate 89) might have been more than mere conventional spaces on a map without form (correct form, at least) and void; and the city of Baltimore would not have dated her foundation from 1632 (plate 85).

—In his elaborate and painstaking work on 'L'Ouvrier Américain' (Paris: L. Larose), E. Levasseur offers a good antidote to social unrest. Believing that a high rate of wages is a consequence of high productive ability, he sees much in the condition of the laborer in the United States to suggest a continued and even greater advance in material advantage. If wages fall, it will be due to an excess of labor available through the failure of agriculture to absorb its contingent of immigrants. Any influence of the protective tariff in increasing or even maintaining wages is denied, and our author adopts to the full the opinion that the rate of wages is not determined by the price of the article produced, citing the rise in agricultural wages in the face of a great fall in the prices of agricultural products. Nor does he favor the intervention of the state save for the health and safety of the laborers. Individualism and state agency are the two often opposing principles controlling the development of industry, and upon the preservation of a proper balance between them must depend the freedom or subjection of the workingman. Profit-sharing and coöperation have played but little part in the United States, while socialism is regarded as an unimportant factor. Trades unions are good so far as they aid the sick and the needy, and so far as they enable the laborer to withstand the undue pressure of organized capital; but a strike is a condition of war. The danger lies in the widening breach between employer and employed, considered as belonging to two distinct classes of beings. Materially and mentally, they may seem to differ from one another, but morally their interests are the same.

—Although M. Levasseur's volumes were printed in 1898, he would be obliged to modify some of his opinions in the light of recent events. The increasing weight of the debt due to Europe, paid for in exports the prices of which were falling, would hardly be considered to-day as affecting the general economy of the country. The question of restricting immigration, which M. Levasseur believed would be determined in a few years in favor of more stringent regulations, ap-

pears to have been settled in a very different manner by the policy of expansion. If the competition of the blacks is to be feared in home industries, what would he have said to the competition of Cubans or Tagals in agricultural production, such as sugar and tropical fruits? Finally, M. Levasseur holds that the Americans enjoy a considerable advantage over Europeans in having no standing army, or costly marine, or war expenses demanding heavy sacrifices. If the estimates of Mr. Gage are accepted, this advantage must soon be in a measure neutralized. For the future of American enterprise M. Levasseur is very hopeful, having an unbounded faith in the good sense and conservatism of the people. Some of his criticisms of labor agitators might be well applied to our political leaders, if leaders they can be called; and the wage-earner has more to fear from their irresponsible schemes than from the concentration of large industries. We could wish that this work might reach those with whose interests it deals. The selection and arrangement of details prove the ability of the writer, while the philosophic treatment of the subject could have come only from one who has passed a lifetime in studying social statistics.

—A cheap and approximately complete translation of the 'Thousand and One Nights' has long been lacking. This want is now being filled—at least for readers of German—by a version at present appearing in the excellent little *Universal-Bibliothek* of Reclam in Leipzig. It is by a certain Max Henning, who is unknown to us as an Arabist, but who seems to be fairly equal to the task which he has undertaken. In ten *Doppel-Bändchen* of about 200 pages each and costing each 40 pfennigs, his version has reached Night 606, and we may therefore expect its completion in seven or eight parts more. At that rate, the whole book will not cost more than eight marks—a phenomenal price for a complete 'Arabian Nights.' There is a short three-page preface with some bibliographical details, not always very accurate, as to former translations, a statement that the present translation is based on the *Bülâq* edition (evidently meaning the second), and a promise of a supplement taken from other editions and of an appendix examining the large question of origin, authorship, etc. Besides the second *Bülâq* edition, the translator has used largely that of Breslau, and has also drawn a good deal from Burton. Thus, it is only through Burton that the Calcutta edition of the first two hundred Nights has been accessible to him, and, apparently, the same is the case with the Macnaghten edition; otherwise it is hard to see why he did not take it as a base. The existence of the first *Bülâq* edition, which Lane used, seems to have been unknown to him. The translation is good, and more complete than any other that has been published except Torrens's most unfortunately uncompleted version of the first fifty Nights, and the Burton edited by L. C. Smithers. About half of the verse has been omitted, and what is left, except a few specimens of the translator's ability to turn out *Knüttel-vers*, is rendered into prose after the fashion of Lane. Of rhymed prose only one specimen so far is given, though, after Rückert's masterly imitation of the 'Maqâmât' of al-Hariri, a German might have been expected to again essay the impossible. The notes are few and inadequate; for a commentary on the Nights we must still go to Lane. And so, in a com-

bination of Lane and this version, the ordinary reader will probably find his most satisfactory access at a moderate price to the great Saga-book of Islam.

—There is a great difference of opinion among experts on the possibilities of China's foreign commerce. The great province of Yunnan, with a population of 8,000,000 souls, has been studied by an English consul, and by the mission of French merchants sent out by the Chamber of Commerce of Lyons. As the trade of this province may be turned into an English route by way of Burmah, or into French territory by way of Tonkin, each investigator had an interest in showing that the trade was worth making an effort to secure. The French commission reports that this trade is now \$3,600,000 a year. The exports are chiefly opium and metals, copper and tin. Owing to rebellion and governmental interference, the mining of these metals has decreased until it now amounts to less than one-fourth the interest worked at the beginning of this century. The mandarins have the right to purchase the metal mined, and they resell at a profit, made larger by the difference between a pound in buying and in selling, the difference varying according to the mandarin. Tea from the hills, tin, and opium are used as currency, and barter is the general rule. Four-fifths of the imports consists of cotton yarn, and this comes from India and Japan. Apart from that item, the "import trade is of no importance."

—The English report is no less certain in tone, and speaks of the rumors of actual and potential trade, vast mineral resources, and "innumerable impossible schemes" for railways and developing the country. The obstacles to working the mines are so many and great as must certainly debar capital from profit, while, apart from the minerals, the province has few resources, and the inhabitants are lazy to a degree. As to a railroad to Burmah, an engineer says that "by piercing half-a-dozen Mount Cenit tunnels and erecting a few Menal bridges" the road could be built. The entire trade in the province is in the hands of peddlers, and the movement of merchandise is in consequence small. Sūmao, the most southerly town of any importance in China, possesses no shops of any kind, and street stalls suffice for conducting all traffic. The staples dealt in are tea and raw cotton; the latter being distributed among the country people, who spin and weave it in their homes. The total import of foreign cottons and woollens is only \$3,700 a year. As to the people, "they are entirely at a loss to account for the presence of foreign officials. It is useless to explain that we are here for the purpose of fostering trade, as the obvious retort is that there is no trade worth fostering." This is one of the provinces nearest to the Philippines, and which is to be exploited commercially through those islands—according to the programme of the imperialists.

RECOLLECTIONS AND THE RECORD.

Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War. By James R. Gilmore (Edmund Kirke). Illustrated. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. 8vo, pp. 338.

In historical studies few things are so difficult as to estimate the value of personal recollections. After a lapse of many years, they are so likely to be amended and enlarg-

ed by the injection of material drawn from later events and experiences, that not a few of the more cautious investigators accept the rule that such recollections are of value only as they are supported by contemporaneous memoranda.

Mr. Gilmore tells us in general that he was in the habit of making notes of his conversations with Mr. Lincoln, and it is to be hoped that the original notes are preserved and may some day be given to the world in their authentic shape. It is a little hard to believe that a young man, as yet quite unknown to fame, lectured Mr. Lincoln upon the mischievous effect of his having Mr. Seward in his cabinet when as yet the cabinet was hardly a month old and Sumter had not fallen. Yet our author tells us that in that first interview he gravely informed the President that, if the Southern leaders had not thought Mr. Seward a coward, they probably would not have opened the cannonade upon Fort Sumter which was then going on; and that if he listened "to the timid advice which Mr. Seward, from his extreme caution, is sure to give him, he will run the country upon the rocks, where no earthly power can save it from going to pieces." He tells us that he broadly intimated that Mr. Robert J. Walker of Mississippi, who was present, was, since Andrew Jackson was dead, the proper person to replace Mr. Seward. We also learn that he opened to the President a plan of military operations for subduing the rebellion, which he thinks was essentially that to which we finally had to come. This, however, was so often done by other people. First and last, that it is of comparatively little importance.

A little later we are given at second hand, through Mr. Walker, an intimation that Mr. Lincoln followed up the suggestion of his young visitor, by offering the State Department to the gentleman named, who disinterestedly replied that he thought a change would not then be wise. The difficulty, of course, is in reconciling this with the fact, known from a thousand sources, that Mr. Seward's optimism not only did no harm in itself, but was consistent with so cheerful a readiness to carry out faithfully the President's views when they overruled his own, that Mr. Lincoln stuck to him to the day of his death, and did not yield even to the formal request of a committee of the Senate to remove him.

A curious episode is Mr. Gilmore's visit, as a representative of Mr. Greeley, to Gen. Rosecrans, in the summer of 1863, with overtures to the General to become a candidate for the Presidency. The author professes penitence for his part in this intrigue to supplant Mr. Lincoln, which came to nothing; but other incidents of his visit help us form a judgment of the accuracy of his memory, for we are now on ground covered by the Official Records.

We are told that "soon after the battle of Stone's River the Secretary [Mr. Stanton] had written the General a personal letter, saying that he had made up his mind to offer a major-generalship in the regular army to the brigadier who first won an important victory." Rosecrans's indignation is dramatically told. "Does he suppose I will sacrifice the lives of my men to serve my personal ambition?" But

"Stanton was a good hater. He took mortal offence at the attitude of Rosecrans, and then began to make a series of demands upon him that were impossible of execution; his last being a peremptory order for a forward

movement upon Chattanooga. This order Rosecrans had refused to obey, on the ground that it would imperil his army—a truth demonstrated four months later by the slaughter at Chickamauga; and now he asked me to lay before Mr. Lincoln his reasons for disobeying the Secretary's demands."

The sequel was that Mr. Gilmore went to Washington "near the close of May," represented to Mr. Lincoln that Rosecrans and every one of his general officers thought a forward movement would be suicidal and end in defeat, and gave his own advice to the President to "retire Stanton to a clerical position and give Rosecrans full command of all the armies." He reports further that, upon his presentation of the case, the President told him he might say to Rosecrans that the order would be countermanded, and that it would not be renewed till the General was supplied with all the men and horses he wanted; finally, that he persuaded Mr. Lincoln to telegraph at once to Rosecrans that the order was countermanded, by saying "it would be a salve to a good many of Stanton's wounds."

It would be difficult to put more errors into the same space. The letter concerning the Major-Generalship was not a personal one of Stanton, but an official one of Halleck. An "important and decisive victory" does not imply a sacrifice to a general's personal ambition. Stanton could not himself make such an offer, but it implied action by the President. It was not soon after the battle of Stone's River, but two months afterward. No series of demands was made by Stanton; the demands were constantly made by Rosecrans, and Stanton and all his subordinates showed marvellous patience and good will in dealing with them. No peremptory order for a forward movement on Chattanooga was made by Stanton or any one else. No order was countermanded. Gilmore could not have carried to Washington reasons for Rosecrans's disobedience. Rosecrans collected the opinions of his general officers on the subject of a forward movement by a circular inquiry dated June 8, two weeks after Gilmore had left the army. On the 12th, Garfield, as Chief of Staff, analyzed the replies, and, notwithstanding them, showed such cogent reasons for an advance that Rosecrans yielded to them.

The circumstances which led to this incident all occurred after Gilmore left the army. It was well known in Washington, as it was at the front, that Breckinridge, with ten thousand men, had been sent from Bragg's army to reinforce Johnston, who was trying to raise the siege of Vicksburg. Rosecrans's force was now 50 per cent. greater than Bragg's, and it was summer. Mr. Lincoln personally telegraphed Rosecrans on the 28th of May: "I would not push you to any rashness, but I am very anxious that you do your utmost, short of rashness, to keep Bragg from getting off to help Johnston against Grant." Rosecrans's answer was the offensively curt one: "Dispatch received. I will attend to it," and he did nothing. On the 11th of June Halleck telegraphed: "I deem it my duty to repeat to you the great dissatisfaction that is felt here at your inactivity. There seems to be no doubt that a part of Bragg's force has gone to Johnston." In reply, Rosecrans told of his circular and his subordinates' answers, with the astonishing proposition that "no one thinks an advance advisable until Vicksburg's fate is determined!" He coolly counselled "caution and patience at head-

quarters." Halleck answered at once, patiently controverting his reasons, explicitly saying the authorities would not order him to fight Bragg, but, having given him all the forces they could, the responsibility must rest with him. Then came Garfield's unanswerable review of the situation and advice to his chief to march against the enemy. It was, of course, reinforced by personal discussion. Rosecrans was convinced that he ought to march, but said nothing to allay the anxiety at Washington, and on the 16th Halleck telegraphed the question, "Is it your intention to make an immediate movement forward? A definite answer, yes, or no, is required." Rosecrans answered pettishly: "If immediate means to-night or tomorrow, No. If it means as soon as all things are ready, say five days, Yes." He began the movement on Tullahoma on the 24th, and Bragg's consequent retreat beyond the Tennessee River is regarded by Rosecrans's admirers as one of his chief claims to renown. Meanwhile, to give Grant help in place of that which would have been more effectively given by the advance of Rosecrans and Burnside in conjunction, Burnside was ordered to send the Ninth Corps direct to Vicksburg, and his own movement into East Tennessee was delayed. Grant won the Major-Generalship. Comparing this brief summary of the record with Mr. Gilmore's narrative of his interview with Lincoln in the latter part of May, it becomes evident that his recollection plays queer pranks with him.

We do not need to conclude that these Recollections will have no value to the historian. Some of them are better supported by contemporaneous evidence. An expert investigator will judge sagaciously as to the parts which may be antecedently probable. As a direct contribution to history, however, the book will need to be sifted as to every page, and it will be of more use in helping to give "local color" to incidents of the civil war than as proof of any important facts.

EMIN PASHA.

Emin Pasha: his Life and Work. Compiled from his journals, letters, scientific notes, and from official documents, by Georg Schweitzer. With an introduction by R. W. Felkin, M.D. 2 vols. Westminster: A. Constable & Co.; New York: Hurdley & Mathews. 1898. Portrait, map. 8vo.

Recent events in the Sudan, the capture of Khartum and the occupation of Fashoda by the French, have given a timely interest to this biography. Emin Pasha, next to Gordon, was the most striking figure in the early history of the Mahdist revolt. Had he fallen, like his leader, in the defence of his province, he would have ranked with him among the world's heroes. But in the strong light which the Stanley rescue expedition cast upon him, the world was disillusioned. It discovered that he was a man brought into prominence by circumstance, and not by his force of character or by his heroic deeds. The impression made by the present biography, which, consisting almost wholly of extracts from his letters and diaries, is practically an autobiography, is the same as that made by the accounts of Stanley, Jephson, and his companion in his last expedition, Stuhlmann. He appears to have been a man thoroughly conscientious in the discharge of his duty, anxious for the material welfare of

the people whom he ruled, but lacking strong moral or religious convictions; a man, in a word, who became a Turk in nearly everything but his passionate love of nature. This is not surprising, if we remember that he lived for years in an enervating climate and deprived of any stimulating companionship. He himself was conscious of this deterioration, for he refers in a letter, half-humorously, of course, to the fact that "my mental acclimatisation, i. e., my degeneration into the negro and the egoist, has proceeded apace, and so satisfactorily that at times I am quite alarmed." So, when the time for decisive action came, he was found wanting. Had he been what the world imagined him to be, when both England and Germany sent out costly expeditions for his succor, he would have founded an enduring state at the headwaters of the Nile, and advanced the civilisation of Central Africa by half a century.

Beyond a brief sketch of his early years and the facts contained in Dr. Felkin's introduction, these volumes, compiled with much discretion by a near relative, contain little new material which is worthy of note. Emin was born in Oppeln, Prussian Silesia, in 1840, studied medicine at the University of Berlin, and entered the Turkish service as medical officer at Antivari in 1865. At this time he discarded his real name, Edward Schnitzer, for a Turkish one, though he did not assume the name of Emin until he joined Gen. Gordon in 1874 at Lado, on the White Nile. The next two years were spent mainly in missions to Mtesa and Kabarega, Kings of Uganda and Unyoro respectively. Emin's account of these missions and of some official tours through Equatoria, which succeeded them, constitutes by far the pleasantest part of the biography. They show him at his best—a keen observer, with unusual descriptive powers, and possessing infinite patience and remarkable tact in dealing with the natives. At one village a unique entertainment was provided for him:

"No sooner was it dusk than dancing began. At four different places drums resounded, and choruses, accompanied by energetic hand-clapping, responded to the recitative of a bard, who seized upon all sorts of subjects as themes for his improvised song. One of Rionga's people gave a very amusing imitation of myself inquiring for, and jotting down, the names of mountains, streams, plants, etc.—not even forgetting to mimic my taking bearings with the compass. 'What is the name of that village in front of us?' asked the impersonator. He himself gave the answer, 'Kijaja,' whereupon the chorus took up the word 'Kijaja,' and repeated it about ten times."

In 1878 Gordon, with some hesitation, appointed him governor of the Equatorial Province, and for several years he devoted himself with untiring energy and considerable success to developing its resources. Dr. Junker, the Russian explorer, gives an attractive picture of its condition soon after the rising of the Mahdi. As he approached Lado he went

"through uninterrupted cultivated fields in the Bari country. What a contrast to the native tillage we had left behind! Here, even the negro's holding is secure; everywhere browsing herds, and the inhabitants of the many Bari hamlets, so far from being scared away by our approach, go on quietly with their work. My boys opened their eyes wide on seeing that here the strong does not rob the weak, and that the mighty government of the Turk leaves the negro's property inviolate."

The station itself was "changed almost beyond recognition," with its wide, regular

streets and brick houses surrounded by lemon trees.

From this time, however, Emin was forced to give up his civilising work and to devote himself wholly to the task of maintaining himself against the attacks of the Mahdist Emirs. The history of his limited success, which was mainly due to his situation and not to the valor or loyalty of his soldiers, is told in minute and somewhat wearisome detail. It is unnecessary to dwell at length upon the account of the rescue. The interested motives and malign influence attributed to Mr. Stanley and to England, both by Emin and by his biographer, are clearly disproved in the translator's notes and Dr. Felkin's statement. The truth is, that the two men, unsympathetic by nature, were mutually and keenly disappointed in each other. Emin confidently expected moral and material support from Stanley, which the terrible hardships the latter had endured prevented him from giving. Stanley looked for a man like Gordon, forceful in character and action—a natural ruler of men, before whom he was to lay the proposition of the King of the Belgians to hold Equatoria as a part of the Congo Free State, and that of an English company to found with their aid a new state on the Victoria Nyanza. He found an amiable gentleman who had lost control of his mutinous followers—a band of wretched Egyptian clerks and savage Sudanese—and who was incapable of deciding even whether to stay or go.

The sad story of Emin's last expedition, to which the second volume is wholly devoted, has already been told by his companion Dr. Stuhlmann, and reviewed five years ago in these columns. To that admirable account only personal details, which have little general interest, are added here. With the aim of extending the German possessions, Emin started from the coast in April, 1890, and with considerable difficulty reached the unexplored region to the west of the lakes. Here the expedition, weakened by hardships and the lack of food, was decimated by an epidemic of smallpox. The able-bodied were sent back to the east coast with Dr. Stuhlmann, and Emin, after some months' delay, went westward with a vague intention of reaching the Cameroons. A few days' march from the Congo, in October, 1892, he was murdered by some Arabs, in revenge, his biographer thinks, for a raid he made on an Arab station. It is a pitiful tale in which the catastrophe is foreshadowed by such entries as these in his diary, "I am very weary. Would it were over!" "Would that I had died after my fall on the stones of Bagamoyo!"

The rank of Emin among men of science must be determined by them. In this biography he appears only as an enthusiastic collector from his boyhood to his death. This passionate and thoroughly unselfish love of nature was a resource of immeasurable worth in his situation. It was a constant stimulus to exertion, and kept him from mental stagnation. He longs for rescue, not that he may return to Europe and friends, but because "it would be a crime if all these beautiful collections were ruined." In one of the darkest days of the last expedition he writes, "Amidst all my recent troubles and trials, I have had one great consolation: I have discovered a largish cat, hitherto unknown to naturalists." The last entry in his diary, made probably a few moments before his murder, is, "Das Barometer steigt schnell

[the barometer is rising rapidly]." Many of the museums of Europe were enriched by his zealous and absolutely disinterested labors, while his life-long attitude towards fellow-workers in science is shown in this sentence from one of his letters: "In any case, if either you or any of your friends wish for anything which it is possible for me to procure, whether in the department of zoölogy, botany, or otherwise, my services are absolutely at your disposal." He will have an enduring monument in his contributions to the scientific knowledge of Central Africa, though posterity will probably deny his right to the title once given him, "the apostle of culture." His civilising work has apparently left no trace.

A word of praise should be spoken for the uniform excellence of the translation, which is in such smooth, idiomatic English that it is difficult to realize that it is a translation from the German. The volumes are attractive in their appearance, and contain an index and a map of Emin's journeys in Africa.

The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom. By Wilbur H. Siebert, Associate Professor of History in Ohio State University. Macmillan Co. 1898. 8vo, pp. xxv, 478.

That humor which heaven bestowed in large measure on the abolitionists, while denying it is *to* to slaveholding republicans, invented the term "Underground Railroad" for an expedition always carried on above ground, and with only secondary use of railroads. An extension of the metaphor produced "agents, station-keepers or conductors." Political geography (as, the adjacency of free Canada to the slaveholding United States as a whole, the adjacency of the free North to the slaveholding South), topography, character and derivation of population (as, New Englanders in the Western Reserve; Quakers in Southern Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, who had left the South in order to have done with slavery), all contributed to determine the "routes." Yet in all this there was no "institution," scarcely here and there an organization till the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 produced vigilance committees, not so much to help fugitives northward as to keep their free fellow-citizens from being kidnapped, and to warn man-hunters from free soil.

Prof. Siebert, in preparing his monograph, had the advantage of several valuable works on the operation of the U. G. R., especially in Cincinnati, Southern Pennsylvania, and Philadelphia. With commendable industry he has made independent researches, ransacked anti-slavery literature, conversed with survivors, acquired where he could original records, letters, etc., drawn up a list of more than 3,000 "helpers," made estimates of the amount of traffic, retailed some of the more striking *casus célèbres*, made the first map of routes, examined the several laws attempted or enacted to carry out the constitutional provision for the return of fugitives, and compiled a useful though not exhaustive bibliography. The result is a work of reference of very high value, enhanced by a large number of portraits and other illustrations. It is, moreover, in the main, surprisingly readable, for the author shows no great skill in construction, is somewhat repetitious, occasionally fatiguingly minute, and lacks graphic or pathetic power to narrate specimen fugitive cases

which are among the most thrilling, heroic, tragic, and shameful in American annals. One who desires to view the subject on this side should turn rather to Levi Coffin's memoirs or to William Still's 'Underground Railroad Records.'

The work is not pure history. It is frankly that of an entire sympathiser with Underground motives and methods. It has, further, a thesis, which is, that Underground activity furnished a connecting link of sentiment between the earlier and the latter-day abolitionists, and that the "institution" had a far larger part in determining emancipation—by telling upon the patience of the slaveholding oligarchy, and impelling them to secession—than historians and biographers commonly allow. But this is somewhat to confound two factors in the situation: one, the humane sympathies which led Northerners of whatever political affiliation to hide the outcast and speed him privily on his way to a free country; the other, the open revolt against the Constitutional provision and the Fugitive Slave Law in particular, as evinced by Personal Liberty laws and vigilance committees, Shadrach and Jerry rescues, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' and John Brown's wild scheme of a wholesale hegira. The annual losses by escapes, aided or unaided, the South could and would have put up with but for the signs of the growing public sentiment of abhorrence of slavery, with desire and resolve to restrict the extension of the slave area. This manifestation of a militant Northern conscience was due almost wholly to the persistent, organized, and uncompromising propaganda of the abolitionists, with its inevitable effect upon the creed of parties. A man did not have to be a Liberty Party man, Conscience Whig, Free-Soiler, or Republican to be merciful and helpful to the fleeing victims of slavery—if not systematically, at least on occasion. Here there was no touchstone but a common humanity. But, had there been no specific anti-slavery agitation, we might to-day be living under the conditions of 1860.

For this argument, two facts are decisive: one is that secession was fomented and precipitated by the fire-eaters of the Gulf States, or the parts of the South which suffered least from abduction or fugaciousness. The other is, that nothing but a divinely inspired madness prevented the leaders of secession from accepting at the hands of Congress and the States in 1861 terms of constitutional amendment and guarantee which would have fortified the Slave Power beyond its wildest dreams in 1787. The real moral which Prof. Siebert's monograph points, though he does not (we think) remark it, is that had two incompatible contiguous confederacies been established by secession on this continent, the Underground Railroad (impossible to suspend as long as man was man) would have speedily led to a renewal of hostilities. To doubt that the Southern leaders foresaw this, is to discredit their discernment; but then we must infer that their aim was not independence, but to make this country, in Lincoln's words, "wholly slave"—that is, at least to make slave property in transit inviolable in every part of the Union.

Prof. Siebert's explorations have sometimes stopped short of first-hand authority. On page 68 he professes ignorance of a Philadelphia Underground society of Quakers censured by Washington in 1786 (April 12, not May; the citation is at third hand). The organization in question can hard-

ly have been other than the "Pennsylvania Society for promoting the abolition of slavery, the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and for improving the condition of the African race." It was at that date on the point of revising its constitution, and in 1787 it made Franklin its first President. (See Edward Needles's 'Historical Memoir' of this society, Philadelphia, 1848, or the late W. F. Poole's 'Anti-Slavery Opinions before the year 1806,' Cincinnati, 1873). As Washington complains of "a vexatious lawsuit respecting a slave," the case and the Society together are removed from the Underground category. On page 219, our author cites newspaper and magazine authority for extending the operations of the U. G. R. R. to Nova Scotia as well as to Canada. His "settlements of ex-slaves near Halifax," however, are only the remains of the Maroons introduced in 1796 from Jamaica, and mostly afterwards deported to Sierra Leone. Dependence on Henry Wilson's 'Rise and Fall of the Slave Power' has made him miss both the exact date (May, 1843) of Mr. Garrison's address of welcome and promised succor to fugitives, and the significance of it as a criticism on a similar invitation penned by Gerrit Smith. For this he should turn to the *Liberator* (13: 87). We have noticed one error on page 99, in Francis Jackson's letter to Theodore Parker, where "Byrnes" stands for "[Anthony] Burns." The excellent index escapes this pitfall so far as to admit no Byrnes; but then Burns is cheated of an entry due him.

Matter, Energy, Force, and Work. By Silas W. Holman. Macmillan. 1898. 8vo, pp. 257.

Very competent physicists may have a difficulty in forming perfectly clear conceptions of the fundamental ideas of physics; and the more difficulty they have, the more likely they are to want to write books on the subject, and the more deleterious those books will be. These are the minds which neglect the maxim of logic that the meaning of a word lies in the use that is to be made of it, so that every term of general physics ought to stand for a definite general phenomenon; and whoever clearly apprehends to what phenomenon a physical term refers, has nothing further to learn about that term except its grammatical construction. For instance, the word *mass* serves to express the law of action and reaction. If *mass* is defined as "the quantity of matter," then what is meant is the quantity of matter as measured by action and reaction. *Mass*, therefore, has to be distinguished from *weight*, if by weight we refer to the pull toward the earth against the elasticity of a spring-balance. But to introduce distinctions of terminology which refer to no differences in the phenomena, is an idle pedantry that only confuses at once the language and the ideas of students, and puts them out of *rapproch* with the body of scientific men. Prof. Holman's word "weightal" is as superfluous as it is unbeautiful.

The only way to keep scientific terminology free from confusion is to recognize the right of him who introduces a given conception into science to confer upon it its scientific designation and symbol, which should never be rejected nor changed except for really substantial reasons, such as the previous use in another signification of the word chosen. No man of sense will upon

any light occasion violate all usage in this matter, any more than in any other. For instance, the word *gravitation* is appropriated by all writers to that fixed attraction between distant bodies which varies only as their mass, while *gravity* is used for the acceleration of bodies toward the earth under the influence of gravitation combined with centrifugal force. It is, therefore, injudicious for Mr. Holman to attempt to reverse this practice by calling that "gravity" which is known as gravitation, and that "weight" which is known as gravity. He seems to be particularly enamoured of the word "kinergety" for kinetical energy; but it is not likely to be adopted.

As an example of the want of clearness of the book, we may take the following, which is printed in italics: "The sufficient evidence that all resistance is due to the action of energy lies in the fact that through resistance change in state of motion of bodies occurs." If, however, by "due to the action of energy" is meant, as should be meant, due to the production by kinetical energy of changed positions with changed positional energy, and the production by the distribution of positional energy of accelerations working changes of kinetical energy, then it is plain that, unless the conservation of energy be assumed at once, a resistance need not be "due to the action of energy." Great fallacies may lie hid behind the word "due."

Le Sage's theory of gravitation is discussed, without being criticised from a logical point of view. But if this theory is proposed in the hope that impact and a wonderful elasticity of incompressible bodies may supersede positional energy, then it would seem to be a blow aimed at the ideas of the differential calculus and of logic itself; for it would be an endeavor to form a conception of nature as discontinuous, and consequently as radically unintelligible as possible. If, however, positional energy and action at a distance are not to be attacked, why not admit that gravitation is such an action, until some facts are ascertained to the contrary?

The vortex-atom theory is regarded with great favor by Prof. Holman. Yet, though mathematically only too profound, it is logically not much better than the theory of Le Sage, being an attempt to get rid of action at a distance in another way. As for Prof. J. J. Thomson's verifications of its results by chemistry, they are too trifling to have much weight, not to speak of the difficulties they involve. There is nothing but *a priori* metaphysics against action at a distance, which is indissolubly bound up with the principle of energy.

Prof. Holman allows himself to treat with silent contempt Newton's theory that space is an absolute entity, although it is a scientific doctrine based upon the fact that bodies tend to preserve their absolute aspects of rotation. He falls into German metaphysics in accepting as self-evident Leibniz's hypothesis that space and motion are entirely relative, a notion unsupported by facts. Some of the German upholders of this doctrine say that bodies do not preserve their planes of rotation absolutely, but only relatively to an otherwise unknown body, which they name "Body Alpha." This "Body Alpha" is for all intents and purposes identical with Newton's Absolute Space. Dr. Ernst Mach wishes to substitute for Body Alpha the *total ensemble* of the bodies in the universe. The idea that a distant star by its motion

should instantly affect the rotation of a top, not by a physical force, but by a principle of dynamics, is contrary to all experience, and subversive of the validity of space as a representation of the relations of things. These people maintain that it is just as true to say that the earth stands still while the heavens move round it, as the reverse; so that we may say without falsehood that, by moving round the earth, the stars produce the phenomena of centrifugal force on the earth. This is action at a distance, with a vengeance. It is to be remarked that the preservation of the plane of rotation depends upon the law that a body unacted on by any force moves in a right line; and if the aspect of the plane is not absolutely preserved, then the body moves in a straight line, not absolutely, but only relatively to Body Alpha or to whatever substitute for that fetish may be imagined. All this because the Leibnizians obstinately adhere to a metaphysical notion that does not fit the observed facts.

Geometers are unanimously agreed that it is impossible to prove that the sum of the angles of a triangle equals two right angles except by a premise as little axiomatic as Euclid's celebrated postulate concerning parallels. But if it be axiomatic that all motion is relative, there is no difficulty about the triangle. For in that case two bodies may have any velocity in any direction and yet remain at rest relatively to one another. Now, this is impossible if the sum of the angles of a triangle is greater or less than two right angles.

L. L. Boilly; Peintre, Dessinateur et Lithographe. Par Henry Harrisse. Paris: Société de Propagation des Livres d'Art.

From Fragonard and Greuze and the court painters of the eighteenth century, to Géricault and Delacroix and the Romanticists of the nineteenth, French art for most people means nothing but David and his school. David, it is true, was the great man of the day; his influence was paramount in the studios, his classical creed was supreme. But still there were a few painters so entirely out of "the movement," apparently so unconscious of the tendency of their age, that, instead of reducing everything to the classical formula, they went on painting the scenes and events of every-day life just as they saw these, truthfully, faithfully, simply, with no striving after notoriety—painters who to-day, as M. Harrisse says, would be called "des naïfs." But it is really because they were so naïve, so matter-of-fact, because they knew their limitations and attempted neither the idyllic with Watteau nor the high heroic with David, that their work now has its value. It was never great; most of it would be altogether forgotten were it not for its interest as an historical document.

Of these painters, we agree with M. Harrisse that Louis Boilly holds the first rank. He was not by any means a master, he was not an artist of special distinction. But he had his own game in art—a game Thiers has defined as the painting of ourselves and our customs—and he played it extremely well. He was really the Frith of his day, which, it should be remembered, extended through the Revolution, the Directory, the Consulate, and the Empire, and, indeed, long after the Restoration. While most men were busying themselves with the making and unmaking of states, with war, with political and diplomatic adventure of every kind, Boilly, the

humble little provincial, was engrossed with the more familiar and intimate incidents of life. He painted his contemporaries as he saw them, the men in their cafés, the women in their homes; he painted the people waiting in line for the distribution of milk in days of distress, and for the distribution of wine in days of rejoicing; he painted the departure of the conscripts and the arrival of the latest news; he painted the crowds in the Louvre staring at David's famous picture of the Coronation, and the crowds in the streets gathered to see the start of the diligence. In a word, he painted just those things which the artist of his generation, supposed to be inspired by Greece, despised as petty and trivial, though to us they are far more amusing than the toga-draped heroes and the correctly balanced groups of the classical painter.

Much the same subjects are repeated in the lithographs of Boilly, who was one of the first to practise the art of Senefelder as soon as it was fairly introduced into Paris by Lasteysie and Engelmann. His prints sometimes, to tell the truth, are very tiresome. We have absolutely no patience with the series of *Grimaces* by which he is best known, though it must be admitted that the exaggeration of feature and form that irritates us was quite in accord with the fashion of the time. Even Daumier, later on, often enough fell into the same trick. But whatever fault you choose to find in them, the fact remains that Boilly's paintings and drawings and lithographs are invaluable as a chronicle of a very important and very fascinating period in French social history. It is for this reason we are glad that M. Harrisse has thought it worth while to make a catalogue of them, and the Société de Propagation des Livres d'Art has been willing to publish it.

M. Harrisse has done his work thoroughly and excellently. He has prefaced his catalogue with a sketch of Boilly's life and an estimate of his work. Of the artist's life, there is not much to tell. He was born in 1761, at La Bassée, a little town in the neighborhood of Lille. He was trained to be a house painter, but his ambition was to make himself a painter of pictures, and he managed to earn enough money, chiefly by portraits, to settle in Paris in 1785. He married, he had many children, he worked quietly, despite the social upheaval that was disorganizing France. Only once was he interrupted, when the engravings after his pictures were thought too gallant and gay by a Republican Society of Arts, and he had suddenly to take to painting the "Triumph of Marat." He worked indefatigably, for his fame was never sufficient to bring him large prices for his pictures, and it was merely by his unflagging industry that he succeeded in living by his art. Some idea of his industry is to be had when we learn from M. Harrisse that in the course of his career, besides everything else, he painted not less than 5,000 portraits. As M. Harrisse has pointed out, his pictures suffered, first because of the change in public taste brought about by David, and afterwards because of the new change ushered in by the Romanticists, for he did not die until 1845. But the public delighted in him as the English public delights in Frith. M. Harrisse thinks, however, that he will be more and more appreciated by competent judges and critics, as time goes on. We are not so sure. We cannot help wondering if his work will not

always be prized for his subjects rather than for its artistic merit, if he will not be remembered as the chronicler rather than the artist.

M. Harrisse has catalogued no less than 1,364 pictures, drawings, and lithographs. He has made a separate list of the pictures exhibited at the Salon. In every case he has given all available information as to size, subject, and history; but he modestly declares that he can make no claim to completeness, that he has probably accounted for but half of Boilly's work, so much of it has disappeared. If, out of his forty-eight Salon pictures, presumably his most important, but seventeen can be found, there is no doubt that there were innumerable pot-boilers of which not a trace is left—no great loss, we fancy, to Boilly's reputation. M. Harrisse hopes his readers may fill up many of the gaps, but it is a question whether there is any one to-day who can pretend to a title of M. Harrisse's knowledge of a painter now so obscure and forgotten as Boilly. The catalogue is well printed, and is illustrated with a sufficient number of photogravures and process blocks after Boilly's most characteristic designs to give a fair idea of the artist and his work. Altogether the book must prove of immense service to any one studying the social history and the art of France during the long period of which Boilly kept so accurate and often so amusing a record.

The Whitefoord Papers. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by W. A. S. Hewins. M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde. 1898.

The name of Whitefoord is most familiar to Americans in connection with the negotiations which ended the Revolution. Caleb Whitefoord was an intimate friend of Benjamin Franklin, and for this reason became sole secretary to the Commission which negotiated the preliminary treaty in 1782. He is also the main figure in the volume of correspondence now under review. The family was Scotch and of ancient origin. Its founder lived in the last half of the thirteenth century, and held lands near Paisley, in the shire of Renfrew. For some centuries his descendants were only of local consequence, but, during the English Parliamentary Wars, one of them, Col. Walter Whitefoord, gained some reputation as a truculent supporter of the Stuarts. It was he, for instance, who on May 2, 1649, assassinated the regicide, Dr. Dorislaus, in his own apartments at The Hague, whither he had been sent on a mission by the Commonwealth. No one of the name has ever reached very great eminence, but in the eighteenth century two Whitefoords (and those the two with whom we are here concerned) attained a certain degree of distinction. These were Franklin's friend, Caleb, and his father, Col. Charles Whitefoord.

To associate one's self with Sir Walter Scott is always a short and sure way of attracting public attention, and Col. Whitefoord merits notice for having given the author of 'Waverley' a valuable hint. One of the finest incidents in the first novel of his immortal series is the relationship between Baron Bradwardine and Col. Talbot. Scott found the basis of their romantic friendship in an actual occurrence of the battle at Prestonpans. As Alexander Stewart of Invernahyle was leading a charge which routed the

Hanoverian troops opposed to him, he observed a royal officer remaining still at his post despite the desertion of his followers. When ordered by the Highland leader to surrender, the officer made a lunge at him with his sword, but, falling in the attempt, was soon disarmed. He "was now defenceless, and the battle-axe of a giantic Highlander (the miller of Invernahyle's mill) was uplifted to dash his brains out, when Mr. Stewart with difficulty prevailed on him to yield. He took charge of his enemy's property, protected his person, and finally obtained him liberty on his parole. The officer proved to be Col. Whiteford, an Ayrshire gentleman of high character and influence, and warmly attached to the house of Hanover."

Thus writes Sir Walter in the Introduction to 'Waverley.' Before long, however, Whiteford was on the winning side and could requite his obligation. Stewart was proscribed, his property was seized, his wife and children even were threatened. In this plight Whiteford made his way in person to the Duke of Cumberland and used every argument, not only on behalf of his friend, but also for the defenceless family. Cumberland proving obdurate, the Colonel took "his commission from his bosom, laid it on the table before his Royal Highness with much emotion, and asked permission to retire from the service of a sovereign who did not know how to spare a vanquished enemy." This dramatic coup carried the day, the Duke yielded, and thus Whiteford repaid the services which had been done him on the field of battle.

The letters which are now edited for the first time by Mr. Hewins cover, as has been said, two generations, and extend from 1739 to 1810. The dividing date within this period is 1753, when Col. Charles Whiteford dies, and the correspondence of his son, Caleb, then aged nineteen, begins to be complete. Throughout the earlier section topics and interest are almost wholly military. There are letters from Ciudadella in Minorca and from Guantánamo in Cuba, besides much detail concerning the Jacobite rising of 1745. When the Pretender landed in the Highlands, Whiteford was visiting friends in Scotland, and though he thought that the invasion would "end in smoke," he hastened to join the forces. Indeed, such was his zeal that he "went volunteer, refusing to be Adjutant-General or Aide-de-Camp to the Commander-in-Chief, with pay, thinking it his duty to serve his Majesty to the utmost of his power without any private view." His gallantry at Prestonpans we have already seen. His letters are those of an officer in the field, short and businesslike. The only long document among them is a detailed defence of Sir John Cope, who was brought before a court-martial for suffering the clansmen to beat him. The court held with Whiteford and exonerated Cope, on the ground that he had been basely abandoned by his troops. After Culloden, little of more than private interest transpires in the life of Col. Whiteford. He died seven years later, when in the full tide of professional success.

His son, Caleb, would never, save for the chance acquaintance with Franklin, which gave him a place in public affairs, have emerged from the obscurity of an artistic dilettante, or been talked about beyond the little circle where he was, as Burke says, a *décor des bons-mots*. At most he might occasionally have been mentioned in the Gentle-

man's Magazine, or alluded to in letters or memoirs. He was a sprightly and agreeable man who wrote for the newspapers, collected pictures, and was an acceptable guest at the dinner-tables of gentlemen and men of letters. He was also a devotee of the theatre, knew Garrick intimately, and was often called upon to write prologues or epilogues. It speaks well for his character that he kept his friends throughout life, and that the most illustrious among them were willing to inconvenience themselves on his behalf.

Besides Franklin, Caleb Whiteford had for correspondents Smollett, Garrick, Warren Hastings, Woodfall the publisher, Copley, and the Earl of Buchan. Nothing, however, of much moment comes out in their letters to him, and we have little hesitation in fixing on his part in the peace negotiations as the most striking feature of the volume. With Oswald, his colleague, Whiteford hired one of the best hotels in Paris, and kept open house there. The business occupied thirteen months, and, though, through a change of ministry, their services were not properly rewarded by Government, they enjoyed a pleasant degree of consequence while terms were being arranged. Pp. 187-189 contain some amusing anecdotes of the negotiations, from which we extract the following passage. On one occasion Whiteford was talking with a Frenchman, who boasted of the glory his country had gained, and emphasized England's folly in going to war with her colonies:

"He talk'd of the growing Greatness of America, and that the thirteen united States would form the greatest Empire in the world. Yes, sir, I replied, and they will all speak English, every one of 'em. His triumph was check'd. He understood what was intended to be convey'd, viz., that from a similarity of Language, Manners and Religion, that Great Empire would be English not French."

While devoid of extraordinary value, the Whiteford Papers make very agreeable reading. They are beautifully printed, and Mr. Hewins has performed his editorial duties with complete thoroughness and success.

New Yorkers of the Nineteenth Century. By Mrs. John King Van Rensselaer. F. Ten-nyson Neely. 1898.

In this collection of selected pedigrees Mrs. Van Rensselaer revives the memories and many of the names of the Dutch matrons celebrated in her late charming book on the Good Wives of Manhattan. They reappear even beyond the third and fourth generation, to justify the Scriptural promise of inherited virtues and persisting qualities. The traits impressed by Holland ancestry show themselves again in the grandchildren and great-grandchildren who led the social and business life of New York in the early years of this departing century.

The New Amsterdam stock, though still dominant, had diffused itself through alliances with the wealthiest of new-comers during the period succeeding the provincial era. At a very early date, indeed almost contemporaneously with the English conquest, many of the old Dutch names were lost by being merged in marriage with families of French and Scotch connection; and, by the time included within these charts, New England, too, had contributed the stimulus of her energy in a great degree to modify the character of the residents of Manhattan. The distinction of leadership in New York social life as it then was is thus shared by all races,

not excluding even the Hibernian. A part of the impulse in its advance is due to the blending of the qualities of each, and each of the names here recorded suggests some achievement in war, or politics, or finance tending to the solid building up of New York at the outset of the present century.

A part only, perhaps a quarter or a fifth part, of the intended series of genealogical charts is presented in this publication. Great care has been taken, through laborious study of public records and family papers, to insure accuracy in its elaborate details. The series when completed will not only form a record of value to the curious student of genealogy, but will also greatly aid professional researches into questions affecting the descent of property on Manhattan Island.

Leitchimey; A Tale of Old Ceylon. By Sin-natamby. With illustrations. London: Luzac & Co.

Ummagga Jātaka (The Story of the Tunnel). Translated from the Sinhalese by T. B. Yatawara. London: Luzac & Co.

These two recent books are worthy of mention as throwing light on phases of life in India at different ages, and also because they are issued by the publishers to the India Office in London. The 'Tale of Old Ceylon' gives an interesting picture of southern Indian life at the opening of the sixteenth century, when the first Portuguese settlements were established around the coasts of Ceylon. The plot is one of political intrigue. A king is banished through the machinations of an unscrupulous minister. His wrongs are partly avenged through the instrumentality of two young lovers, whose romantic adventures make up the under-plot.

The second work is a translation of the Jātaka Tales, or anecdotes from the life of the Buddha in a previous existence. Each addition to our knowledge of the Jātakas is welcome to students of Buddhism and to those who are interested in folk-lore. The present translation is not made from the Pāli, or sacred language of the Buddhists, but is based upon the Sinhalese version. On pp. 19, 20 is found a curious analogue to the judgment of Solomon over the child. In the Indian tale the Buddha is represented as discovering the true mother from the false by resorting to a sort of tug-of-war test, in which the rival claimants are to draw the body of the living babe over a line marked upon the ground. It is needless to add that the real mother yields her claim rather than to submit her child to the cruel torture. The "Bōsat" gives judgment accordingly.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

- Anstey, Rev. Henry. *Epistolæ Academicæ* Oxon. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde.
 Athorp, W. F. By the Way. *Essays on Music and Art.* 2 vols. Boston: Copeland & Day. \$1.30.
 Aub, Theodor. *The Bankruptcy Law of the United States.* Brooklyn Eagle Office. \$1.
 Beers, Prof. H. A. *A History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century.* Henry Holt & Co.
 Boylan, Grace D. *If Tam O'Shanter'd had a Wheel, and Other Poems and Sketches.* E. R. Herrick & Co. \$1.25.
 Brooks, Prof. W. K. *The Foundations of Zoology.* Macmillan. \$2.60.
 Browning, Robert. *Complete Works.* [Cambridge Edition.] 12 vols. T. Y. Crowell & Co. \$9.
 Campbell, Prof. Lewis. *Religion in Greek Literature.* Longmans, Green & Co.
 Campbell, Prof. D. H. *Lectures on the Evolution of Plants.* Macmillan. \$1.25.
 Carpenter, E. J. *America in Hawaii.* Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. \$1.50.
 Cooke, G. W. *John Sullivan Dwight.* Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. \$2.
 Craddock, Charles E. *The Story of Old Fort London.* Macmillan. \$1.50.

Cromer, J. B. *My Inner Life*. Longmans, Green & Co.
 Deploige, Simon. *The Referendum in Switzerland*. Longmans, Green & Co.
 Egerton, George. *The Wheel of God*. Putnam, \$1.
 Fassett, J. H. *Colonial Life in New Hampshire*. Boston: Ginn & Co. 70c.
 Fernald, J. O. *The Imperial Republic*. Frank & Wagnall Co. 75c.

de et Paul de Vian-
 dre. Paris: Picard &
 Studies in Literature.
 7 Journal, vols. 1-22.
 7 Acetylene. 2d ed.

Greene, H. C. *Plains and Uplands of Old France*. Verce and Prose. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. \$1.50.
 Greene, H. C. *Théophile. A Miracle Play*. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. \$1.
 Hall, Tom. *When Cupid Calls*. E. B. Herrick & Co.
 Hamong, Count de. *The Hand of Fate*. F. T. Neely.

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Mr. Nichols's editing of the following German Standards has been received with distinguished favor: Schiller's *Jungfrau v. Orleans* (80c.), *Three German Tales* by Goethe, Schokke, and V. Kleist (50c.), Freytag's *Karl der Grosse*, u. s. v. (75c.).

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1899.

The Week.

The ultimate ratification of the treaty between the United States and Spain was insured when the results of the elections of last November became known. Through those elections the Republicans made such gains in the United States Senate that, after the 4th of March next, they will have a good majority in that branch; and with the help of Democrats who had favored ratification, a two-thirds vote was certain in case the issue should be pushed over to an extra session. The only question was whether ratification should come before or after the 4th of March. The vote proved to be almost as close as possible to the limit of success. Eighty-four Senators recorded themselves; fifty-six yeas were necessary, and fifty-seven were given. The majority could have lost one, and still have carried their point; but they could not have spared both of the two Southern Democrats who went over to them at the last moment. The new complications created by the collisions between the American forces and the Filipinos under Aguinaldo which began on Saturday night, served as an excuse for the change of position which Messrs. McLaurin of Mississippi and McEnery of Louisiana made just before the vote was taken. Had there been no change in the situation at Manila, the friends of the treaty might have been forced to ask a reconsideration and push the final action over until after the 4th of March. The ratification was due to the conclusion by Senators of character, ability, and independence, who regret that we ever got involved in the Philippines and who oppose the policy of conquest, that they ought to vote for it. The best representative of this class is Senator Spooner of Wisconsin, who is so much against expansion that he opposed the annexation of Hawaii last summer, and whose courage would have enabled him to stand with Messrs. Hoar of Massachusetts and Hale of Maine on Monday if his judgment had agreed with theirs. His speech of last week was the strongest plea for the treaty that has been made, because of the candor and independence which characterized it.

The treaty is not yet the supreme law of the land, as Spain must first ratify it. That she will do so promptly admits of no doubt. Not only is she a weak and conquered nation that must submit to the terms of the victor, but she has every motive of self-interest to bring the matter to a close at the earliest possible date. After what we have found out

about the Philippines, who supposes that Spain would take them from us now as a gift, if she had to subdue and govern them? The truth is that Spain jumped at the chance, offered her by the war, to rid herself of what was rapidly becoming, without the war, an intolerable burden. Of course, her Commissioners at Paris made as stiff a fight for the Philippines as was possible when in their hearts they knew that their own country wanted to get rid of them for ever. They would gladly have stipulated for much more than \$20,000,000. But when they found our one formidable editor-diplomat unyielding, they secretly thanked God that they had got as much out of him as they did before he discovered how bad a bargain he had made in buying an insurrection. Spain has already abolished her Ministry for the Colonies. Whatever future fate has in store for her will be enacted within the Peninsula. To this all parties and all sections of the country and the army itself are now agreed; and the ratification of the treaty is only a remaining form.

Some of the baser newspapers are using left-over war headlines to describe the hideous affair with the Filipinos, but we are glad to observe not the slightest sign of popular approval of this attempt to make a battle out of a battue. Americans have not yet got to the point of rejoicing at the sight of natives armed only with bows and arrows marching bravely up to be cut down, like so much standing grain, by machinery. The news from Manila undoubtedly came as a cold douche to most people in this country. They never dreamed of succeeding so soon to the Spanish in the Philippines in the rôle of hated oppressors. In our good-natured and shift American way we were going somehow to "manage" the islanders. Well, it seems the poor fellows do not want to be managed, and will fight us and be killed by us, just as if we were but so many Spaniards. Of course, they listened to leaders who have shown incredible folly. The only comfort we have in our general sense of mortification at the frightful loss of life is that it did not result from direct aggression by our forces. Our soldiers were attacked, and could only play the game of war through to the bitter end, as, of course, they did, bravely and efficiently. But the country is sick at heart of this kind of glory. More than ever should our policy at Manila now be one of forbearance and conciliation. If the slaughter grew out of a misunderstanding of our character on the part of the natives, let us undeceive them by caring for their wounded and telling those who are prisoners to go home and go to work, and in all ways preparing their minds

for the coming of our college presidents and missionaries. The welcome of these last would seem to be endangered by the work of our machine guns. As a *Præparatio Evangelica*, a rapid-fire battery is a modern improvement that would have made Eusebius wonder.

It is universally admitted in Washington that the Hull bill, which passed the House on Tuesday week, cannot obtain a favorable vote in the Senate during the present session. Created in the noxious atmosphere of the staff departments, for their especial benefit, without providing for a single military reform or a single scientific advance, and made and remade while under discussion on the floor of the House, it furnishes a striking example of careless and vicious legislation. The inability of the Republicans themselves to fasten upon the country so foreign and dangerous an institution as a large standing army has been the real cause of its defeat in what seems to be the hour of its victory, and the importance of the defeat lies in the fact that without a large standing army imperialism cannot exist. The military problem presented by the failure of the bill is serious indeed. With more and more volunteers being discharged, the clamor of the remainder for release from garrison duty increases, while the mustering-out of the regular soldiers who enlisted for the war only would reduce the permanent army by about 20,000 men. Where are their successors to come from?

The unanimous action of the House in adopting an amendment to the army bill which abolishes the army canteen and forbids the sale of liquor in any camp or post of the United States, formulates a conclusion towards which impartial students of the problems involved have been drifting for some time. The canteen is a place where the lighter kinds of "drinks" are sold, under the regulation of the authorities and without the incentive that the ordinary saloon-keeper has to promote excess in order to help his business. The argument for this institution has been that drinking could not be entirely prohibited, and that there would be less drunkenness if the Government allowed the soldiers to buy beer in camp than if they were tempted to go outside for whiskey. This seemed plausible, and a good many army officers were at first inclined to endorse the system. But the experience of the recent war furnished overwhelming evidence for the opponents of the canteen. Each colonel was allowed to establish a canteen or prohibit it, and in Florida, in Cuba, and in the Philippines alike those regiments which were forbidden it

not only suffered much less from drunkenness than the others, but had by far the smallest percentage of sickness and death from disease. Every general in the army who has expressed an opinion now opposes the canteen, except one—and his dissent is the strongest argument on the side of the majority, for he is Eagan.

The experience of our army only duplicates that of England in showing that soldiers who do not drink intoxicating liquor are far more efficient, and far less subject to disease and death, than those who do. Experiments were made with three regiments from each of several brigades in the British army at different times, and in several instances where forced marches and other hard work were required. In one, every man was forbidden to drink a drop while the test lasted; in the second, malt liquor only could be purchased; in the third, a sailor's ration of whiskey was given to each man. The whiskey-drinkers manifested more dash at first, but generally in about four days showed signs of lassitude and abnormal fatigue; those given malt liquor displayed less dash at first, but their endurance lasted somewhat longer; while the abstainers improved daily in alertness and staying powers. As a result, the War Department decided that in the Sudan campaign not a single drop of stimulant should be allowed in camp, save for hospital use. The officers, including even the generals, were forbidden the accustomed spirits, wines, and malt liquors at their mess-tables, and an order was issued that the liquid refreshment for all hands, including even camp-followers, must be limited to tea, oatmeal water, or lime juice and Nile water. The wonderful freedom of the Kitchener expedition from disease, although making forced marches through the desert under a burning sun and in a most unhealthy climate, fully justified the new rule. The truth is, that the requirement of abstinence from intoxicating liquors for soldiers is only the application to the army of a principle which is coming to be generally accepted in industrial life, that men occupying responsible positions, like locomotive engineers, motor-men on trolley-cars, and men in charge of delicate machinery, must be men who are never in danger of getting drunk.

The capacity of the Democratic party, or rather of the Bryanites, for folly was again illustrated in the House when their votes were cast for a proposed amendment to the army bill providing that "no part of the army shall be used for, or shall do the duty of, a posse comitatus, or be employed in putting down strikes or riots, or do any police duty whatever in any State in this Union, except upon the application of the Legislature or of the Executive of

such State (when the Legislature cannot be convened) in accordance with section 4, article IV. of the Constitution of the United States." The object of this amendment, as was explained by its chief advocate, was to prevent any President in future from imitating the example set by Mr. Cleveland during the Chicago strike riots in 1894. The Anarchist Governor of Illinois having then refused either to restore order himself or to ask the assistance of the Federal authorities, President Cleveland acted upon his own initiative, and sent a force of the regular army, which soon put an end to a situation that had become a national disgrace. This action was warmly approved at the time by the whole nation, without distinction of party, Southern Democrats rivalling Northern Republicans in their commendation of the new rule of constitutional construction thus established. The condemnation of the precedent now by Congressmen who call themselves Democrats, only shows how Bryanism has driven brains and principles out of the party.

The easy passage through the House last week of the most extravagant river and harbor bill ever known furnishes fresh evidence of the nonchalance with which Congressmen nowadays vote away public money by the tens of millions of dollars. The bill carries something over \$30,000,000, and the Representative who had it in charge asked unanimous consent that general debate be limited to half an hour! He was evidently surprised that anybody should want more than thirty minutes for thirty millions, but one Iowa Representative suggested that there ought to be at least an hour, and then another insisted that even an hour was not enough to discuss the principles which underlie such a measure. An allowance of ninety minutes was at last made, the friends of discussion being assured that further debate would be allowed when the bill was taken up by items. But discussion produced no effect, whether devoted to general principles or to specific exposures of particular wastes of money, like the expenditure of \$1,500,000 on the improvement of the Muskingum River in Ohio during the last dozen years, the commerce meanwhile having fallen off almost to nothing. Every effort to amend the bill in the public interest failed, and only seven votes were cast against its passage—the smallest minority ever recorded on such a measure.

It must be said for the alternative Nicaragua Canal bill reported on Saturday by the House committee as a substitute for the Senate bill, that it is at least a more direct and honest measure than the nondescript affair which Senators voted in order to rid themselves of a disagreeable business. The House bill

brushes aside all the nonsense about paying the Maritime Company for its good will, and about guaranteeing bonds, and comes straight to the point by appropriating the money outright from the Treasury. That is where it would have to come from eventually, and it is honest to say so in the beginning. But there are grave defects in the House bill, quite apart from all questions of policy and cost. The President is, under its terms, to purchase from Nicaragua and Costa Rica the land necessary to build the canal and to "defend" it. Here is difficulty number one. Nicaragua has expressly said that she would never alienate any of her territory for the purpose of an interoceanic canal. It was because the committee was plainly informed of this that it struck out the word "sovereignty" from its first draft. The President was to obtain the sovereignty over the land necessary; now he is simply to obtain a "complete title" to it. But, for the United States to own land in a foreign country, without having even extra-territorial jurisdiction over it, is a dangerous novelty. Besides, the bill says not a word about neutralizing the canal, though we are under solemn treaty obligations to guarantee the neutrality of any canal that may be constructed across the isthmus. Instead of neutralizing, we are going to "defend" it, on the well-known principle of American public law that canals are built, not to promote commerce, but to provoke war and to be defended against a world in arms.

A caucus of Republican Representatives in Congress was held on Thursday evening. Its sole object was to consider the attitude which the party ought to assume towards the question of currency legislation. There was a full and frank discussion, which ended in the passage, by an almost unanimous vote, of a resolution providing for the appointment of a committee of eleven members of the present House who have been elected to the next House, "for the purpose of considering monetary legislation and submitting their views to a Republican caucus at the first session of the Fifty-sixth Congress, with authority to confer with a like committee from the Senate." The discussion which led up to this action was interesting and, on the whole, encouraging. Three speakers opposed the idea of doing anything about the national finances. One of these three, Mr. Walker of Massachusetts, is a man who is always "on the off side." A professed friend of currency reform, he has by his "crankiness" done more to thwart progress than any silverite in the House, and it will be a great gain for the cause of sound legislation when he surrenders his seat to the gold-standard Democrat who beat him for reelection last fall. The plea of those who opposed any action was that it would not be "good politics."

As Mr. Cannon of Illinois put it, "the present prosperity of the country makes it inexpedient to enter upon financial discussions." Mr. Walker was still more blunt. He said that "it would be far better politics to postpone action until after the campaign of 1900."

Gen. Gomez has made an astonishing discount in his demands for the Cuban army. To drop from \$57,000,000 to \$3,000,000 shows what a deep strategist the old General is; no wonder he made the Spanish think him invincible if he was able to exaggerate his strength as he is his claims. It was a tidy number of officers that the Cuban army had, according to the estimates for their pay submitted to President McKinley. Commissioned officers to the number of 5,119, and non-commissioned numbering 9,762, when the privates amounted to but 30,160, yield a proportion which could not be matched anywhere in the world, we suppose, off the comic-opera stage. Gen. Shafter's army, for example, had relatively only about one-third as many officers as the Cuban army, and yet it was not officers which Shafter lacked. But here, again, it may be that we have only another instance of the strategic ability of Gen. Gomez. He knew that the Spanish were all the while hoping to end the insurrection by killing off the Cuban generals, and he took measures to show them how desperate their cause was by creating so many that they could not possibly dispose of them all. But when all is said, the action of the Cubans in agreeing to accept a small advance of money and to disband is a great relief. It will immensely help on the work of pacifying the island.

Gen. Breckinridge is inviting the wrath of Alger, Corbin & Co., embalmers, and thereby subjecting himself to the peril of court-martial or inquiry, by revealing the fact that a lot of embalmed beef has been sent to Cuba by the War Department for the relief of destitute and starving natives there. He has been examining the rations sent to these poor people under the supervision of the Commissary Department, and has found "hundreds of cases of spoiled beef." He allows this fact to be made known, accompanied by a statement of belief that there is much more of the same sort of food among the supplies which have been forwarded. Some of the cases were given to the destitute on Saturday, and the ungrateful creatures absolutely refused them. Several of them were broken open in a public park, and an unanswerable demonstration was thus made as to their quality. Capt. Oakalocosa M. Smith, who represents Alger's Subsistence Department in and about Havana, is very indignant with Gen. Breckinridge, and has written a sharp letter to him asking him why he

is there "interfering with the commissary business." This letter Gen. Breckinridge has ignored. Here is surely ample ground for a court-martial. The entire proceeding is insulting to Secretary Alger and to the Commissary Department. It is said that the "embalmed beef" went to Porto Rico before it was sent to Havana. That was done probably to get it into a thoroughly "ripe" condition. Should the destitute Cubans not be treated as well as our own soldiers?

Two more departments of the State Government at Albany have now discovered that they have deficits, making four thus far which have been left in that condition by the Black Administration. The list, with deficits, now stands: Public Buildings about \$200,000; Public Works, \$200,000; State Treasury, amount unknown; State Capitol Commissioner, \$7,000. Others are likely to be added soon, for the cause which has produced the deficits in these four was common to all branches of the government. Mr. Easton, who was the Superintendent of Public Buildings under Govs. Morton and Black, says that among his 200 employees, he was allowed to have only one as his personal selection. All the others were put on the payrolls at the request of other people. The chief reason for the deficit in the Treasurer's department was the conduct of the retiring Black incumbent in raising all salaries of subordinates just as his term expired. He realized that this would be his last opportunity to get in a blow at the hated "starch," and he struck so violently at it that if his salary list were to stand throughout the present fiscal year, the department would have a deficit of nearly \$30,000. Another very popular method of getting rid of "starch" was the employment of "special counsel" by the Attorney-General for various kinds of legal service. Good Platt men, who were often members of the Legislature also, were usually chosen as beneficiaries of this kind of expenditure.

The ecclesiastical trouble in England continues, and the people who thought Sir William Harcourt was making a mistake because of his manifest unfitness to handle such sacred subjects, find that they themselves were mistaken. In the first place, he has overthrown the ritualistic bishops in fair combat. They wanted to keep him on doctrinal and dogmatic ground, where he would appear to disadvantage when matched against divines, but he was too "cute" for them. He insisted on keeping them to the law of the land establishing the Church and prescribing its ritual, and in that field he won an easy victory. He unhorsed all the Church champions in rapid succession, and proved to the bishops that they had legal duties in

the matter which they could not evade; that they had the legal power to repress ritualistic practices, and were bound to exercise it. They are accordingly, one by one, girding up their loins and setting about it. In the meantime, the attention of those who do not care to read long letters in the *Times*, is kept fixed on the matter by the excesses of Kensit, an unworthy and much exposed citizen, who does the work of disturbing the ritualistic services so as to associate them with tumult and disorder, which does damage them with the religiously and devoutly disposed. He charges "processions of the cross," shouts interruptions, alluding to "idolatrous practices," from galleries, and is accompanied by a considerable body of young athletes, who love a row and do not much care whether it is about the Eucharist or a race-horse. These people are able to keep going because of a good deal of sneaking popular sympathy, and they produce effect by creating scandal.

There were some striking points in the speech on the French colonial system which M. Pelletan, reporter on the Budget, delivered in the French Chamber the other day. He remarked that, while the army and navy cost more than those of any other country, the colonies cost more than those of all other countries put together. At this there were exclamations of incredulity, but M. Pelletan proceeded to quote figures to show that England spent 30 millions on her colonies, while Holland, Spain, Portugal, Germany, and Italy spent about 30 millions, making 60 altogether, whereas France spent 80 millions. What benefit, he demanded, did France reap from those 80 millions—or rather 90, for the estimates were always exceeded? In 1897, French exports to the colonies amounted to 118 millions, and, assuming the profit to be 20 per cent., the cost price was 95 millions. This gave a net loss of about 60 millions. England, on the other hand, exported 2,000 millions' worth of goods. He was aware that the West Africa colonies were remunerative, but why embark in adventures in which there was nothing to be gained? This system of conquests at a certain loss was an absurdity unprecedented in history. Never before had a nation expended about 60 millions and many lives for the singular advantage of ruling by force over distant populations. Could this absurdity, he asked, be continued at a time when the debt cost one milliard and the national defence another? The root of the evil was that there was no colonization, but only military occupation, while there were constant conflicts between the colonists and the military authorities. At this point M. Pelletan was interrupted, but he insisted that France was really governed by a bureaucracy, and that there was not a sufficient check on expenditure.

THE END OF THE BEGINNING.

The outbreak at Manila, which has been long expected, occurred on Saturday, and the ratification of the peace treaty followed, almost inevitably, on Monday. Very few of our public men have the courage to stand up against a military excitement. Any one who wants to know how our statesmen at Washington felt on hearing of the "rebel" attack on our lines at Manila, will do well to read Sir George Trevelyan's fourth and fifth chapters of his recently published 'American Revolution,' describing the state of mind of George III. and his cabinet after they got the news of Lexington and Bunker Hill. A glance, too, at Burke on 'Conciliation with America' will suggest some useful reflections. He will not find much talk of justice, or mercy, or conciliation, or peaceful relations, or trade, or commerce, or kindness, in the lucubrations of these statesmen, but much about "lawful authority" and "dignity" and "treason" and "wickedness" and "national prestige" and "rebellion" and "insolence." There is nothing better known in history than the armed conqueror's vocabulary.

There had been a vigorous censorship of telegrams, and the military dispatches had led us to believe that the Filipinos were quieting down and acquiescing in our rule. It appears that this was not true, and that our agents really knew nothing, or very little, about the feelings of the natives; that the American people were as ill informed about the Filipinos as the Filipinos about us. Had they known anything about us, they would not have indulged in an armed outbreak on or about the very day on which the vote was to be taken on the treaty in the Senate. By calm discussion, by appeals to the reason and sense of justice of the American people, they were making considerable headway; by taking arms, they have undoubtedly injured their cause, even if they have not helped ours. It reminds us of Cervera's coming out of Santiago to be destroyed just as Shafter was thinking of retreating.

But the treaty is now really of little consequence. The news from Manila confirms what we said the other day as to its having given us nothing except a right to conquer, if we could, in return for \$20,000,000; or, in other words, what the lawyers call a *chose in action*. If Spain could have delivered the goods, they might have possibly been worth the money; but twenty millions of dollars for the right to try to do what Spain has been vainly trying to do for many years, makes it seem as if we had bought "a pig in a poke." Judging from the experience of the Spaniards, this war may last long. In every engagement we shall undoubtedly kill more Filipinos than they will kill of us, and cause more misery among these creatures than they can possibly cause among us, and keep the world wondering over the strange-

ness of the business in which America is engaged in the hundred and tenth year of its existence. What fills us with most apprehension, and we should think would do most to keep Mr. McKinley awake at night, is the fact recorded by Prof. Worcester in his book on the archipelago, that the tactics by which the natives were able to achieve so many successes against the Spaniards were to draw them into the interior in pursuit, and then disappear, leaving them in some unhealthy region to wrestle with malaria. Against disease, neither Mausers nor Gatlings nor Maxims will avail us.

But, however the thing now goes, there are certain reflections which no enlightened and civilized man can escape. We have apparently rushed into this business with as little preparation or forethought as into the Cuban war. We got hold of the notion that it would be a good thing to annex 1,200 islands at the other end of the world, simply because we won a naval victory over a feeble Power in the harbor of one of them, and because people like Griggs of New Jersey wanted some "glory." We then went to work to buy 1,200 islands without any knowledge of their extent, population, climate, productions, or of the feelings, wishes, or capacity of the inhabitants. We did not even know their number. While in this state of ignorance, far from trying to conciliate them, assure them of our good intentions, disarm their suspicions of us—men of a different race, religion, and language, of whom they had only recently heard—we issued one of the most contemptuous and insulting proclamations a conqueror has ever issued, announcing to them that their most hated and secular enemy had sold them to us, and that if they did not submit quietly to the sale we should kill them freely. This was bad enough, but what made it worse was that it was all, as a matter of fact, untrue. Is there in any history but Spanish history a record of statesmanship like this?

SOME WHOLESOME RESTRAINTS.

A good many people are troubled by the difficulty we have had in getting a treaty ratified by the Senate, and some are in favor of dispensing altogether with senatorial consent, Tanner fashion, when the Executive happens to be in a hurry and knows that the people are with him—which is simply another form of the French *coup d'état*. But when the present crisis is all over, whether we annex or do not annex, conquer or do not conquer, we believe there are few men who care for the future of America, who will not acknowledge that the delays and difficulties which the President has encountered, contain a lesson of the highest value. Nothing is more tempting, and, therefore, more full of danger for

weak men, than a too subservient public. This is eminently true of taxation. Readiness to pay taxes, for instance, seems to be and is a political virtue, and yet it is not very far from being a vice, for it may, and probably will, prove a great encouragement to extravagance. There could not have been worse material for a political martyr than Wilkes was in England, or a more unworthy addition to the House of Commons, and yet the fight made on his behalf proved one of the most important contributions ever made to English constitutional liberty, and one of the most valuable lessons ever given to the Legislature.

When President McKinley came, drunk with glory and with flattery, out of the Spanish war, he evidently forgot that he was under any constitutional restraint, and undertook, as his proclamation of December 21 showed, to dispose of the Philippines in an address to the inhabitants that the first Napoleon, in the height of his power, might have issued. Nothing could have served so effectually to recall him to a sense of his real situation as the delay and difficulty he has had in getting the treaty through the Senate. Neither he nor any of his successors for many years to come, will forget that even the most successful war will not suffice to make the ratification of a treaty easy. The Senate will always contain bad men, cranky men, suspicious men, and jealous men, who, even if they cannot defeat a President's projects, will keep him mindful that he is a servant and not a master.

But the Senate is not the only useful restraint on him. His terror about possible rivals for the next term is another. A President who, like nearly every President in the past, seeks a second term, has, in the first place, to keep a strict watch on possible rivals, and see to it that they do not secure an undue share of credit or glory. "Possible rivals" is, in fact, the bogie which has haunted the imagination of both President McKinley and his Syndicate ever since the outbreak of the Spanish war. Every President sees in this the one serious political objection to going to war. The object of nearly every politician in seeking war in America since 1812 has been to secure glory for electioneering purposes. A Presidential candidate, therefore, who is already in the Presidential chair, has to keep a vigilant eye on such of his subordinates as are in any way connected with the war, lest they acquire an undue share of military credit. Over a year before the outbreak of the Spanish war, a well-informed correspondent wrote to us that the best guarantee against an attack on Spain was that the President could not himself take the field, and that the glory would almost certainly fall into the hands of some unknown military man, who might thereby succeed in wresting the next Presidential

term from even the "Advance Agent of Prosperity."

This fact had by no means escaped the attention of the McKinley Syndicate, and, in looking over the field to see who most needed watching, the first object of suspicion was naturally the Commander of the army. If he were to be allowed to go to the scene of action, the political consequences might prove disastrous, and he was therefore studiously kept at home and discredited as far as possible. But to keep rivals out of the field and yet make some money for the Syndicate was no easy matter, for no sooner had the Commander-in-Chief been cut off from military glory than he began to nose about the contracts, an offence hardly less serious than winning battles, and the more outrageous because the public had been so thoroughly intoxicated that it had become "patriotism" not to complain of anything the Syndicate did. Still, the substitution of a friendly board for a legal statutory court of inquiry revealed to the public the anxiety of the Syndicate about their plans. This anxiety was increased by the appearance on the scene of Roosevelt and his "Rough Riders," and their success in the field, and, worse than all, Roosevelt's success in New York. This made another candidate to be looked after and discredited. Roosevelt's civil-service performances and his mode of dealing with abuses have made him still more objectionable, but they have undoubtedly, by mere force of contrast, imposed very serious restraint on the Syndicate, who, if freed from it, would undoubtedly have "revelled in spoils" during the coming year, especially in administering our new possessions. We have little doubt that the beautiful colonial civil service which we were to have after Dewey's victory, has long been a joke in the War Department, over which the revered McKinley has smiled faintly.

To sum up, we believe that we may during the next year expect extremely valuable results from the necessity of keeping an eye on both Miles and Roosevelt. Peace, friends, hath her victories no less renowned than war. Neither Alger, nor Corbin, nor Eagan is the man to flinch when there is important work to be done, but we must not expect "irresponsible assault" to displace them. The necessity of watching the two rivals will, however, we may be sure, prevent the execution of many brilliant schemes. Of one thing we may be certain: "The displeasure of the President at the course of the commanding general" will not find expression in a court-martial or court of inquiry. The more likely way of disposing of him will be that described in the *Sun* on Thursday:

"While nobody is in a position to say what the decision of the President will be, everything points to action relieving Gen. Miles

of his duties without the formality of an official inquiry or a trial by a military body."

Public inquiries are nasty things, of which we have had enough. We advise the public to keep a close watch on the irritated Eagan, to see what happens to him.

JOHN MORLEY'S WARNINGS.

The speech which Mr. Morley made to his Scotch constituents three weeks ago was nominally on the political situation in England. It really dealt almost exclusively with the question of imperialism, which is cutting through English parties as it is through American. The political orators are few who can discuss a local condition in a way to illustrate universal truths, but John Morley is one of them. His penetrating analysis of British hyper-imperialism, his account of its drift, his warnings against the dangers into which it is recklessly running, are so clothed upon with the qualities of the higher statesmanship that they fit the imperialistic mania in any country. They are as profitable for reproof and correction to Americans as to Englishmen.

In addition to his other merits, Mr. Morley has the rare political virtue of not dreading to stand alone. He has written in one of his essays of "the awful loneliness of life"; but the loneliness of a public man cleaving to principle when all others forsake him and flee, does not frighten John Morley in the least. He likes as well as any man to be with a party espousing vital truth, but if it is a question between party and truth, he prefers to be lonely with the truth. The English Conservatives have been thoroughly Jingoed, and the larger number of Liberal leaders have run after the false gods of imperialism; but Mr. Morley refuses to allow himself to "slip and to drift a few yards to-day, a few more yards to-morrow, into the adoption of, or acquiescence in, a course of policy, a spirit and a temper" which he believes from the bottom of his heart to be "injurious to our material prosperity, to our national character, and to the strength and safety of our Imperial State." But he takes his position with such simple dignity, he has at his command such resources of philosophy and such an arsenal of language, that really, after reading his speech, one feels that it is not he that is lonely, but the other fellows. No man who had once been the object of Morley's finest sarcasm could get much true comfort out of having been proved to be silly along with great numbers.

The orator had a splendid and powerful passage in which he paid his respects to the Jingo clergy. His own reputed atheism lent just the needed edge to his rebuke of Christian apologists for war. He had for text a clerical address at a meeting of the Congregational Union, in which were all the usual mumbling

clauses to the effect that we could not be for peace at any price, that there were worse things than war, that we lived in a work-a-day world not likely to adopt at once the higher laws of religious life. What a spectacle it was, cried Mr. Morley, to see good men in the excruciating dilemma of dreading to be Jingo, and yet dreading still more to be thought for peace at any price. The fighting bishops of the Middle Ages could not have seemed more out of place as holy men. Worse things than war! So there are worse things than smallpox and delirium tremens; but you do not expect your physician to console you with the reflection. It was true that we lived in a practical world; but was it not for men who believed in the higher laws to insist upon carrying them precisely into that practical world? Otherwise, you had only to imagine these clergymen in company with the Forty Thieves, and you would hear them saying, "We are for the Ten Commandments, but still this is a work-a-day world; we cannot stand aloof from the practical business of life, and we are not for the Ten Commandments at any price." This was what was rapidly becoming of the Decalogue, and as for the Golden Rule the modern clerical version of that was, "Always swim with the stream."

Mr. Morley rose almost to prophetic stature when he denounced the common and complacent remark that "Gordon is avenged" by the slaughter of 10,000 men at Omdurman. It was an "impious and dishonoring" notion that that heroic man, as merciful as he was fearless, was like "some implacable pagan deity who needed to be appeased by hecatombs of human sacrifice." Equally trenchant and searching was Mr. Morley on the question of conquest in order to make trade; butchery of natives in order to make places for aspiring Scotch youth. He asked his Scottish audience if they had made up their minds once for all that "it is right to kill people because it is good for trade." If they had not considered that nice question for a nation with a conscience, they should do so at once, for the doctrine was spreading. Morley's account of the five points of the Jingo creed we must cite entire. It was as follows:

"First, that territory was territory, and all territory was worth acquiring; second, that all territory, especially if anybody happened to want it, was worth paying any price for; third, that this country possessed the purse of Fortunatus, bulging and overflowing with gold, and was free to fling millions here and there with the certainty that benignant fairies would, by magic, make them good, and so let us spend easy with lavish hand and a free conscience. The fourth article of the creed was—Do not show the slightest regard to the opinions of other nations, and you have no share whatever in the great collective responsibility of civilized people as joint guardians of the interests of peace and good order to the state system of Europe. The fifth article of the Jingo creed was that the interests of the people of this country—and he here drew no distinction between classes and masses—advancement in all the arts of civilized life

and well-being, their needs and their requirements, were completely and utterly a secondary and subordinate question."

The warning which Mr. Morley gave that imperialism would break down disastrously on the financial side, was peculiarly one for Americans to take to heart. We are having our fat years now, but does not all experience show that they will be followed by lean years? The burdens which are barely tolerable now will become then too grievous to be borne. The army and navy and the whole blown foreign service will then be in danger of being starved. Social discontent will rear a more threatening head than ever. New blows will be levelled at property and public security. Exploitation of the waste places of the earth for the benefit of capitalists will surely lead to spoliation of capitalists in their own land. This is in special degree the danger of a free nation smitten with the thirst for territorial aggrandizement and the pagan pride of empire. It will overstrain its resources, and will turn and rend at home the leaders who have lured it into perils and disasters abroad. The only remedy, for Englishmen or Americans, is to insist upon discussion and deliberation, and not to forsake for one single hour "those principles and professions, that temper and that faith, which came down to them from the great men who begat them."

THE THEATRE AND PUBLIC MORALS

The report that a bill will be introduced before long in the State Senate, the object of which is to establish the office of Theatrical Censor in New York city, suggests some serious reflections. There can be no doubt that something of the kind is wanted in this city badly enough, but it would be a good deal better to let conditions remain as they are than to intrust the powers of such an office to an unworthy or incapable person. It is not difficult to imagine the sort of man who would be selected for Theatrical Censor by our present rulers. The post would afford opportunities for some of the very richest pickings that ever came within the grasp of a hungry politician. He would be able to exact tribute not only from the better kind of theatrical managers, but from the proprietors of every music hall and variety show in the metropolis. The very last thing in the world that he would think about would be the effect of a performance upon public morals. His only object would be to make the giving of any entertainment, without the payment of tribute, as difficult as possible.

Everybody knows that an active stage censorship exists in all the greater European cities, and everybody knows also that our very foulest dramatic importations come to us from the countries where the censorship is supposed to be the strictest. The explanation of this

fact is that the Continental censors concern themselves chiefly with political sentiment, and care very little indeed about any mere offence to decency or morality. Here, of course, there is no demand for a political censorship. We should need an officer somewhat akin to the examiner of plays in London, a university scholar of eminence who has devoted many years to the study of theatrical literature, and is able to comprehend the scope and province of the theatre. He confines his supervision almost entirely to matters affecting questions of propriety, and, being entirely above all suspicion of political influence or pecuniary interest, it is very seldom that one of his decisions is opposed or disputed. In fact, so little is heard of him that comparatively few persons are aware of his existence or of the authority which he exercises. The appointment of such a man in this city, with ample discretionary powers and an absolute guarantee of non-interference, might be beneficial, but in the present circumstances it would be folly to look for any such Utopian occurrence.

Nevertheless, it is high time that some steps were taken to check the increasing recklessness and audacity with which the lower order of our theatrical entertainers are seeking to fill their pockets by pandering to the baser instincts of the vulgar crowd. No old theatre-goer can fail to be impressed with the extraordinary development of license upon the New York stage, which is practically the stage of the whole country, within the last twenty-five years. In the palmy days of the old Union Square Theatre, for instance, in the seventies, there was a constant outcry in conservative quarters against what was called the demoralizing influence of the English adaptations of the contemporary French emotional drama, which were so popular at that time. The influence of some of them, to be sure, was not particularly wholesome, but all of them were submitted to a pretty careful process of expurgation, and the evil in them, as a rule, was only darkly suggested and never openly expressed. It is not so very long ago that the utterance of a very common, almost meaningless, oath upon the boards of the Madison Square Theatre was resented as an outrage upon the feelings of a refined and delicate audience. No scruples of this kind are discernible in the conduct of the spectators in our modern theatres. Whereas, in the olden days, a mere allusion was resented, the actual representation of the thing itself is now watched with approval and even eagerness, and in many cases the more real the abomination, the more vigorous is the applause.

There can be no doubt that the wide dissemination of the verbal and pictorial horrors of the yellow press is responsible to a very large extent, if not entirely, for the general demoralization

into which the taste of the middle class—that is, of the theatre-supporting class—appears to have fallen. When an appetite for the morbid, the unclean, and the prurient has been encouraged by surreptitious reading, it requires grosser and grosser means of gratification. It was in the music halls that the public demand for what is commonly called spicy entertainment was first discovered, and the want was supplied with diabolical celerity. The most audacious performers, male and female, degenerates who had become notorious in Paris and Vienna, some of whom had been expelled by the police of those profligate cities on account of their abominable exhibitions, not only found a refuge but a rich reward in our music halls. They made fortunes for themselves and for the men who hired them. It was the spectacle of this prosperity, so easily if so vilely won, that prompted the managers of certain second and third-rate theatres to enter into active competition with them in the direction of public indecency. It would have been bad enough if the evil had stopped there, but of late the directors of houses hitherto deemed respectable have not scorned to profit by presenting scenes upon their boards which, upon the street, would call for the instant interference of the police. And the amazing part of it all is that the audiences which witness these atrocities unmoved, are composed largely of men and women of all ages, possessing every outward indication of education and refinement.

There is no saying to what depths this degradation of the stage and of the public may not proceed if some means be not found to punish the most notorious offenders. There is a notion on the part of the public that it is the duty of the better newspapers to act as moral constables in this matter, but the fact is, that the newspapers, although they can encourage the mischief in a thousand ways, are quite powerless, as the case now stands, to suppress or even greatly to mitigate it. Experience has proved beyond all possibility of doubt that an honest denunciation of a play on account of its uncleanness has no other result than the sending of a great number of readers to witness it. It is unfortunately the fact that some newspapers outside the admittedly yellow class, while feigning virtuous indignation, contribute enormously to the profits of this unclean business, by publishing minute details of the grosser offences perpetrated before the footlights. It is difficult to believe that a remedy for an evil so glaring cannot be found within the provisions of the common law. An indictment of two or three managers at the instigation of the District Attorney, and a prompt and remorseless relegation of them to the penitentiary, if only for a week or two, on the score of disorderly or indecent conduct, would be more effective than any censorship which is at all likely to be

established under the patronage of Tammany Hall. If the District Attorney has not time to bestow upon the consideration of a question affecting so vitally the moral well-being of the community, the matter might be taken in hand by some of the societies for the prevention of vice, which could not easily find a more important subject on which to exercise their energies.

REMBRANDT IN LONDON.

LONDON, January 7, 1899.

When in doubt, attack the Royal Academy, seems to be the motto of a certain section of the British public. At irregular intervals, usually at moments of least provocation, the story of Academical evils is told again, and again new methods of reform are urged upon long-suffering artists. This winter, the attack has come in the shape of a large and elaborate treatise ('The Royal Academy: Its Uses and Abuses'), by Mr. Laidlay, B.A., Barrister and Artist. I do not propose to enter into Mr. Laidlay's argument, in the first place because my concern just now is not with the crimes of the Academy, and, in the second, because Mr. Laidlay's methods are far too confused and involved. It seems a pity, so long as he took upon himself the task, that he did not set about accomplishing it more thoroughly. The history of the Royal Academy, written calmly and dispassionately, would be a far more eloquent plea against this much-abused institution than a windy arraignment prompted, apparently, by some personal grievance. From the time of Gainsborough, and thence onward through the period when Fuseli proclaimed his wrongs, there has been reason enough to find fault; but it is not likely that Mr. Laidlay can be successful where commissions, and societies, and movements, and New English Art Clubs, and newspaper crusades have failed, especially as artists have the remedy in their own hands if they really felt they could endure the injustice no longer. If outsiders ceased to send to the Academy exhibitions, if they combined to boycott it, the Academy could not survive many years. The only immediate outcome of Mr. Laidlay's book, however, has been the suggestion that a new, a liberal, a just, a truly representative Academy be started by the County Council, which, having already taken art under its wing by establishing a technical school as a rival to South Kensington, is considered by its admirers to be ready equipped to solve any and all artistic problems in the country. But I must confess, the performances of the County Council as patron of art, so far, do not inspire very great confidence; and as the scheme would adopt all that is practically worst in the old Salon, and as, in the face of the six thousand or more artists in the country, it gayly calls for a gallery in which every picture shall hang on the line, the last probably has already been heard of it.

All this is very amusing—though perhaps a little tragic—in its way; but more amusing still is the wonderful luck that has attended the Academy at this crisis, as at every other stage of its triumphant career. Had Mr. Laidlay published his book in the spring, had his summing up of old evils been at once followed by a fresh evil in the spring exhibition, with its accompany-

ing rumors and complaints of favoritism and worse, he might at least have run the chance of sympathetic notice and discussion. But it so happens that hardly has his book attracted the attention of the critics when the Royal Academy opens one of the most important winter exhibitions it has ever held. A couple of years ago the Council decided that there was no money in Old Masters, and last year and the year before Millais and Leighton were offered as a substitute. But the supply of modern Academical masters is limited, and it seems to have occurred to the Council that the Academy's "Winter-Garment of Repentance," as the winter show has been defined, had its moral value, even if it did not pay in actual shillings. And Mr. Laidlay is silenced, and municipal schemes discounted, and the Academy justifies its existence by an Exhibition of Rembrandts which, if it but included "The Night Watch" and "The Syndics," would be finer in many respects than the much more loudly advertised show in Amsterdam. As a stroke of policy, nothing could be more masterly: chance, certainly, is always on the side of the Royal Academy.

I pointed out at the time that many of the most notable pictures at Amsterdam came from England—the superb portraits sent by Lord Iveagh; the little Velasquez-like boy belonging to Lord Spencer; Lord Northbrook's landscape with its careful study of light; the Duke of Westminster's beautiful "Gentleman with a Hawk" and "Lady with a Fan"; the Queen's pictures from Buckingham Palace. All these reappear at Burlington House, together with many others from English collections, that were not seen in Holland. Indeed, the most remarkable feature of the show is the proof it gives of the great numbers of fine Rembrandts that are owned in England. The National Gallery is not drawn upon for contributions; only a very few foreign collections and museums have loaned their treasures. And yet, while there were one hundred and twenty-three pictures at Amsterdam, there are one hundred and two here, and these include far less rubbish.

Rubbish seems a hard word to use in speaking of Rembrandt, but at Amsterdam you could not help feeling that if Rembrandt did paint some of the work shown it would be doing him greater honor to forget it. Where England is poorest is in the large subject pictures. But, after all, there are but two which fully sustain and deserve the fame they have won for him. No one but Rembrandt could have painted "The Syndics," though when you look at some of his minor groups, for instance at "The Shipbuilder and his Wife" from Buckingham Palace, which is here, and which I had remembered as one of his masterpieces, you wonder how they would stand the test of hanging in the Haarlem Museum with the great Regent Pictures by Frans Hals. The "Shipbuilder and his Wife" is one of his early works, it is true, and it may be said that the comparison is not altogether just. But I mention it only because to see it again at the Academy is to realize more than ever that, great as an artist may be, it does not follow, as the enthusiast is apt to think, that everything he chooses to do must be beyond reproach. The other exception, of course, is "The Night Watch," which holds a place apart. Beyond these two, I think every one who has seen Rembrandt's large subject pictures, and who is honest, will ad-

mit that no small measure of disappointment mingles with the admiration they inspire. There is one at Burlington House, "Belshazzar's Feast," lent by the Earl of Derby, which is so weak in color, so poor in drawing, so commonplace and even grotesque in composition, that you cannot understand how the man who was painting that same "Shipbuilder and his Wife" in 1633 could have committed this indiscretion "about 1636," the date suggested in the catalogue. There are, however, two or three of his smaller Biblical and classical subjects that are as lovely, as marvellous in their manner, as the larger canvases are disappointing; above all, a little "Tobit and his Wife," belonging to Sir Francis Cook, and not exhibited at Amsterdam—a rich, shadowy interior, with a glimpse of a red town and a bit of green through the window that helps to remind you what an incomparable De Hooche Rembrandt would have proved, had he not been Rembrandt. There are one or two landscapes also that did not find their way to the Dutch show, especially the Marquess of Lansdowne's "Mill," with its rich golden glow, exhibited, if I am not mistaken, at the Winter Exhibition a few years ago.

But when all is said, it is in his portraits that Rembrandt was supreme, and one or two now at Burlington House I do not remember ever to have seen. The most remarkable is Lord Penrhyn's "Lady with a Parrot," painted in 1657, just a few years before that stately portrait of himself now in the possession of Lord Iveagh; at a time, that is, when his eyes were keenest to discern the beauty and picturesqueness and romance of old age. The old lady, in her simple black gown and severe cap and collar, sitting so quietly with her arms resting on the arms of the chair, in her hand a handkerchief, as in the hands of that no less perfect "Old Lady" of the Luxembourg, has all the serenity and dignity of Rembrandt's finest presentments of himself, when age had grizzled his hair and wrinkled his powerful face. Another portrait of peculiar interest comes from Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan and is called "Portrait of the Painter." I do not know on what authority this title is given, and I fancy many will be disposed to question it; for the picture represents a handsome youth of apparently not more than fifteen or sixteen. He sits with a drawing on his knees, from which he looks up and directly at you, his face eager and serious and full of charm. But there are certain passages in it, more particularly in the treatment of parts of the costume, that point to a later date; the technique is that of a much more mature period than the one suggested. The only explanation is that the canvas may have been begun when Rembrandt was still the youth it depicts, and not then finished, but kept by him in his studio and touched and repainted from time to time when he chanced to remember it; and this seems likely enough. A few other portraits have the added interest of not being so well known as the greater number shown. There are several wonderful old women; there is another much younger woman, lent by Lord Leconfield, commonplace for Rembrandt—an early work of 1635—but curious for the Vandyck-like grace of the poses and prettiness of the face; and there is, too, a portrait of "Alotte Adriaans," of four years later, that almost suggests Holbein.

Amsterdam, supplementing the great national collections, one supposed, could have

nothing more to learn about Rembrandt. But already, a few months later, in England one has the chance to see other phases of his work, other proofs of his tremendous energy and genius. He was simply inexhaustible as an artist. I make no effort, however, to enter into further detail about the collection, because, as I have explained, the most important pictures in it are those I described when I wrote of the Amsterdam Exhibitions; and as in general character the two shows vary but slightly, the effect produced, the conclusions forced upon one, are much the same in both cases. Even the drawings, as at Amsterdam, come chiefly from the portfolios of Mr. Heseltine and M. Bonnat. And, it is to be regretted, the Academy has adhered so closely to the example set at Amsterdam that Rembrandt's etchings have not been hung. However, Mr. Colvin has long been preparing an exhibition of all the Rembrandt prints and drawings in the British Museum collection, one of the finest and most complete in the world. After this, there will remain nothing to do but to prepare the perfect show of all, in which only Rembrandt's masterpieces, brought together from every corner of Europe and America, would be placed side by side in one gallery.

The Academy has issued an excellent catalogue, with a useful chronological index added. It will prove of value to all students of Rembrandt as a book of reference, even to those who have not had the pleasure of seeing the show. N. N.

PARNELL.—I.*

DUBLIN, January 21, 1899.

Presuming the time had come when 't were well for the memory of Mr. Parnell and for the good of Ireland that his life should be written, few were better qualified for the task than Mr. Barry O'Brien. It has been objected that he was not allowed access to Mr. Parnell's private papers, and that no one, during the survival of many still in the prime of life, is likely to be allowed access to them. But Parnell's was a life whose vivid interest depends not on unpublished details, but rather on a strong personality and the manner in which it impressed and affected contemporaries. Mr. O'Brien's book might be more complete if private papers had been open to him; but, even without that advantage, it may be more valuable than any biography written after the present generation had passed away could be. The book compels attention; otherwise there are not many Irishmen that understood and felt with Parnell through the major portion of his career, who would not, from the sadness of the last months of it, shrink from the task of reviewal.

Considering the political bias of the author, it is an admirable piece of work. Few men were in the position, as he shows himself to have been, to elicit, concerning phases in the life of Mr. Parnell, opinions, verging on the confidential, of Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, Mr. Duffy, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Rhodes, and other prominent men. He has availed himself of his opportunities, and insured for his book a permanent place in all libraries pretending to any completeness in the department of British and Irish history. The balance of the relation is well preserved. Too many writers of political

lives lose themselves in history. Here we have no more than immediately concerns the subject of the story; and we are given, what is often wanting, the environment of the stage when the hero appears upon it. I shall have occasion to differ from Mr. O'Brien in his presentation of the facts of the last year of Mr. Parnell's life.

Parnell came of a family honorably associated with literature and with the history of Ireland, and upon his mother's side with the history of the United States. There was doubtless a peculiar strain in the blood, as appeared in the curious superstitions that, through all, lurked in the corners of Mr. Parnell's mind. He was born in an ancestral home, amidst lovely scenery consecrated in Irish song. There was nothing attractive in his childhood and early life, no promise of the character that was to develop. He was "sent down" at Cambridge for misconduct, and never completed a college course. A youth who opined that the Greek lexicon was wrong when it did not justify his rendering of a passage, was not a promising subject for university distinction. Even in his prime, he showed himself ignorant and uninterested concerning literature and art. His tastes lay towards mechanics and chemistry. His entrance into politics in his twenty-ninth year appeared more a freak than anything else. In so far as it was earnest, it was due to resentment at the low estimation in which his country was held. "The idea that the Irish were despised was always in Charles's mind," wrote a sister. His début was eminently discouraging to those who had made themselves responsible for bringing him forward. Says O'Connor Power:

"He seemed to me a nice, gentlemanly fellow, but he was hopelessly ignorant, and seemed to me to have no political capacity whatever. He could not speak at all. He was hardly able to get up and say, 'Gentlemen, I am a candidate for the representation of the County of Dublin.' We all listened to him with pain while he was on his legs, and felt immensely relieved when he sat down" (i., 75).

The home-rule movement, inaugurated five years previously, was flickering towards extinction. Fenianism, intensified by resentment at the cruel treatment of the treason-felony prisoners, was the dominant power in Irish politics. In Parliament it was impossible effectively to arouse the British conscience concerning Ireland. Mr. Biggar and Mr. Ronayne had the clear-sightedness to see the necessity for a change of tactics. "What's the good?" B. would say: "we can't get them [Irish bills] through. The English stop our bills. Why don't we stop their bills? That's the thing to do. No Irish bills; but stop English bills. No legislation; that's the policy, sir; that's the policy. Butt's a fool; too gentlemanly; we're all too gentlemanly" (i., 92). Parnell followed Biggar's lead, and soon became the acknowledged head of an active Irish party, bent upon obtaining as much as possible for their country, and, when ignored, making themselves disagreeable. Some of the distinctive customs and procedure of Parliament upon which Englishmen most prided themselves had to be radically altered before they could recover control of its proceedings. The deaths of Butt, Martin, and others of the elder generation of Irish Nationalists left the ground clear for the exercise of Mr. Parnell's peculiar genius. Those not content to serve under him had to stand aside.

"Parnell excelled us all," said one of his

obstructive colleagues, "in obstructing as if he were really acting in the interests of the British legislators. He was cool, calm, businesslike, always kept to the point, and rarely became aggressive in voice or manner. . . . The very quietness of his demeanor, the orderliness with which he carried out a policy of disorder, served only to exasperate, and even to enrage, his antagonists" (i., 107).

Mr. O'Brien then quotes from another follower:

"He was a beautiful fighter. He knew exactly how much the House would stand. One night I was obstructing. S— was near me. He was generally timid, afraid of shocking the House. He said: 'O—, you had better stop, or you will be suspended.' 'Oh, no,' quietly interjected Parnell, who was sitting by us, 'they will stand a good deal more than this; you may go on for another half hour.' I did go on for another half hour or so. Then there was an awful row, and I stopped. Parnell had gauged the exact limit. Another night I was obstructing again. Parnell came in suddenly and said, 'Stop now, or there will be an explosion in five minutes, and I don't want a row to-night.' In all these things Parnell was perfect" (i., 109).

It was not without opposition and doubt as to the sincerity of his professions that the Fenians left him alone to follow a constitutional movement. He suffered personal violence, and was driven from at least one platform. He managed with consummate adroitness to conciliate their opposition, and ultimately to attach them, without actually committing himself to them. His attitude towards those who differed from him, whether they were in advance or lagged behind, was not opposition, but an appeal that a fair chance should be given him to work out his programme. "We shall therefore see him," writes Mr. O'Brien, "as the years roll by, standing on the verge of treason felony, but with marvellous dexterity always preventing himself from slipping over." "Parnell's great gift was his faculty of reducing a quarrel to the smallest dimensions," and he had an instinct for knowing, where he appeared least informed, in political affairs.

And so he became the best hated man in England, the idol of the Irish people—he was the first Irishman since the days of the Volunteers who, upon their own ground, humiliated those who despised Ireland. A new departure came in bad harvests and an outburst of agrarian discontent that had only slumbered. He was led by Davitt into the establishment of the Land League, through which society in Ireland was shaken to its foundations. These were the days when Mr. Parnell uttered the few sayings that survive in the minds of the people: "Hold a firm grip on your homesteads." "Ireland cannot afford to lose a single man." "No man has the right to fix the boundary of the march of a nation." And those fateful words, so often used as a handle against him and his party in the after home-rule struggle: "None of us . . . will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England." (Were they an echo of words used by Grattan one hundred years previously, and quoted by Boswell to Johnson? "We will persevere till there is not one link of the English chain left to clank upon the rags of the meanest beggar in Ireland.")

The Government's hand was forced, and a land bill surpassing the wildest hopes of previous land reformers (but since curtailed in its benefits by administration) was placed upon the statute book. Once again Ireland realized that material reform was to be obtained only through violence and outrage. "I must

*The Life of Charles Stewart Parnell, 1846-1891. By R. Barry O'Brien, Barrister-at-Law. Harpers. Two volumes in one. Pp. 378, 394.

make one admission," said Mr. Gladstone in 1893, "and that is, that, without the Land League, the act of 1881 would not now be on the statute book" (l., 293). Some thousand prominent Leaguers were already in prison, under Mr. Forster's act, "on reasonable suspicion." Mr. Parnell conceived and advised that the land act would be made best use of by bringing forward strong test cases at first, not by the tenants crowding into the courts. Having given grounds for the suspicion that he desired to thwart the act and discredit the Government, he was himself committed to Kilmainham. The abortive "no-rent" manifesto followed. Outrages and murder increased to an appalling extent, discrediting Mr. Forster's assurances that, if he were given a free hand in imprisoning suspected persons, the country would subside. Even Mr. Parnell was startled.

The negotiations ending in the "Kilmainham treaty" are succinctly and clearly stated by Mr. O'Brien. Mr. Parnell, with his Parliamentary colleagues, and Mr. Davitt, who had been relegated to Portland prison, were released on the understanding that Mr. Parnell at least would use his influence to lull the agitation. Wide reforms were foreshadowed by the Liberals, and a new page might have opened in Irish history but for the murder of the Secretaries. A coercive régime was again entered upon, and thoughts of reconciliation were abandoned. This was the period when Ireland, in defiance of the Pope's dissuasive rescript, contributed £40,000 to clear Mr. Parnell's estate from mortgage and make him easy as to money affairs. Home rule became the one plank in his platform. So early as 1880 he had declared: "I would not have taken off my coat and gone to this work if I had not known that we were laying the foundation in this movement for the regeneration of our legislative independence" (l., 240). British parties were played off against each other, and at one time, as is shown through the Carnarvon negotiations, fully elucidated by Mr. O'Brien, there appeared every prospect of the Conservatives adopting some modified form of home rule. Mr. Chamberlain, in the extended interview concerning those times which he accorded Mr. O'Brien, appears to clear himself from the charge of inconsistency in relation to that question. He never contemplated more than a system of representative councils in supersession of the boards by which Irish affairs are administered.

At the general election of 1885, Mr. Parnell returned to Parliament backed by a solid phalanx of 84 of the 103 Irish representatives. The Liberals were 335, the Conservatives 249. By throwing himself and his 84 men on the side of the Conservatives he could neutralize the Liberal majority, while, joined to the Liberals, a working majority of over 170 could be shown. Mr. Gladstone brought in his Home Rule Bill. It was defeated, and the Conservatives returned to power. Then followed the most interesting years of Irish agitation. The agricultural question again came up. The Plan of Campaign was launched. A perpetual Coercion Act was passed. Irish members, Irish suspects, Irish agitators (not implicated in treason) were treated with previously unheard-of severity in imprisonment. Parnell himself unaccountably held aloof from the fray, and seldom visited Ireland except on rare occasions, such as that so charmingly and graphically described by Mr. Horgan early in the second volume. The Gladstonian Liberals

became enthusiastic for the Irish cause in all its phases. No Liberal platform in Great Britain was complete without the presence of Irish members. Ireland was flooded with British sympathizers. The "union of hearts" between the two peoples appeared complete—the contest of centuries at an end. Happy were those Irish patriots who then sank to rest. The forgery of the Pigott letters was laid bare mainly through the acumen of Mr. Egan.* The speeches of Sir Charles Russell and Mr. Davitt before the Commission presented the Irish cause in a clear and favorable light to the British people. Upon the other hand, the Irish Unionists, realizing as never before the danger of the situation as concerned themselves, banded themselves together for the fray in the "Loyal and Patriotic Union." At by-elections the home-rule cause steadily gathered strength, and a large Liberal majority at the next general election was certain. Most Home-Rulers confidently expected that within three years a Parliament would be sitting in Dublin. Mr. O'Brien thus opens chapter xxii. of his book:

"Parnell's career, from his entrance into public life, in 1875, until the beginning of 1890, had been almost an unbroken record of success. He had silenced factions, quelled dissensions, put down rivalries, reconciled opposing forces, combined constitutionalists, healed the ancient feud between the Church and the Fenians, . . . had united the Irish race all the world over, and placed himself at the head, not merely of a party, but of a nation. He had defeated almost all his enemies in detail. . . . He had, indeed, reached the highest pinnacle of his fame; he seemed invincible. Yet he was standing on a mine, and while the air still rang with the rejoicing which hailed his latest triumph, the train was fired, his doom was sealed."

He alone knew the mine upon which he stood. In him alone it lay to anticipate an explosion, and, as far as possible, mitigate its consequences. D. B.

Correspondence.

A KING OF THE PHILIPPINES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The speeches of Senators Platt (of Connecticut) and Foraker unwittingly reveal the abyss into which they ask the country to plunge with them. They no doubt reflect the sentiments of all who wish to launch on an unknown sea of adventure. When objection is made to incorporating Asiatics into our body politic because our national Constitution was made for European races, and particularly the Anglo-Saxon, and is not fit for the government of peoples who have no traditions of freedom and are steeped in despotism, their answer is that Congress has absolute plenary power over Territories, and is subject to no Constitutional restrictions in governing them—in other words, that a government of a Territory is entirely outside the Constitution. The only practicable way by which Congress can exercise such power is by transferring it to the President. It is true, they say, that, in an organic act, Congress usually extends the Constitution and laws of the United States over a Territory, but that the Constitution does

*Mr. Parnell almost despaired of discovering the perpetrator, and proving the forgery, when Mr. Egan, who had retired to the United States, pointed out that the word "hesitancy," spelled "hesitancy" in one of the letters published by the *Times*, was similarly spelled in letters from Pigott in his possession. The chapter dealing with these forgeries and the subsequent trial is one of the most interesting in the book.

not *proprio vigore* extend itself there, as it does over a State. Consequently, if, after adopting the constitution for a Territory, Congress should pass an act in conflict with it, to that extent it repeals the constitution.

These declarations should be taken as notice that if the Philippines are annexed, they will be governed without regard to Constitutional limitations. The advocates of this policy do not seem to be conscious, in making this avowal, that they furnish an overwhelming argument against holding Asiatic possessions, where, from necessity, Congress must invest the President with a trinity of power—executive, legislative, and judicial—which is the very essence of despotism. It means the creation of a great Oriental monarchy and an attempt to establish at Washington the empire of the Caliphs of Bagdad. It is not much comfort to be told that our President will be another Haroun al-Raschid. Mr. Platt quotes from a speech of Mr. Webster's the following language as to the power of Congress over the Territories: "It may establish any such government and any such laws in the Territories as in its discretion it may see fit. It is subject, of course, to the rules of justice and propriety, but it is under no Constitutional restraints." He also cites with approval, as does Mr. Foraker, the acts of Congress that made the President absolute dictator in the Territories of Florida and Louisiana, and a late decision of the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit (86 Fed. Reporter, 456), the syllabus of which reads: "Congress has full legislative power over the Territories, unrestricted by the limitations of the Constitution." The Court was unanimous, and the opinion is supported by references to Supreme Court decisions tending in the same direction. Be it so; then let us beware of intrusting Congress with this colossal power to be delegated to the President, except in a case of absolute necessity. If there were a rocky island in the Pacific beyond our jurisdiction that was a Gibraltar which commanded the entrance to the Golden Gate, no one would question the propriety of our acquiring and holding it in self-defence. No such reason can be alleged for our holding the Philippines, but just the reverse. They would be a weak point in war which we should have to defend. The force detached to defend them could be of no use anywhere else.

The occasions for using despotic power should be reduced to a minimum; familiarity with it abroad may gradually sap and undermine all the safeguards of freedom at home. In such a school the Prætorian bands were trained. A government of the Philippines must be a despotism or no government at all. Asiatics are not fit for anything else. Mr. Foraker says we will hold them only temporarily until these people are fit for self-government. But all people are fit for self-government in their own way. Asiatics and Africans are as contented with their forms of government as we are; they never will be with ours. But why confine our philanthropy to the Philippines? Why not embrace all Asia in this benevolent scheme to regenerate mankind? The Velled Prophet of Khorassan undertook that. But we can't govern Asiatics consistently with those principles of liberty that are embodied as a bill of rights in the first ten amendments to the Constitution. Congress can establish a religion, extend the Anti-Polygamy Act to the archipelago, or grant an indulgence

to Mussulmans and let them follow the example of Mahomet; it can enact bills of attainder and ex-post-facto laws, and deprive men of life, liberty, and property without due process of law. The islands will be governed as a Crown colony, and the President will be King of the Philippines. How long, then, will it be before that immortal ode—"Alexander's Feast"—will cease to be simply an imaginary picture of a scene in a long-buried past? But those who rely on the authority of Mr. Webster have failed to heed his prophecy of woe in a speech against expansion and imperialism delivered shortly before the one quoted. He said:

"Arbitrary governments may have territories and distant possessions, because arbitrary governments may rule them by different laws and different systems. Russia may rule in the Ukraine and the provinces of the Caucasus and Kamtschatka by different codes, ordinances, or ukases. We can do no such thing. They must be of us, part of us, or else strangers."

The italics are Webster's. The fact that the advocates of annexation claim this gigantic, extra-constitutional power proves that it is their purpose to exercise it.

JNO. S. MOSBY.

SAN FRANCISCO, January 29, 1899.

THE DILEMMA OF THE FILIPINOS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Apropos of the missionary argument for expansion, the clergyman under whose ministry I sat last Sunday offered the following petition on behalf of the Filipinos:

"We pray Thee that those who prefer to remain in darkness, and are even willing to fight in order to do so, may, whether willingly or unwillingly, be brought into the light!"

Instantly there came to my mind the naïve remark of the pious author of the 'Chanson de Roland,' in describing one of the victories of Charlemagne over the Mussulmans:

"En la citez nen at remes pelen
Ne seil ocis, o devient crestiens;"

—that is to say: "There was not a pagan left in the city who was not either killed or made a Christian." So may it be in Manila, when a similar dilemma is prepared for its inhabitants!

The serious aspect of this matter is that, just as there were united in Charlemagne a greed for aggrandizement and a piously barbarous desire to make Christians by conquest, so we see joined together to-day—not in the same individuals, but in the unnatural coöperation of the most diverse dispositions—the imperialism of selfishness and the imperialism of philanthropy. Each forgets that its greatest successes in the past have been due to an appearance of disinterestedness. But no wonder that we move so fast with two such allies hand in hand!

Yours very truly,

RAYMOND MACDONALD ALDEN.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
January 30, 1899.

FRANKLIN'S "ANECDOTE."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Just before the proceedings of the first American Congress of 1774 reached Great Britain, the King suddenly dissolved Parliament, and issued writs for a general election. It was a move of peculiarly shrewd "politics," for the Ministry had every reason to believe that the proceedings of Congress

would be conciliatory, tending to allay the heat of the English public against the colonies; and by thus prematurely forcing a new election while the public was still excited against America, it was hoped that the Government majority would be increased—a theory which proved eminently successful in practice. When the proceedings of the Congress were transmitted to Parliament, they came before men prepared to give them no heed, and were referred, with a great mass of other papers, to a committee which Edmund Burke happily styled "the Committee of Oblivion." Franklin, who was then in London, drew up what he termed an "anecdote" of the King's speech for the meeting of this Parliament, undoubtedly intended for publication in the press of the day, but which, so far as I have been able to learn, was not printed then, and is included in no collection of his writings, yet which deserves to be known, both for its clever imitation and for its shrewd prophecy.

Very truly yours,

PAUL LEICESTER FORD.

BROOKLYN, February 8, 1899.

ANECDOTE

The intended speech for the opening of the first Session of the present Parliament vis Nov' 29 1774

My Lords and Gentlemen

It gives me much concern that I am obliged at the opening of this Parliament to inform you that none of the measures w^h I adopted upon the advice of my late Parl^t in respect to the disturbances of my American colonies have produced those salutary effects, w^h relying upon the supposed wisdom of their deliberations I had been induced to expect. I therefore sent that Parl^t a packing rather abruptly, & have called you in their place to pick a little advice out of your wise heads upon some matters of the greatest weight & importance relating to a sort of Crusade that I have upon my hands. I must needs tell you that the business if you chuse to undertake it for me will be a seven or ten years job at least. You must know then that my ministers have put me upon a project to undertake the reduction of the whole continent of North America to unconditional submission. They w^d have persuaded me to coax you into this project by representing it to you as a matter very easily to be done in a twinkling, and to make you believe that my subjects in America whom you have always hitherto considered as brave men are no better than a wretched pack of cowardly run a ways, & that 500 men with whips w^d make them all dance to the tune of Yankee Doodle; but I w^d tell you no such thing because I am very sure if you meddle with it that you will find it a very different sort of business.

Now Gentlemen of the House of Commons I give you this fair notice for yourselves & your Constituents. If you undertake this job it will cost you at the least farthing a good round sum of 40 or 50 millions; 40 or 50 thousands of your Constituents will get knocked on the head and then you are to consider what the rest of you will be gainers by the bargain even if you succeed. The trade of a ruined & desolated Country is always inconsiderable, its revenue trifling; the expence of subjecting & retaining it in subjection certain & inevitable. On the other side sh^d you prove unsuccessful, sh^d that connexion w^h we wish most ardently to maintain be dissolved, sh^d my Ministers exhaust your treasures & waste the blood of your Country men in vain will they not deliver you weak & defenceless to your natural enemies?

You must know this is not the first time that the Serpent has been whispering in to my ear, Tax America. Coax what it will, make them your bawlers of wood & drawers of water.

Let them feel that your little finger is thicker than the loins of all your ancestors. But I was wiser than all that. I sent to L^d Rockingham & the advice that he gave me was this, not to burn my fingers in the business. That it was ten to one against our making any hand of it at all, that they were not worth shearing & at best that we sh^d raise a cursed outcry & get but little wool. I shall remember his last advice to me as long as I live. Speak good words to them and they will be thy Servants forever.

And now my Lords & Gentlemen

I have stated the whole matter fairly & squarely before you. It is your own business, and if you are not content as you are, look to the rest for yourselves. But if I were to give you a word of advice it should be to remind you of the Italian Epitaph upon a poor fool that kill'd himself with quacking

Stava ben, por star meglio, eto qui.

that is to say. I was well, I would be better, I took Physick and died.

A NEW ERA IN COTTON.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The greatest event in the history of cotton is Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin. Another great event, if not fully as great, is the discovery of a new system of baling cotton by which it is compressed as it leaves the gin-stand to twice the cubic density formerly attainable, and, without the old wrapping of heavy jute bagging and iron ties, but with only a simple neat cotton or burlap covering, it is ready for direct shipment to any part of the world. This system is commonly known as the "round bale."

Under the old system of baling cotton, we are taxed 6 per cent. on every bale of cotton we export. The foreigner buys cotton only. He will pay nothing for iron ties or jute bagging, but taxes every bale 6 per cent. tare for the weight of its wrapping. As cotton is by far the most valuable article for export this country has, the tax is a severe one. The value of our cotton exports for the past twenty years is \$4,367,191,810. The tax the Southern planter has paid and this country has lost in gold amounts to the enormous sum of over \$262,000,000. In the round or Lowry bale the covering weighs practically nothing, and there is no tare. The Southern farmer pays no tax.

A wrapping for cotton that has cost the country's wealth over a quarter of a billion dollars in twenty years should be a magnificent one. As a matter of fact, no great commodity has been handled in the barbarous (I do not speak extravagantly) way cotton has. It arrives at the mills badly exposed, in many cases the bagging almost entirely gone, and the cotton damaged from rain, mud, etc. In the round bale the package arrives at its destination in perfect condition. The farmer saves the loss from damage he used to pay. Because of the greater density of the new bale, ocean freights are one-third to one-half of the old rate. Insurance is also less. In Memphis the Board of Underwriters have recently reduced the rate to one-half that of the old. Every one of these savings is just so many dollars in the Southern farmer's pocket.

A radical revolution in the method of handling cotton cannot be accomplished in a moment. The enormous money investment in compresses will naturally endeavor to protect its interests. But the round or

Lowry bale is such an enormous stride along the path of progress that it is impossible to withstand it. Very few years can elapse before, necessarily, its use will be universal.

W. COLLIER ESTES.

MEMPHIS, TENN., February 1, 1899.

HORACE, DANTE, AND TENNYSON.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Horace has insinuated himself into many a modern verse, and he was unquestionably "old" and "familiar" for Tennyson. The interesting suggestion of your correspondent, however (*Nation*, December 22, 1898), that the closing lines of "Ulysses" are a reminiscence of Teucer's address to the companions of his voyage (*Odes*, L. 7), at least needs qualification. Surely it is well recognized that the "Ulysses"—if we consider the poem as a whole—was inspired by the twenty-sixth canto of the "Inferno," while the passage in question is not so nearly related to Horace's verse as to the following (112 ff.):

"O frati, dissi, che per cento mila
Perigli siete giunti all' occidente,
A questa tanto picciola vigilia
De' vostri sensi ch' è del rimanente,
Non vogliate negar l' esperienza.
Dietro al Sol, del mondo senza gente."

Dante in his turn, it may be, has Horace in mind—Horace at any rate in this ode, as once or twice elsewhere, is strangely Dantesque; but again, a more obvious original is at hand. Dante knows Horace—at least he cares for him—chiefly as satirist and critic: if the present passage is not an exception, he apparently does not imitate him. Any coincidence, however, with the manner or the words of his *buon maestro* Virgil is at least direct, if not intentional. Here one naturally recalls the familiar verses in the "Æneid" (I., 198 ff.):

"O socii—neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum—
O passi graviores, dabit deus his quoque finem," etc.

Whether these lines are a "charming reminiscence" of Horace's, or *vice versa*, is a more delicate and possibly insoluble question.

It need not be added that while Tennyson was more immediately influenced by Dante's Ulysses, he may well have felt the kinship of all three passages. E. K. R.

TOURS, FRANCE, JANUARY 15, 1899.

THE BEAST-LIKE SOUND.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I do not remember ever to have seen a protest raised in the press against what seems to the writer a growing tendency, certainly here in the West, to use colloquially, instead of words, sounds termed fitly, I think, *beast-like*.

It strikes one as a sad (though doubtless an unconscious) combination of laziness and under-breeding to hear constantly the *awh*, *awh* of affirmation, the *unh*, *unh* of negation, and the everlasting *awugh?* of interrogation, besides the shades of meaning indicated by kindred sounds which quite fail of coherent expression. Some of these latter variants are, by the way, often amusing by their ingenious adaptation to the passing mood.

Parents early practise the whole gamut upon their children, and I have seen them take apparent hearty pleasure in the "beast-like" replies of the little ones. Teachers in the public schools are victims, and confirm their charges in this original sin. Young

men in trade and professional life give free vent to this sound, and is it to be wondered that young women in society fairly chatter in it? But while rare among older men of position, it seems particularly attractive to women of all ranks and ages. Women of cultivation—indeed, of most gentle and refined manners—persist in introducing the sound to the marring of their English.

The writer hesitates somewhat in putting the matter before you thus at length—amid the general prevalence of the beast-like sound about him, he is indeed "a voice crying in the wilderness"; but possibly the attention of others may be arrested by a condition of our colloquial speech which many (deafened by the iteration of these sounds described) do not heed. At any rate, among your readers I feel sure of sympathy with my plaint.—Yours faithfully,

HENRY LEVERETT CHASE.

ST. LOUIS, JANUARY 24, 1899.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF RHYME.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your correspondent, Prof. Newcomer, settles the question between perfect and allowable rhymes very neatly by defining rhyme to be "recurrence of the same sounds," and leaving the similarity to be determined by the usage of recognized poets. Poetry is verse written by poets, and Shakespeare and Burns are ultimate authorities in rhyming usage. The definition of a rhyme cannot be made *a priori*, but must be induced or generalized from an examination of the verse of those whom common consent calls poet.

Still, their usage is in accordance with certain principles or with the philosophy of the subject. What is the function of rhymes? First, the rhyme marks the termination of the lines, and, by manifold "combination and arrangements," enables us to form a great variety of stanzas, like the rime royale, the sonnet, the Spenserian, the French ballade and rondeau. The Greeks and Romans elaborated stanzaic forms without rhyme, but we cannot do so. These forms give pleasure by their ingenuity as well as by their metrical beauty. For this function of rhyme, perfect rhymes are not necessary. In fact, in one very pleasing form (the *sestina*), identical words in ingeniously changed sequences make the stanza.

The second function of rhyme is to give the pleasure which comes from the perception of temporal acoustic correspondences, or, in plain English, echoes. Leaving on one side the question how far this pleasure arises from the musical sense, and how far it arises from the gratification we take in ingenious constructions, an echo always gives pleasure. But an echo is never an exact repetition. Owing to the motion or changing density of the air, an echo is never a perfect rhyme, and part of the pleasure it gives comes from the very fact that the sound is modified when given back. It may be rather fanciful to say that the rhymes of poets are analogous to the echoes of nature, continually changing in tone and timbre, and seeming to come from something alive and not be struck out with the monotonous iteration of a hurdygurdy; but it is certain that neither is mechanically perfect, and that the lack of perfection is part of their charm.

However, this is a mechanical age, and I

suppose we must have machine-made verse with perfect rhymes, as a "typical product." Fortunately, we are not compelled to read it, but can still enjoy "imperfect rhymes" in Burns's songs and Shakespeare's Sonnets and "Venus and Adonis." Prof. Newcomer is undoubtedly right, too, in saying that there are very few absolutely perfect rhymes in our language, and that the similarity of the vowel sound in two words depends very much on the individual pronunciation. In other words, there are virtually only imperfect rhymes in English.

CHARLES F. JOHNSON.

TRINITY COLLEGE, HARTFORD,
January 30, 1899.

Notes.

M. F. Mansfield & A. Wessels issue immediately 'Studies of the Mind and Art of Robert Browning,' by James Fotheringham; 'Aubrey Beardsley,' by Arthur Symonds; 'The Story of the West Indies,' by Arnold Kennedy; and 'The Long, White Cloud (New Zealand),' by the Hon. William Pember Reeves.

Dodd, Mead & Co.'s spring list embraces Ruskin's Letters to Rossetti and other of his contemporaries; a translation of Joubert's 'Thoughts'; 'Songs of the Rappahannock,' stories by Ira S. Dodd; and a new volume of poems by Paul Laurence Dunbar.

Macmillan Co. announce a translation of Joseph Texte's 'Jean Jacques Rousseau, and the Origins of the Cosmopolitan Spirit in Literature,' by J. W. Matthews; and an 'Elementary History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great,' by C. Oman.

'In Cuba with Shafter,' by Lieut.-Col. J. D. Miley of the General's staff; 'A History of Yiddish Literature in the Nineteenth Century,' by Prof. Leo Wiener of Harvard; and 'The Orchestra and Orchestral Music,' by W. J. Henderson (in the "Music-Lover's Library") will be published by Charles Scribner's Sons.

A. C. Armstrong & Son will soon bring out 'Book Auctions in the Seventeenth Century,' by John Lawler (in the "Book-Lovers' Library"), and 'Neglected Factors in the Study of the Early Progress of Christianity,' by Prof. James Orr.

Among the works promised for the coming season by the New Amsterdam Book Co. are 'Dickens and his Illustrators,' by Frederick G. Kitton, containing twenty-two portraits and seventy original drawings, with sketches of each artist's career; 'Twenty Years in the Near East,' by Arden G. Hulme Beaman; 'British West Africa,' by Major A. F. Mockler-Ferryman; 'The Downfall of the Dervishes,' by E. N. Bennett; 'Two Native Narratives of the Indian Mutiny at Delhi,' translated by the late Charles T. Metcalfe; 'Annals of Eton College,' by Wasey Sterry; 'Memoirs of Admiral the Right Hon. Sir Astley Cooper Key,' by Vice-Admiral P. H. Colomb; 'The Canon Law in England,' by Prof. F. W. Maitland; 'Reading and Readers,' by Clifford Harrison; and 'Dante's Garden,' by Rosamond Cotes.

From Doubleday & McClure Co. we are to have 'The Fight for Santiago,' by Stephen Bonsal; 'How to Plan the Home Grounds,' by S. Parsons; 'Through the Turf Smoke,' Irish peasant stories by Seumas MacManus; and Dr. Maurice Jokai's 'Hungarian Nabob,' translated by R. Nisbet Bain.

J. F. Taylor & Co., No. 66 Fifth Avenue,

New York, have in hand a new uniform edition of the Novels and Poems of Charles Kingsley, supplemented by the Letters and Memoirs of his Life, edited by his wife. This "Westminster Edition" will fill fourteen medium 8vo volumes, printed from new type at the University Press, Cambridge. There will be numerous illustrations by Zeigler, Reich, and others. The number of sets will be limited to one thousand.

"Beacon Biographies" is the name selected for short lives of eminent Americans contemplated by Small, Maynard & Co., Boston, under the general editorship of M. A. De Wolfe Howe, as, 'Daniel Webster,' by Norman Hapgood; 'J. R. Lowell,' by Prof. E. E. Hale, Jr.; 'R. E. Lee,' by Prof. W. P. Trent, etc. 'The Memory of Lincoln,' by the same firm and editor, will consist of the very best poems which have to do with Lincoln. Finally, Washington's Farewell Address, with an introduction by Worthington C. Ford, will bear the same imprint.

The handiness of the size of the dozen little volumes of the "Camberwell Edition" of Browning's Complete Works (T. Y. Crowell & Co.) is first to be commended in this venture. The outward appearance also is attractive, and the type is sufficiently large and clear, although the quality of the paper does not permit an elegant impression. The editors, Charlotte Porter and Helen A. Clarke, have supplied "arguments" to the longer pieces, and superabundant notes for followers of the cult if not for school use. The lines are numbered. We must not forget to add that a pretty photogravure frontispiece—portrait, scene from nature, painting, or what not—adorns each booklet.

A new edition of Luce's 'Seamanship,' fourth in number, revised by Lieut. W. S. Benson, U. S. N., has been issued by the D. Van Nostrand Co., after an interval of fourteen years from the previous one. This textbook, which is still prefaced by a short note from its distinguished author, Rear-Admiral S. B. Luce, U. S. N., has been brought up to date and to the battle-ship era without omitting anything of value concerning the handling of craft of various kinds under sail alone. Its value would be still further enhanced by a fuller treatment of the handling and qualities of vessels of two and three screws based upon experience and the discussions in the *Revue Maritime*, but it still easily maintains its lead as the best textbook of the kind in the language. Its appendix has been rendered especially valuable by the part relating to the definition of technical terms used in modern naval construction.

Albert Lavignac's 'The Music Dramas of Richard Wagner and his Festival Theatre in Bayreuth' (Dodd, Mead & Co.) is a book for which there ought to be a brisk demand this season when we are having Nibelung cycles, and Wagner operas two or three times a week. M. Lavignac is professor of harmony at the Paris Conservatory, and as the Parisians are just at present perhaps the most enthusiastic of all Wagnerites, his volume was warmly welcomed there. Esther Singleton has made a readable English version of it, retaining all the musical examples as well as the pictures and portraits, adding to the latter one of the late Anton Seidl, as the latest addition to the list of Bayreuth conductors. Only two days before his death Mr. Seidl wrote to the translator giving some information about Bayreuth which is printed on p. 510. M. Lavignac begins his volume

with a sketch of life in Bayreuth, which is followed by the story of Wagner's life, briefly told. Then follow analyses of the poems and music of the operas from "Tannhäuser" to "Parsifal," written with French lucidity, and avoiding technicalities as far as possible. In his naming of the Leitmotives he does not always follow Wolzogen's lead, but that is no ground for complaint. The appendix contains Bayreuth casts from 1876 to the present day; also tables of Bayreuth rehearsals, with other information not accessible elsewhere. In brief, M. Lavignac has justified his temerity in writing "the thousand and first book on Wagner."

'Leslie's History of the Greater New York,' by Daniel Van Pelt (Arkell Publishing Co.), disposes of New York proper in one volume and of the outlying boroughs in another. The work is frankly a popular compilation, not a philosophical history in any sense. For example, the career of Tweed and his gang is rehearsed justly and in proper reprobation, but the continuity between Tweed and Croker, or between the ring system and the boss system, is not even suggested. In fact, Croker's name does not, we believe, appear in these pages—but there is no index. Apropos of Tweed, it is well to be reminded that Spain extradited him for punishment in courteous excess of treaty requirements. These volumes are freely and not badly illustrated.

A checked fate is revealed in the history of Norwich University, compiled by William A. Ellis, B.S. (Concord, N. H.: Rumford Press). This institution has more than once changed its name and its location—from Vermont to Connecticut, and then back to Vermont; from Norwich to Middletown and Northfield. Its original style was "The American Literary, Scientific, and Military Academy"; for a time in distress and deeply indebted to a succoring alumnus, it was dubbed Lewis College. The institution, founded in 1819, has been a feeder to West Point and Annapolis, and its alumni, graduates, and non-graduates, took part in all our wars following that of 1812. Rear-Admiral Dewey is in the latter class, and there are at least three who attained equal rank in the navy—Carpenter, Hiram Paulding, and Boggs. Many of the lesser generals of the civil war; politicians like W. Pitt Kellogg, and Horatio Seymour, and Gideon Welles; notable scholars, clergymen, and men of science, are scattered up and down the biographical sketches here painstakingly put together, with very interesting portraits (often of an early and a later date). Several chapters of reminiscence supplement the introductory chronicle of the University. The work is a useful addition to its kind, and is handsomely printed and illustrated.

The value of the files of the *Library Journal* to the profession has been greatly enhanced by the publication of a 'General Index' (New York) to the twenty-two volumes ending with December, 1897. The early volumes of this series are now rarities, and the Index will at least show him who consults it some part of what they contain on the subjects he is interested in. It is not, however, a compound of the annual indexes, which must still be resorted to for certain details. The compiler, Mr. F. J. Teggart, now the librarian of the Mechanics' Institute, San Francisco, has made a free offering of the fruit of his labors, originally undertaken for his own use. The latest volume was indexed by Miss Helen E. Haines, managing

editor of the *Journal*. The page is printed in two columns, one blank to allow of additions.

Some years ago several fine specimens of historical fiction that betrayed a wonderfully accurate knowledge of the details of church and secular history appeared in Germany and attracted general attention; but for a long time it was not known to the literary world that the "George Taylor" who professed to be the author was none other than Prof. Adolf Hausrath, the Heidelberg church historian. With the sole exception of the late Prof. Ebers, the Leipzig and Munich Egyptologist, Hausrath was the only University man who had successfully utilized his minute investigations for the purposes of fiction; and he possessed the advantage over Ebers that he did not modernize his characters in thought and action. Hausrath has recently brought out a new novel, entitled 'Pater Maternus,' "a romance of the seventeenth century." The scene is laid in Italy, and depicts the experiences of a young Augustinian monk, who goes to Rome to find peace for his soul, and finds it there—not where he expected, but in the house of a converted Jew. Hausrath is peculiarly happy in a piquant style, reminding the reader of Renan. In 'Pater Maternus' the author evidently had in mind the personality and experiences of Luther.

Tennant & Ward, New York, announce for March 1 a new monthly magazine, the *Photo-Miniature*. The first number will treat of Modern Lenses, and each issue will be a like monograph pertaining to the theory or practice of photography.

Rhodora is the name of a new monthly journal published by the New England Botanical Club under the editorship of Dr. Benjamin Lincoln Robinson, curator of the Gray Herbarium of Harvard University. Its aim is to further the study of the local flora. Among the contents of the initial number are brief articles on "Rattlesnake-plants," "A New Wild Lettuce," each with a plate, as well as notes on "Fleshy Fungi near Boston" and on "New England Algæ." Among the contributors are Dr. Robinson, Merritt L. Fernald, and Hollis Webster of Harvard University.

Petermann's Mittheilungen, number twelve, contains the concluding parts of the monograph on West African culture by L. Frobenius, and the account, by N. A. Busch, of his journey in the northwestern Caucasus. There is also the useful index of the geographical literature of 1898, which shows a large increase of noteworthy works over the previous year. Out of the 884 titles, 176 relate to works on universal geography, 294 to Europe, 94 to Asia, 82 to Africa, and 53 to the United States.

Nine articles on the political situation in Austria by Dr. Max Menger, originally published in the *Neues Wiener Tageblatt*, in June and July, 1898, have been reprinted in pamphlet form (Vienna: Steyermühl), and form a convenient means of gaining an insight into the critical condition of Austrian affairs. An appendix contains the several ministerial decrees concerning the use of the German and the Czechic languages in Bohemia and Moravia.

The opening of the first free public library and reading-room in the large and wealthy city of Nürnberg makes one reflect with wonderment on the almost universal lack of such institutions in German cities. This is, no doubt, to be accounted for by the exist-

ence of so many excellent libraries, open to scholars and the higher classes generally, and of the popular *Leihbibliotheken*, which, to a certain extent, meet the wants of the middle and lower classes. The foundation of free public libraries of a higher order, with well-appointed reading-rooms, however, has commenced at last, with the result of proving that a real demand for them exists. At Nürnberg the opening of the first was even immediately followed by the demand for a second in another part of the city.

The university statistics of Germany for the current winter semester give little promise of the speedy solution of the "learned proletariat" question, which has vexed and perplexed the authorities for a decade and more. There has been, during all these years, an overproduction of university graduates, an excess of supply over demand. The state has been able to utilize only a certain portion of the finely educated specialists who offered their services in the departments of theology, law, medicine, and the various branches found combined in the philosophical faculties. Bismarck on more than one occasion declared in Parliament that these disappointed graduates furnished the brains of the Social Democratic party. Accordingly the authorities have been rather discouraging than encouraging attendance at the universities, and have proposed in various ways to make admittance more difficult, *e. g.*, by denying it to the graduates of the Real or scientific schools, and admitting only those who had finished the Gymnasium or classical course. Notwithstanding all this, the attendance has steadily increased, and now has reached the high-water mark in 32,233 matriculated students, or more than a thousand beyond the contingent reported last winter, when it was 31,110.

Miss Alice Bache Gould having given to the National Academy of Sciences more than a year ago the sum of \$20,000 to establish a fund to be known as the Benjamin Apthorp Gould Fund, in memory of her father, a sufficient available income has now accrued to warrant beginning its distribution, in accordance with the terms of the trust and a letter of instructions from the donor, to assist in the prosecution of researches in astronomy. Prof. Lewis Boss of Albany, Dr. S. C. Chandler of Cambridge, and Prof. Asaph Hall, formerly of Washington, are the directors of the trust, and they are now prepared to receive and consider applications for appropriations. The objects of the Fund are, first to advance the science of astronomy; second, to honor the memory of Dr. Gould by insuring that his power to accomplish scientific work shall not end with his death. Work in the astronomy of precision is to be given the preference in all cases over any work in astrophysics, both because of Dr. Gould's especial predilection and because of the present existence of generous endowments for astrophysics. In recognition of the fact that during his lifetime Dr. Gould's patriotic feeling and ambition to promote the progress of his chosen science were closely associated, it is preferred that the fund be used primarily for the benefit of investigators in his own country, or of his own nationality. As, however, it is recognized that sometimes the best possible service to American science is the maintenance of close communion between the scientific men of Europe and of America, even while acting in the spirit of this restriction the directors may occasion-

ally judge it best to make a grant in aid of a foreign investigator working abroad.

The regulations for the award of the Rinehart scholarship in sculpture in 1899 have just been issued by the Rinehart Committee, Peabody Institute, Baltimore. We cannot summarize them further than to say that examples of work by candidates—"relief, figure in the round, and drawings"—must be sent to W. S. Budworth & Son, No. 424 West Fifty-second Street, New York, marked "Rinehart Scholarship," on or before March 25 proximo. The scholarship yields \$1,200 per annum and may be held for four years, with lodging in the Villa dell' Aurora, the home of the American Academy in Rome.

—*Harper's Monthly* for February opens with an illustrated article of some interest on "Lieut.-Col. Forrest at Fort Donelson"—a condensed chapter from a life of General Forrest by Dr. John A. Wyeth. The point of the paper is that the Confederate troops surrendered were sacrificed unnecessarily; that they might all have escaped, as Forrest and his men did, quite unmolested by the Federal army. The author seems to have accumulated a mass of evidence on the subject, and if he is right, of course what happened afterwards might have been different; but the main thing was the loss of the fort, and to prove that this might have been saved is a pretty difficult task. Of one thing there is no doubt, that Forrest refused to surrender, and expressed the opinion at the time in his report that, had the Confederates renewed the fight the next day, they would have gained a victory, "as our troops were in fine spirits, believing we had whipped them." Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, who has just finished a history of the Revolution, begins his "Spanish-American War." His historical style is not unlike that of a good many others, but his idea of turning historian to justify his own political course is a good one. His Massachusetts vassals will read this history with varied emotions. What we enjoy most about him is his ingenuity. He says of the *Maine*, that had Spain shown "a generous sympathy" and made "a prompt offer" of reparation, she might have saved herself. Now, any one would imagine from this that Spain refused sympathy and made no offer. The fact, of course, is that Spain offered to submit the whole matter to arbitration, and abide by the result, whatever it might be. But let no one charge Mr. Lodge with misrepresentation; what he said was *generous* sympathy, and a *prompt* offer; the sympathy was not generous enough, and the offer should have been two days or so earlier. Again, he gives an account of the *Virginus* case, in which he says that war was averted because "the forces which cared nothing for humanity and a good deal for an undisturbed money market prevailed." The fact, of course, was that Spain acceded to all our demands, and we could not go to war, because, as our Gibbon says in his next sentence, the papers of the *Virginus* proved to be fraudulent. She was not an American ship. Mr. Lodge accuses the Cleveland Administration of "neglect of the cases of American prisoners" in Cuba. Now, Dr. José Ignacio Rodríguez, who was counsel for one of these prisoners, the celebrated Julio Sanguilly, and himself took part in the former Cuban Revolution, who has for many years resided in Washington, and who recently accompanied our Peace Commission to Paris as an expert in Spanish law, wrote a full

account in 1897 of this case of Sanguilly. Speaking of himself as counsel, he says on page 55 of his pamphlet: "He knew by his own personal experience, covering more than a quarter of a century of daily contact with the State Department, not to say anything of historical teachings, that in the matter of protection to American citizens against injustice and oppression on the part of Spain, and in the fulfilment of this duty, manly [manfully?] as well as efficiently, the Administration of Mr. Cleveland, with Secretary of State Mr. Gresham and Secretary of State Mr. Olney, has a record which its enemies cannot obscure, and which challenges comparison with that of all the other administrations which preceded it."

—The *Reminiscences* of Julia Ward Howe, of which the third instalment appears in the *Atlantic* for this month, carry us back to a society now almost obliterated, that of the London of 1842-3, when Sydney Smith was in his prime, when the English of American guests was still curiously listened to and benevolently corrected, when the story of Laura Bridgman was new, when Carlyle was beginning his career, and Macready was acting *Claude Melnotte*, and Fanny Elssler was dancing, and Almack's was in its glory, and Charles Sumner was a young man—according to Carlyle "a vera dull man," of promise. Americans then went abroad well provided with letters of introduction, and, besides this, Mr. Howe, as his wife observes, was then "a first-class lion." Perhaps as curious an anecdote of manners as any is one of Dickens's behavior on hearing Mrs. Howe interject a term of endearment in some remark addressed to her husband. "Dickens slid down to the floor, and, lying on his back, held up one of his small feet, quivering with pretended emotion: 'Did she call him "darling"?' he cried." According to Sydney Smith, Mrs. Howe made only one slip in pronunciation. She should have called the House of Lords "the House of Lards." Purveyors of realistic fiction will find the collection of "Farewell Letters of the Guillotined" worth study. They are a mass of letters from the victims of the Reign of Terror, written by them just before being executed; they show that people brought face to face with inevitable death become calm, not excited. "Only in one instance is there a breath of malediction." "The Subtle Problem of Charity," by Jane Addams, is valuable chiefly as giving a striking picture of the essential contrast between the worlds in which the well-to-do and the poor live. In one case the only plausible explanation which suggested itself of the charitable efforts of a "visitor" was that the beneficiary had discovered an awful family secret involving her, and that the charity was merely disguised blackmail. One economical point is that the rich avoid early marriages partly because they do not want too many dependent children; the poor marry early partly because they hope that some of their children may soon contribute to the family purse, and perhaps support their parents in their old age. In other words, among the poor, children are, or are thought to be, so much potential capital.

—The Hon. George F. Hoar contributes to *Scribner's* his reminiscences of "Four National Conventions," 1876-1888. His constitutional dislike to say anything unpleasant about members of his own party prevents his giving an effective account of the struggles which have rent it during the last twenty

years. Of Mr. Blaine, after his defeat for the Presidency, he makes the curious remark that "his subsequent career in the Department of State, I believe, satisfied the majority of his countrymen that he would have made an able and discreet President." Of Garfield he says that he has heard men who knew him very well when the leader of the House, say that they never could feel sure that "he would not get wrong at the last moment, or have some private understanding with the Democrats and leave his own side in the lurch." This, he says, he feels sure was a great mistake. "Garfield's hesitation, want of certainty in his convictions, liability to change his position suddenly, were in my opinion the results of intellectual hesitation, and of a habit of going down to the roots of his subject before he made up his mind." Mr. W. C. Brownell's essay on Thackeray is the most substantial piece of writing in the number. It is useless to attempt to quote from it, especially as Mr. Brownell's method is not that of definition or epigram. Perhaps part of it might be summed up by saying that while the great dramatists give us real characters, the novel of Thackeray gives us real characters plus the showman, who happens to be also a great humorist, a man of the world, and a poet, too, for that matter.

—The *Century* has for its leading illustrated article an account, by Frederic Courtland Penfield, formerly United States Diplomatic Agent and Consul-General, of the steps being taken to enlarge the cultivable area of Egypt. Among the pictures, by R. Talbot Kelly, is one of Philæ as it is, but as it will no longer be after the great dam at Assuan is constructed. What Mr. Penfield calls the "practical Egypt" is a small country—the ribbon-like strip of alluvial land bordering the Nile, measuring not more than 10,500 square miles (barely as much as the States of Vermont and Rhode Island together); while the extension planned, and to be completed in the next six or eight years, will add some 2,500 miles more. Gen. Shafter gives a long account of "The Capture of Santiago de Cuba," which is a very colorless reply to his critics. He declares in substance that he managed the campaign well, and that the celebrated "round robin" was merely a reaffirmation by his officers of opinions already expressed to them by their commander. When he telegraphed to Washington that he was "seriously considering withdrawing about five miles and taking up a new position," he was actually "preparing to push the siege," and, hearing about this time that Cervera had "gone to his doom," he dashed on to victory.

—The January issue of the Oxford English Dictionary (New York: Henry Frowde) carries the letter H to Hod, and Dr. Murray promises the remainder by July 1. Few instalments have better exhibited the historical richness of this word-book. We pass over the bewildering variety of forms of the pronoun of the third person, mostly obsolete (like *hise* and *hern*); we refer rather to such information as is to be found under Hell, where is set forth its Biblical translation of Jewish and Christian use; under the much controverted Hide (of land); under the (Cossack) Hetman, captain, and (Polish) Heyduck, brigand, and obsolete (Old English) Henchman, muleteer or groom, revived by Scott with a Scotch twist as gillie, and

given a political partisan sense in this country; under Highness, where the application of the title is nicely explained; under Hill, where we are told that in England any eminence, to be a mountain, must exceed 2,000 feet; under Heresy, whose "earlier sense-development from 'religious sect, party, or faction,' to 'doctrine at variance with the Catholic faith' lies outside English," and Heretic, in which "the position of the stress, as differing from words immediately from Greek or Latin, such as *ascetic*, *theoretic*," is due to derivation through the French; under High (a remarkably long article), where Chaucer is shown to have set the pace for Spenser in squaring his orthography with his rhyme, using "both *heigh* (*hey*) riming with *seigh* saw, and *hy*, *hye* riming with *Emelye*, etc." It is curious to learn that Hockey makes an isolated appearance in 1527, and recurs first with Cowper in 1785; that Hereabout (1225) and Hereaway (1483) took on a final *s* first in 1584 and 1613 respectively; that Helpmeet is a nineteenth-century word, and not found in Webster as late as 1832; that the substantive Hem is as old as 1,000, while the verb, to edge, is not known before the fifteenth century; that the verb Hem, to clear the throat, dates from 1470, the interjection Hem! only from 1536 (Skelton). This latter date is posterior to the publication of Erasmus's 'Colloquies,' but the interjection is English, and the great Dutchman had already made his two sojourns in England. We may, therefore, suspect that he there picked up the word for the colloquy, "Virgo Pœnitens," where we read: "Hem, male sit huc tussal" (Hem! hang this cough). The word being foreign alike to Latin (in this sense) and to the Continent, the editors of the 'Colloquies' found it necessary to explain this "aside" as "feigning a cough" (so the Amsterdam Elsevir 1662, and even Roger Daniel's London edition of 1655). *Per contra*, Dr. Murray records no sign that another neologism of Erasmus's, in "Abbatis et Eruditæ," viz., the use of *heroinearum* in the sense of 'great court ladies,' has affected our English Heroine at any period. "Potentes aulicas, quasi semidas," is the Elsevir gloss, and Daniel's likewise. It was, by the way, another Daniel (Samuel), in his 'Defence of Ryme,' who flouted Erasmus as having "brought no more wisdom into the world with all [his] new revived words than we find was before."

—If George Herbert, in 1633, depicted Hell as "full of good meanings and wishings," it was Johnson in Boswell who paved the place with good intentions. "Hell of a row" has been detected in the *Morning Post* of June 26, 1810, two years before James and Horace Smith's pun in the 'Rejected Addresses' ("Punch's Apotheosis"):

"I'm Juliet Capulet, who took a dose of bellebore—
A hell-of-a-bore I found it to put on a pall."

Among the compounds we look in vain for Hell-bent, as "Maine went for Governor Kent." But America has been by no means neglected. Richard Grant White's Heterophemy is here, and Peter Herdic's vehicle named for him; Old Hickory, and Hickeys; Emerson's "hitch his wagon to a star"; Heeler, ascribed to the New York *Herald* in 1877; Hired (man), which is treated at considerable length as a notable Americanism; Highfalutin; and Highbinder, to which Poe gave the clue, proving the name to have been adopted by a gang of New York ruffians on the North River side of lower Broadway in 1805. The word has now changed its coast

and its nationality—*calum, non animus*—designating (since 1887 at latest) a secret gang of Chinese desperadoes in California. The vehicle of this transmigration will probably always remain a mystery. American, too, is our telephone call, Hello!, though it is making its way in England, as is shown by a quotation from Mary Kingsley along with "Are you there?" "Who's there?" is also common in England, we believe. In Germany the formula is self-introductory—"Here is —." Under Heterodoxy we find quoted from Carlyle's French Revolution (1837) "the difference between Orthodoxy or *My-doxy* and Heterodoxy or *Thy-doxy*." When Orthodoxy in turn is reached, we may hope to meet with Franklin's original version of this pleasantry ("Orthodoxy is my doxy, and heterodoxy is your doxy," given as one of Franklin's "definitions" in John Adams's diary, November 30, 1779, Works, 1851, iii., 186).

—It is well known that Dr. Karl Dändliker of Zurich, the author of a learned 'Geschichte der Schweiz' in three volumes, has also written a manual of Swiss history which, like his larger work, is held to be a standard authority by German readers. We announce with great pleasure the appearance in English form of this one-volume sketch. The translation is entitled 'A Short History of Switzerland,' and has been made by E. Salisbury (Macmillan). The chief cause of the satisfaction which we feel at the appearance of this book is quickly stated. To the best of our knowledge no thorough study of Swiss history (leaving aside essays or monographs on constitutional topics) has yet been published by an English-speaking author. One could easily recall the titles of several books which make pretensions, but in no case are we aware that fulness of erudition is a chief characteristic. In all of them the hand of the book-maker rather than that of the mature scholar is apparent. Mr. W. A. B. Coolidge's notices of the separate cantons in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' and his articles in the *English Historical Review*, alone show adequate information; but, unfortunately, they are not comprehensive. Moreover, we lack, in English, translations of Vulliemin, Rilliet, Dändliker (the *opus*), and Dierauer. Translations should not be permitted to take the place of original works in one's own language, but in the present instance we welcome a good epitome of Swiss history from whatever source it comes. Concerning Dändliker's scope and the quality of his writing, much might be said were this the proper place for an extensive review. He is not picturesque nor even animated, but he is clear—and that statement carries high praise when applied to a history of Switzerland. For complexity of topics the cantons hardly equal the towns of mediæval Italy, and yet the two may be brought into comparison. Cave-dwellers, lake-dwellers, Helvetii, Romans, Alamanni, Burgundians, and Franks are easily managed; nor does the League of Forest Cantons present much difficulty. But when the earlier *Bund* becomes one of eight, and this again a *Bund* of thirteen, the threads mingle so blindly that skill is required in keeping the clue. Dändliker, besides being a master of the facts, is intelligent and intelligible. It follows that the sketch now translated should take rank before any other manual which is available in English. The English ver-

sion of it must also be commended for smoothness and accuracy.

BISMARCK'S REFLECTIONS AND REMINISCENCES.

Bismarck, the Man and the Statesman: Being the Reflections and Reminiscences of Otto, Prince von Bismarck; written and dictated by himself after his retirement from office. Translated from the German under the supervision of A. J. Butler, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Two volumes, xxi, 415; xx, 362 pp. Harper & Bros. 1899.

Bismarck was a nervous man, even by the American standard; and his life was an incessant struggle for self-control. When the policy of the Government was strongly attacked in the German Parliament, and his attention, as often happened, was so wholly centred upon his opponent that he forgot himself, he was wont to display his irritation and impatience in every line and movement of his face and body; and when, almost before the last sentence of the attack was ended, his huge form lurched up, the auditor who was unfamiliar with the Chancellor's characteristics naturally expected an outburst of invective. Bismarck, however, invariably began his reply in a tranquil tone, meeting his adversary's arguments either with a dispassionate statement of the facts as he viewed them, or with gentle and apparently good-humored persiflage. At the moment when the strain of waiting was over and the responsibility of public speech began, the life-long habit of self-mastery asserted itself.

Something of the surprise which strangers in the galleries of the Reichstag always felt on such occasions will undoubtedly be aroused in the reader who lays down Busch's diary and takes up Bismarck's memoirs. As Busch displays him, Bismarck was intolerant of differences of opinion, impatient at the least delay in the realization of his purposes, and unable to see any good qualities in those who crossed his policy. In his own book Bismarck discusses his political struggles with perfect calmness; describes his royal masters and their consorts, his associates and his enemies, with apparent freedom from prejudice, or at least with an obvious effort at faithful portraiture; and writes throughout, as he spoke in the Reichstag, with almost perfect self-control and in a tone and manner that are worthy of his position and his career. The difference is owing partly, of course, to the mere interval of time, but mainly to the sobering sense of responsibility. To an underling like "little Busch," supposed to be devoted and trusty, he might say anything; to the German public and to future generations he would say nothing that was not seemly. As far as the manner is concerned, he has, in fact, said nothing unseemly, not even of Augusta. As regards the matter, it may be questioned whether he has not, in her case, made revelations which a good royalist should have suppressed. How he has dealt with William II., we do not as yet know, for the memoirs close with the reign of Frederick III. It has been stated, in the German press, that a third volume exists, but that the family does not intend to publish it at present.

To the historian the chief value of Bismarck's reminiscences will be found in the fact that upon some important points they

substitute direct for indirect evidence, and personal for hearsay testimony. Apart from this, it cannot be said that the book makes any important contribution to our knowledge of events or of their causes. Bismarck's Frankfurt dispatches and Sybel's history, to say nothing of the letters and memoirs of other participants in the political life of the period, had practically covered the ground down to 1870. For the following decades there were, indeed, no publications of the same authority. But Bismarck's diplomacy was, on the whole, unusually above-board; his indiscretions, if revelations that were for the most part deliberate can be so termed, were numerous; and after his retirement from office he inspired not only occasional editorials and magazine articles, but solid books like Blum's. So much, therefore, had already been told that there was really little left to tell, and in his reminiscences Bismarck attempts no complete or even connected narration. He aims at little more than to furnish supplementary material, to throw side-lights upon events, and to make us better acquainted with the personal influences that were operative in the courts and in diplomacy.

What weight the historian is to attach to the new matter is a question that the future historian will have to settle for himself. So much, however, is already clear: no such falsification of history has been attempted as Busch's book had led the public, or a part of the public, to expect. Nor are the charges that have already appeared in German reviews of the book—charges of *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi*—to be taken as more authoritative than Bismarck's own story. It goes without saying that no man, however honest his effort, can describe the events of his own life with absolute veracity. They arrange themselves in his own mind, in greater or less degree, as they should have been. This process of rearrangement, however, has been going on, not in Bismarck's mind only, but also in the minds of all the surviving participants in the events which Bismarck describes; and the resultant divergence of recollections is a phenomenon with which historians are as familiar as are courts of justice. In one direction only does it appear that Bismarck has consciously suppressed—or rather ignored—a part of the truth. Like Sybel, he lays much stress upon the Prussian efforts from 1862 to 1866 to reach an understanding with Austria; and he at least permits the reader to assume that his real object during these years was rather to divide with Austria the control of Germany than to expel Austria from Germany. Again, in stating his reasons for forcing France to declare war in 1870, he passes over the fact which to the ordinary mind would appear to constitute his best reason—the fact that negotiations were in progress for a French-Austrian-Italian coalition against Prussia. It is conceivable that Bismarck is moved in both instances, as Sybel doubtless was in the first, by the desire to avoid offence to Germany's chief ally.

Bismarck's conjectures regarding things that he could not know, are of course entitled to little weight as compared with his testimony about things that he at least might have known. The motives and aims which he ascribes to his opponents in the palace, in Parliament, and in the army, are necessarily hypothetical. Bismarck was a good guesser: a great deal of his success in diplomacy was due to the accuracy of his guesses; but the best guess is something short of evidence.

Assuming that Bismarck has told us only what he believed, we still have difficulty in accepting all the "intrigues" of chapter xxvi. An alliance between Protestant Tories and Ultramontanes, such as occurred after Bismarck's retirement, may well have been preparing in 1878; the Empress Augusta would naturally have favored such an alliance; but we cannot believe that the National Liberal leaders (cf. vol. II., pp. 206, 216) were in such uncongenial company. There can, we think, be little doubt that, after his fall from power, which was doubtless preceded by much pulling of wires and exercise of back-stairs influence, Bismarck had in his old age a touch of the commonest of delusions—that of persecution. We have the first hint in Busch (vol. II., p. 514), when Bismarck declares, just before his resignation, that he is sending off his papers to avoid a probable seizure! This delusion rapidly extended backward and colored Bismarck's view of antecedent facts. In Blum's book, which was largely inspired by the Prince after his retirement, there were nearly as many conspiracies as in the present reminiscences.

Closely allied with this disposition to discover intrigues is the emphasis everywhere laid on personal influence as a factor in determining the course of events. In this, however, there is no suggestion of anything less than perfect sanity of judgment. Bismarck is making no guesses and advancing no theory; he is simply giving us the result of his experience. His own career, his own influence in shaping history, have been a striking demonstration of the one-sidedness of Tolstol's saying, that great names are merely the labels that we affix to events. Bismarck's reminiscences reinforce the demonstration by showing the influence exercised by lesser men in high places. His reflections drive the lesson home: no one can read his acute criticism of Prussian policy from 1790 to 1859 without seeing how different the course of events must have been if the third Frederick William had been less dense, the fourth less erratic, and both of them more willing to take risks. This insistence on the personal element lends to the story in many passages a dramatic interest that few histories possess; and the masterly studies of the chief actors will make the book live as literature. Frederick William IV., William I., Augusta, and Gortchakoff, for example, have become as real, in these pages, as any characters in fiction; and they are made real after the best literary fashion, not so much by direct description, good as this is, as by their acts and words in little matters.

In the same way, Bismarck makes himself real; and perhaps the most interesting question that the book raises is this: How far does Bismarck's Bismarck, as revealed in these reminiscences, differ from the Bismarck that we have already known? Here again we can only say, as we have said of the contribution the book makes to our knowledge of history, that we obtain from it new data, but nothing to change our general impressions. We find a nature fundamentally aristocratic. We find an intellect of marvellous clearness, that sees things exactly as they are, not warped by prejudice or colored by desire. We find a constructive imagination of the highest order, which enables its possessor to divine things he does not know, and to foresee things he cannot reason out. We find a temperament of restless energy; a will of iron, or rather of steel, because it is

supple; and a courage that often seems audacity. On the side of morals we discern, as in the case of all greatly successful statesmen, a sharp if unexpressed distinction between private and public affairs. In public affairs, the only test of right is advantage—not, of course, the advantage of the statesman, not even the advantage of the king, but the advantage of the state. This, in Bismarck's case, was not simply the state whose affairs he was administering; not simply Prussia, from 1862 to 1866; not simply the North German Union, from 1866 to 1870; but the state that he aimed to create—the national German State.

Bismarck's "realism," as it has often been called, finds striking expression in chapter xii., in which he describes the loyalty of the average German to his dynasty, and explains the absurdity of the attempt to unify Germany over the heads of all the dynasties:

"Whatever may be the origin of this factitious union of particularist elements, its result is that the individual German readily obeys the command of a dynasty to harry with fire and sword, and with his own hands to slaughter his German neighbors and kinsfolk, as a result of quarrels unintelligible to himself. *To examine whether this characteristic be capable of rational justification is not the problem of a German statesman, so long as it is strongly enough pronounced for him to reckon upon it*" (vol. i., p. 324).

The italics are ours. The adjective "factitious," by the way, which suggests a judgment, is interpolated by the translator; there is no warrant for it in the "partikularistische Zusammengehörigkeit" of the original.

Of Bismarck's frankly avowed disregard of interests other than German, an excellent illustration is given in chapter xv., which deals with the Polish question. He explains that, in the early sixties, there were at the Russian Court two parties: the one friendly to Poland and to constitutional government both in Poland and in Russia; the other hostile to Poland and devoted to absolutism. The former party was 'inclined to a French alliance; the latter to a Prussian. "It was our interest," Bismarck writes, "to oppose the party in the Russian Cabinet which had Polish proclivities" (vol. i., p. 340). He therefore used all his influence, first as Ambassador and afterwards as Premier, to frustrate the reform of Polish and of Russian institutions. It is possible that the programme of the Polonophiles was not in Russia's interest; it may be that Poland was irreconcilable, and Russia itself unripe for constitutional government; but Bismarck does not consider it necessary to discuss these questions. "It was our interest" is final. His duty was to Prussia; not to Poland or to Russia or to humanity.

The title which Bismarck gives his book is exactly descriptive of its contents. He has not attempted to write his own life or the history of his time; he has simply given us certain "reminiscences." These, in the majority of instances, are selected less for their own sake than to furnish a text for "reflections"; and there are several chapters which are simply reflections upon German policy, domestic and foreign. There can be little doubt that Bismarck's chief motive in writing the book was to influence, by his arguments and suggestions, the movement of German policy. In the German as in the English title the *Gedanken*, the reflections, come first. It is probable that this testament will long be cited, not merely because of the authority of his name, but also because of the intrinsic good sense of

the counsels he has bequeathed to his people.

In even the most masterly chapters, however—those dealing with international relations—there is a singularly limited horizon. Bismarck discusses European politics as if his little Continent were the world. Great Britain seems merely a neighboring island, and Russia appears to have no interest or existence outside of Europe. That there are other continents; that issues are arising outside of Europe of such magnitude as to dwarf all purely European questions; and that these world issues must reach into and modify the relations of the European states among themselves—of all this, Germany's greatest statesman, who himself started Germany upon a course of colonial experiment, takes no account. The explanation is obvious. In Bismarck's youth the rest of the world exercised no appreciable influence upon Europe. In his manhood this influence was still a negligible quantity. In his old age the partition of the world seemed a commercial rather than a political affair. The ultimate political results lay far beyond the roads his mind was wont to travel. His disregard of world politics is a striking proof of the completeness with which men of action belong to their own time. The present ruler of Germany is a man of incomparably less wisdom than his grandfather's chancellor, but he is (at least in his interests) of our generation.

Was Christ Born at Bethlehem? By W. M. Ramsay. London: Hodder & Stoughton; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Prof. Ramsay here brings new material to bear on the account, given in the Third Gospel, of the birth of Jesus. According to the Evangelist, the birth occurred when Quirinius was governing Syria, and it occurred in Bethlehem because Joseph and Mary went to that city in consequence of a decree of Augustus that all the world should be enrolled. To this account various exceptions have been taken, the chief objections being that Augustus is not known ever to have ordered a general census, and that Quirinius was not governor of Syria at that time. The most important part of Prof. Ramsay's book is his reply to the first of these objections. A few years ago (in 1893) three scholars (Kenyon in *Classical Review*, Wilcken in *Hermes*, Viereck in *Philologus*) announced, independently of one another, the discovery that in Egypt, under the Roman Empire, an enrolment was made every fourteen years. The Egyptian census documents mention the years 62, 90, 104, and so on up to 230 A. D., as years of enrolment, and one, found by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt four or five months ago, gives a year earlier than 50 (held by Ramsay, from the names of the officials mentioned in it, to be the year 20). That this system was extended to Syria, Prof. Ramsay holds to be probable from the statement of Tertullian that the enrolment with which the birth of Christ was connected occurred under Sentius Saturninus (governor B. C. 9-6), and from the testimony of an inscription (recently shown to be genuine) in which it is said that a certain Q. Aemilius Secundus, by order of Quirinius (then governor of Syria), made the census of the population of Apameia.

Prof. Ramsay concludes that Augustus instituted a general census system for the Empire, and that this is the statement in Luke. Reckoning back from A. D. 62 (or from 20)

the year B. C. 8 would be an enrolment year. Palestine was a troublesome district, and Augustus, Ramsay suggests, might well have desired to know its military strength. But B. C. 8 is too early for the birth-year, and our author suggests that Herod, knowing that the census would not be palatable to the Jews, obtained a delay of a year, with the further concession that the enrolment, to humor the Jewish national spirit, should be by tribes and families, and not after the Roman fashion. Prof. Ramsay assigns the birth of Jesus to the late summer of 7 or 6 B. C. As to Quirinius, our author holds that he was at that time military leader in Syria; Varus, the Imperial legate proper, was a man without military experience, and, as the country was turbulent, Quirinius, an able and successful general, might have been placed there to preserve order.

These new details of the Imperial system of enrolment are of very great interest, and it seems not improbable that it was instituted by Augustus. It is also true that the Greek present infinitive (*ἀναγραφέσθαι*) may refer to the recurring seasons, or the general rule, of enrolment, and that the title given to Quirinius (*ὑπερσυνάρχης*) may mean "military leader," or "procurator," and that such an officer might have been charged with the conduct of an enrolment.

It is doubtful whether Prof. Ramsay's special interpretation is permitted by the Greek. When the Evangelist says: "This, as first enrolment, occurred when Q. was procurator (or military governor) of Syria," the word "this" almost certainly refers not to a general law but to a specific edict. The chronological argument is, however, not affected by this point, and Prof. Ramsay's defence of the accuracy of Luke is entitled to consideration, though a final conclusion cannot be reached till more facts have come to our knowledge. Whether his arguments turn out to be valid or not, he has brought together much interesting material. His book is marred here and there by a bitter and unjust tone towards those much-enduring persons, "the critics." On the whole question two obvious remarks suggest themselves: Luke's general credit as historian would not be destroyed by a mistake of a name or a date; and his general credit is not established by proving his accuracy in this particular case.

A Gunner Aboard the "Yankee." Edited by H. H. Lewis, late U. S. Navy. Doubleday & McClure Co. 1898.

This book, which carries with it an introduction by Rear-Admiral Sampson, is the result of the experience of a member of the New York Naval Reserve in the war just closed, and is based upon the personal diary of the anonymous author, who is known on the title-page as No. 5 of the "after-port (5-in.) gun."

The Naval Reserves of the United States have been and are still practically a naval militia of a number of the States, recognized and aided by law, it is true, by the general Government, but, previous to the war, with no official and definite rôle or assignment to duty by the bureau in the Navy Department charged with the care and assignment of the personnel, both enlisted and official, of the navy. Our navy, from its small size and the constant demands made upon it, was, before the war, mobilized up to almost its full strength; its modern construction caused but a small part of its material to be under

repair, and there was practically none in ordinary or inactive reserve. This fact, and the busy demands of administrative routine, led to a neglect of preparation for expansion and for the mobilization of the auxiliary naval reserve forces, until the warlike situation and the foresight of the then Assistant Secretary of the Navy induced the necessary measures for a mobilization of the reserves and the general expansion of the navy. Under these circumstances the Naval Reserve force finally received attention and place in the schemes for providing a war navy for offensive and defensive purposes, and the various bodies were then directed to fill their complements and prepare for active service.

The naval authorities who had discussed the rôle of the Naval Reserve, but who lacked the administrative function to place them, had proposed that the reserves should be used to man the vessels that were to form the second or inner line of defence. These vessels, localized as far as possible, were to consist of auxiliary vessels improvised from tugs, yachts, and smaller merchant vessels, of a size and for a duty such that individual intelligence would count for the most, and manual labor and numerical force for the least. This, with the coast signal service and local torpedo-boat work, was and is the rôle of the naval militia as distinguished from the proper and seagoing Naval Reserve. But the war with Spain never became a defensive war of a nature which involved the continuance of a second line of defence, and the vessels, large and small, which were assigned at first to coast-defensive purposes were drawn off gradually for the constantly increasing blockade duty and for the other offensive operations in the West Indies. The few that remained were mostly consigned to the patrol of mine fields and minor auxiliary purposes, or to man the obsolete monitors for harbor defence. Hence a very large portion of the Naval Reserves served in deep-sea vessels, and were drafted into the sphere of active warfare in foreign waters. Although, to a certain extent, the use of this fine personnel to do the duty of the hewers of wood and the drawers of water on board ship was like the using of fine razors to cut blocks, none the less was the work done well and uncomplainingly; and in the reward most eagerly sought after—a brush with the enemy—they showed a spirit as well as a skill and endurance that deserved and received words of high commendation from their commander-in-chief. The men were better than the officers, as a rule, in the Naval Reserves, always excepting the graduates of Annapolis and the few others who had seen service in the merchant marine.

The narrative in this book is from one of the men before the mast and "behind the gun," who was drafted with a number of his fellows of the New York Naval Reserve into the U. S. S. *Yankee*, formerly the Morgan liner *El Norte*. Fortunate in their ship, they were even more fortunate in their commander, one of the best all-round officers in the regular service. The story will be found to be of interest, and is told with a sprightliness and humor that should give it many readers.

It is not probable that in any future war in which the United States may be engaged, an enemy of so little enterprise will be found as Spain proved to be, nor one so sparing in its raids and attacks upon our coast towns and coastwise commerce. Hence

it is important that, after the formation of a proper national reserve for the navy, seagoing and with sea experience, sufficient aid should be given to the naval militia of the various States as a supplement to the Naval Reserve for torpedo-boat work, for auxiliary naval purposes, and for the inner line of floating defence. The experience of the late war emphasizes the existence of a distinctively military factor to be found in the panic fears of wealthy and thickly settled sea-coast districts.

The Gods of our Fathers: A Study of Saxon Mythology. By Herman I. Stern. Harpers. 1898. Pp. xxx+269.

Precisely who our fathers would be if they were determined by deduction from this book, it is not possible to surmise. It may be, however, that the author himself had this very fact in mind, for we are a composite people made up fundamentally of all sorts of Germanic elements united into a veritable hodgepodge of descent. As a whole, we should be shown by such an evolution of an ancestor not only to be more Norse than anything else, but to be preponderantly of direct Norse extraction at the time of the Viking age, which it is perfectly plain that most of us are not. The fact that the book is called a study of "Saxon" mythology sheds only an apparent light on the subject. The very first paragraph shows that the author uses "Saxon" in a purely generic sense, in spite of the specific signification that rightly belongs to it, for here there are gods enumerated of whom the Saxons never heard, and, later on, he speaks of Loki as "the Satan of the Saxons," and of Baldur as "the Saxon Christ," though the real Saxons were guiltless of either the one or the other.

The fundamental difficulty in the present book lies just in this heterogeneous character of its material. The author plainly starts out with the assumption that Norse mythology is Germanic—or, as he puts it, "Saxon"—mythology, and that all of it is of equal importance. With this, which from the nature of the case is by far the principal portion of the material that has come down to us from the heathen days of any part of the race, he combines wholly at random anything else he can find among the other Germanic peoples, with no thought of resulting incongruity. He has his drag-net out for things "Saxon," and all is "Saxon" that comes into it. What appears, consequently, from the book to be a mythological system is in reality no system at all, but an *omnium-gatherum* of Germanic mythological matter of all degrees of value, and of all ages and places of origin.

Instances of these processes appear throughout the book. Walhalla, for instance, is described as "the human heaven of the Teutons, a sort of Olympus and Elysium combined," when in reality this was a Norsemen's paradise, wholly a development of the warrior spirit of the Viking age, and one in which the rest of the Teutons had no share. Much of the mythology to be gathered from Norse sources is inherently new and local, and some of it is not, in a proper sense, mythology at all. Although the belief in giants, in this way, as personifications of the forces of nature, is a possession of the whole Germanic people, and one, furthermore, that they shared with the other Indo-Europeans, the giants as we

have them from Old Norse sources are purely creations of Northern, and not of Germanic, phantasy. We know, in point of fact, infinitely more about the mythology of the Scandinavian North along broad lines, not merely because our sources of information are fuller and clearer, but in great part for the reason that there was, through special development, infinitely more to know. Yggdrasil, the world tree, for instance, is Germanic, but its whole outfit—the goat, the stag, the deer, the dragon, the eagle, the squirrel—is elements of Eastern-Christian mysticism thus locally associated. There is much, furthermore, in Old Norse sources that is simply to be ascribed to the creative poetic phantasy of the skaldic poets themselves, and that never had any firm lodgment in the religious belief of the people whatever. The author, however, entirely ignores all principles of this sort, which have become veritable truisms to one who has read the literature of the subject.

Besides the uncritical use of material, the book is full of curious misapprehensions. "The realm of Hel," it says, "as an abode of departed spirits, virtually appears only at the close of the Asen dynasty," when, in reality, it is one of the most fundamental conceptions of Northern heathendom. The 'Heimskringla' it calls "a crude attempt at universal history," when, to quote Carlyle, who correctly appreciated its value, it is "to be reckoned among the great history-books of the world." The meaning of "Loki" has nothing to do with *lus*; this god does not "invariably designate the element fire," and he is not "the personification of evil." To correct the faults of statement, however, would be essentially to rewrite the book from title-page to colophon.

At the beginning, in lieu of a dedication, the author prints the following quotation: "It would be an interesting work to show how Norse and Greek Mythologies respectively have colored the religious, social, political, and literary character of Greek and Romance peoples on the one hand and Norsemen and Teutons on the other. Somebody will undoubtedly in due time be inspired to undertake such a task." It need hardly be said that the lists are still open.

John Adams, the Statesman of the American Revolution. With other Essays and Addresses, historical and literary. By Mellen Chamberlain. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1898. Pp. 476.

Under the editorial supervision of Mr. Lindsay Swift, Judge Chamberlain has here brought together a selection of the more important papers and addresses prepared by him for various occasions during the last fifteen years. With two or three exceptions, they deal with subjects in American history and biography, in both of which fields the author has long been a recognized authority. While they by no means represent the sum of Judge Chamberlain's work as a scholar, they serve to exhibit his principles and methods, and his views, of the proper standpoint from which to interpret American history. That some of his most original conclusions no longer seem novel, is of itself a gratifying indication of their acceptance by thoughtful students who have gleaned after him.

The initial essay on John Adams, the longest and most important piece in the volume, is a thorough-going examination of the

causes of the Revolution and of the relation of Adams to the constitutional side of the struggle. No writer has set forth more clearly or instructively the nature of the influences which brought about the separation of the American colonies from the mother country. In Judge Chamberlain's view, writs of assistance, the Stamp Act, and the various revenue and coercive measures of Great Britain were the occasion, rather than the cause, of the Revolution. They were irritating and, from the standpoint of political expediency, indefensible, but they only hastened a crisis which, even without them, could not have been permanently averted. The causes of the Revolution lay rather in the inherent temper of the colonists, their English love of freedom and self-government, their jealousy of commercial interference, and their increasing reliance upon their charters as the real constitutional foundation of their government and their political rights. It was the peculiar merit of John Adams that he was one of the first to see the constitutional significance of the contest, and that he led Massachusetts, and through her the other colonies, to a more or less discerning acceptance of his ideas.

In the paper on the "Constitutional Relations of the American Colonies to the English Government," Judge Chamberlain goes over this ground again, with especial reference to the constitutional aspects of the case as presented by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence. While admitting Jefferson's knowledge of the English Constitution as well as his sincerity of purpose, Judge Chamberlain is forced to conclude that, from a constitutional standpoint, the famous indictment of George the Third can hardly stand; on the contrary, "had the King been arraigned on these charges before a court of justice, undoubtedly by advice of counsel he would have demurred to the bill" (p. 155). It was the use of constitutional powers to the injury, and especially to the economic injury, of the colonies that formed the impregnable strength of the American position, and

indicated for the colonists their true line of protest; whereas Jefferson, driven to construct a political manifesto which should be at the same time in accord with admitted constitutional principles, missed the point, and framed an indictment of the King which is "perhaps the only one ever drawn in which the real offence is not even mentioned, and where an innocent party was vicariously substituted for the real offender" (p. 158).

We can do no more than to refer very briefly to some of the remaining papers. The one on the "Genesis of the Massachusetts Town," originally part of a formal discussion before the Massachusetts Historical Society, is a vigorous criticism of the theory which connects the town with the contemporary English parish, or ascribes to it such origin and status as are set forth in Alexander Johnston's History of Connecticut. In Judge Chamberlain's view, the origin of the unit of local government in New England is to be sought neither in the forests of Germany nor in the ecclesiastical system of England, but primarily in the special conditions and needs of a new self-governing community in a new world. The Germanic theory in general, and Johnston's application of it in particular, are subjected to further destructive criticism in the "Remarks on the New Historical School," read before the same society at a somewhat earlier date. The paper on "The Authentication of the Declaration of Independence," in itself a model of painstaking and exhaustive research, may be regarded as the final word in the controversy over the date on which the Declaration was signed.

The essential characteristic of Judge Chamberlain's historical method is his reliance upon primary sources of information. His conclusions are invariably the result of exhaustive study of original and contemporary material. He himself confesses, in one or two notes to the present volume, that his, for the moment, neglect of secondary writers has sometimes caused him unnecessary labor, and led him into doing for himself work already satisfactorily done by

others. But the invariable citation of chapter and verse in support of his statements, and the constant evidence that his knowledge is based upon first-hand research, give to his historical writings a high and permanent value, and invest his conclusions with a soundness, a freshness, and a defensibility to which a less exacting worker could not attain. Add to this power of intelligent and patient labor the mental equipment of a trained lawyer and experienced judge, and a clear and forcible style, and we have a scholar whose work, though not large in amount, combines with singular success industrious search for facts, skill and fairness in weighing evidence, and attractiveness of literary form. Of such qualities American historical scholarship can never have too much.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

- Barry, Rev. William. The Two Standards. Century Co. \$1.50.
 Cajori, Prof. Florian. A History of Physics. Macmillan. \$1.60.
 Duff, J. D. Fourteen Satires of Juvenal. Cambridge (Eng.): University Press; New York: Macmillan. \$1.50.
 Gielow, Martha S. Mammy's Reminiscences, and Other Sketches. A. S. Barnes & Co. \$1.
 Hardy, Thomas. Wessex Poems, and Other Verses. Harpers. \$1.75.
 Jones, H. A. The Physician: A Play. Macmillan. 75c.
 Kennan, George. Campaigning in Cuba. Century Co. \$1.50.
 Ladd, Prof. G. T. Essays on the Higher Education. Scribner. \$1.
 Moulton, Prof. H. G. Bible Stories (Old Testament). [Modern Reader's Bible.] Macmillan.
 Nichols, A. B. Lessing's Minna von Barnheim. Henry Holt & Co. 60c.
 Oxenham, John. God's Prisoner. Henry Holt & Co.
 Paulin, Ivan. Thoughts. Grafton, Mass.: The Author.
 Paston, George. A Writer of Books. Appletons. \$1.
 Raimond, C. E. The Open Question. Harpers. \$1.50.
 Ross, Albert. That Gay Deceiver. G. W. Dillingham Co. \$1.
 Sigbee, Capt. C. D. The Maine. An Account of her Destruction in Havana Harbor. Century Co. \$1.50.
 Smith, Rev. Hobart. The Garrison Church. Baltimore Co., Md. New York: James Pott & Co.
 Smyth, Prof. A. H. Pope's Iliad of Homer. Books I., VI., XXII., XXIV. Macmillan. 25c.
 Spencer, Rev. F. A. The Four Gospels. A New Translation. W. H. Young & Co. \$1.50.
 The Autobiography of Charles H. Spurgeon. Vol. II. 1854-1860. F. H. Revell Co. \$2.50.
 "The Georgian Period." Measured Drawings of Colonial Work. Parts II. and III. American Architect and Building News Co.
 The Judgment of Socrates. A Translation from Plato. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 15c.
 Wright, Prof. W. Grammar of the Arabic Language: 8d ed. revised. Vol. II. Cambridge (Eng.): University Press; New York: Macmillan.

"Literature," says of Prof. Beers' "English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century" (Henry Holt & Co., New York. 12mo. \$2): "The author presents in himself a rare combination—a scholarly and historical knowledge, which places at his command a seemingly inexhaustible fund of literary data, and a keen and appreciative literary taste. The style of the book is happily easy, and a certain characteristic humor runs pleasantly between many of the lines. . . . The author is always interesting and lucid, his analyses are clear and profound, and his lighter details of literary happenings are often delightfully amusing. The book is a notable example of the best type of unpedantic literary scholarship."

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1899.

The Week.

The difference between the McEnery resolution adopted by the Senate on Tuesday and the substitute offered by Mr. Bacon of Georgia is not great. Both protest that the United States has no intention of permanently annexing the Philippines, and both look to the ultimate self-government of the islanders. Mr. Bacon, however, contemplates the erection under our control (if not by our initiative) of "a stable and independent government," whereupon we are to "leave the government and control of the islands to their people." Mr. McEnery would give the islands "a government suitable to the wants and conditions of the inhabitants," as a preparation for self-government, and "in due time make such disposition" of them "as will best promote the interests of the citizens of the United States and the inhabitants of said islands" (mark the order). In practice, it will be found that we shall maintain our sovereignty as long as we please, in default of a fixed policy to withdraw at once and let the Filipinos begin the art of self-government as soon as our last ship and our last soldier leave the scene. There was a tie vote on the Bacon substitute, and the Vice-President turned the scale against it—a fact of some significance in case anything should happen to Mr. McKinley before the expiration of his term.

The President has done now what he should have done five or six months ago, appointed a court of inquiry to go to the bottom of the army scandals. This is the only course authorized by law and as such competent to bring out the truth, as was repeatedly pointed out last September, when the President was considering the matter. He refused to follow it then, and adopted the expedient of a commission which had no authority to compel the attendance of witnesses or to administer oaths, and which, from the time of its selection to the present moment, has commanded the confidence of nobody. Its report was so thoroughly discredited in advance that the President himself was compelled to confess its worthlessness by appointing a new investigating body to do what this one has failed to do. What he has really done is to authorize a genuine inquiry to decide whether or not his bogus inquiry has suppressed the truth. That the new body has the ability and character, as well as the power to do this, nobody will question. Its members, Gen. Wade, Gen. Davis, and Col. Gillespie, are as well fitted for the task as any officers in the

army, and we shall know precisely what the facts about embalmed beef are when they have finished their work. That the conclusion will be reached very soon is a safe calculation, for Gen. Miles, upon whom the burden of proof rests, has his evidence well in hand and will be able to present it without delay.

The Judge-Advocate had in his pocket at the Eagan trial, and should, according to army usage, have made a specification of it, a letter written in the previous July to a citizen of New York, which showed clearly that Eagan's "paper" on Gen. Miles was not the result of a sudden impulse, but was his habitual mode of meeting remonstrances on his official conduct. The reason why this letter was not produced, the historian will say, was revealed by the nature of the defence, which was insanity or hysterical excitement, induced by newspaper denunciation, for charges which Gen. Miles's subsequent revelations proved to be true, but which, at the period of the trial, it seemed possible to cover by a furious air of injured innocence. This defence again furnished the court-martial with the excuse for the recommendation to "clemency" for one of the most heinous of military offences. What will seem to the historian to clinch the proof of a "put-up job" is the President's dealing with the sentence of dismissal. Eagan was just six years from retirement by age, so his sentence is made to run, "suspension from rank and duty" for just six years, with admission to the retired list afterwards. In fact, he loses nothing by his crime and conviction, except his allowances for forage (about \$75 a month), and he distinctly gains by relief from duty at his age. He will for six years lead a life of leisure on full pay. This disposition of the case, which we fully expected, will explain to a large portion of the public the reason why Alger cannot be got rid of, and do much to confirm in many minds the belief in the existence of the McKinley "Syndicate." But he is such a good man.

The list of deaths among our troops in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines during January, one of the healthiest months of the tropical year, contains seventy-one names, including those of a colonel, two captains, and a first lieutenant. It is probably the shortest which we can expect to have, until our troops are withdrawn in large numbers, since, aside from the warfare in the East, smallpox in Manila and yellow fever, already reported in Cuba, must be counted on to swell the roster of the victims of imperialism from day to day as the warm and rainy seasons approach. Al-

ready there are rumors that all the American troops must be out of Cuba by April 1 if serious losses are to be prevented, and the friends of the volunteers are naturally growing more and more eager for their return. To them it may be some slight consolation to realize that our troops are in very much better situations than is, for instance, the French army in Madagascar. Its death-rate per hundred is from seventy to seventy-five. French soldiers who survive return home prematurely aged and broken, bringing back in their systems the poison of the swamp fevers, which can almost never be eradicated.

Another matter bearing upon the question of health as related to the national Government still more imperatively demands action before the session expires a fortnight hence. The danger of yellow fever in the United States during the coming summer is greater than we have ever before encountered, because of the greater freedom of intercourse between Cuba and our Southern States since the surrender of the island by Spain. The ablest and coolest authorities are most impressive in their warnings. Dr. George R. Fowler of Brooklyn, who has been chief surgeon and medical inspector on Gen. Lee's staff since last July, has just returned from Havana, and he expresses the gravest apprehensions as to the danger of a terrible outbreak of yellow fever after the rainy season sets in. There is every reason to expect the appearance of the disease in our Southern States, and unless Congress takes early action we shall see the usual quarantine wars between the different commonwealths in the most aggravated form ever known. The Southern press is already sounding a note of alarm. The New Orleans *Times-Democrat* says that this warfare "has been going on for years, and the situation has become steadily worse instead of better, the boards getting further away and denouncing each other more savagely"; that "the story of these interstate agreements is one of failure, of loss and injury to the South, of stagnation of business, distrust, and even hostility"; and that, "if our quarantine affairs are going to be administered in this way, if there is to be a continuous struggle between the several boards, then the South has one of the greatest perils to face it has ever known." The *Times-Democrat* closes by declaring that "there is but one escape—placing the quarantine in the hands of the federal Government."

English newspapers do not understand American squeamishness over pushing civilization forward in the Philippines

on a powder cart. We are young and tender imperialists. The English are hardened to the business; they know all about "punitive expeditions," and are blasé in fighting now the Matabele, now the Afridi, shelling palaces in Zanzibar in order to settle the royal succession to their taste, and cramming the Bible and cotton goods down the throats of recalcitrant natives. In time we may hope to attain this high imperialistic level, but as yet we have a few dregs of republican conscience left to trouble us. Americans have queer and unpleasant sensations when they see their soldiers mowing down natives armed with bows and arrows. All accounts agree that one detachment of the insurgent army, the Ygorotes, were so armed, and that they were put forward against Krag-Jørgensens and Maxims. Of course, our troops had to cut them down like wild beasts as they did, but there must have been many an American soldier to exclaim, when all was over, as English soldiers cried out at Omdurman, "This is not a battle, but an execution."

For the rest, the military dispositions of Gen. Otis and the conduct of the troops in action appear to have been deserving of all praise. The affair was undoubtedly far more serious than the first dispatches indicated. In fact, the test of the stuff of our soldiers was more severe than that the English army had to undergo in fighting the Dervishes. The Khalifa ordered his men out in broad daylight to charge the English on a perfectly open plain. Few of them ever got within half a mile of the English lines, the mass being slaughtered by the Lee-Metfords at a range of nearly two miles. The attack of the Filipinos was by night. In the morning our troops had to charge through jungles and rice-fields against an enemy intrenched and occupying fortified villages. A portion of the native army, as Gen. Otis reports, had arms of precision and quick-firing guns. They knew the ground, which was necessarily strange to our men. Under all these circumstances, we say, the task of our army before Manila was harder than Kitchener's before Omdurman. If the Dervishes had stayed in their works, defended by Krupp guns, and awaited assault, instead of rushing out to seek Paradise by the shortest route, the two cases would have been more nearly parallel. Of course, the critical feature of Kitchener's campaign was that he was operating at such an enormous distance from his base. A serious reverse would have meant annihilation such as befell Hicks Pasha. Gen. Otis had no such possibility of crushing disaster to disturb him.

The selection of Mr. Samuel J. Barrows to succeed the late John Russell Young as head of the National Library is probably a gain for the service.

It is, however, a concession to two mischievous pretensions—the one, the old spoils doctrine that public office is a proper refuge for politicians who have lost a job (as Mr. Barrows, whose Massachusetts constituency declined to reelect him to the House of Representatives last November); the other, that journalists (as in Mr. Young's case) have the first claim to the most important librarianship in the country. Mr. Barrows's personal appeal to Senators to look with favor on his nomination is another unpleasant feature in connection with the filling of a post which should seek the man. However, in point of scholarship, culture, and experience in library affairs, Mr. Barrows is much better equipped than his predecessor. His Congressional career has disappointed his best friends; may he favorably disappoint in his new career those who object to the principle of his selection.

Secretary Long has put an end to the Sampson-Schley controversy for all time. In a letter to the Senate giving the reasons which induced the President to promote Sampson over Schley, he sets forth at great length in chronological order all the official data bearing upon the campaign against Cervera's fleet, with a result which is very disastrous to Schley and extremely creditable to Sampson. He shows that Schley deliberately disobeyed orders from the Navy Department, leaving the entrance to Santiago virtually unguarded for two days, there being during that period nothing to obstruct Cervera's escape, had he attempted it, save the unarmored scout *St. Paul*. He shows also that Schley's excuse for disobeying orders, that he was short of coal, was not true, since he had on board the *Brooklyn* at the time between ten and twelve days' coal supply, and even more on the other vessels of his fleet. He shows also that in the great battle of July 3, in which Cervera's fleet was destroyed, each commanding officer proceeded on standing orders laid down by Sampson, and that from first to last he was the guiding genius of the whole affair. He shows finally that Admiral Sampson, in spite of Schley's disobedience of orders, magnanimously recommended that he should be promoted because of his services in the battle of July 3.

A correspondent sends us a document to which we venture to call the attention of the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Howell, whose interesting explanation of the personal-baggage-inspection regulation we comment upon elsewhere. The proposal to restrict to \$100 worth the amount of wearing apparel and personal effects which an American returning from Europe could bring in free, was first made in 1892. A bill making that restriction was before Con-

gress, and the news of it reached an American in Paris. He wrote to the Committee on Ways and Means at Washington for information about the bill, and received from its clerk, Ruter W. Springer, a reply giving the text of the bill, and saying in explanation of it:

"You will see by the opening words of the bill that 'the wearing apparel and other personal effects (not merchandise) in actual use of residents of the United States returning thereto from foreign countries' is that to which the bill refers, and European citizens visiting this country will not be inconvenienced in the slightest degree. *The bill is intended to protect domestic tailors and other laboring men who produce what may be generically known as personal effects; and it is thought will not affect foreign commerce to any great extent. The bill has been petitioned for by 25,000 tailors and over 1,500 other persons.*"

That puts the measure on its proper ground. It is not designed to produce revenue, but to "protect domestic tailors," and was petitioned for by 25,000 tailors. Who got up these petitions? Do Shayne the furrier and his associate tailors know anything about them?

Quay continues in that most unfortunate of rôles—a boss without prestige. On Thursday he suffered another serious setback at Harrisburg. He was afraid to stand trial in the traditional way, with the public prosecutor enjoying the immemorial right of securing a jury of men who seemed worthy of trust. So he resolved to have the Legislature abolish the old rule by passing a law which would prevent the District Attorney from "standing aside" men summoned on a jury panel whom there was good reason to suspect. It was the most impudent proposition that could be imagined, and success was the only thing that could redeem it from contempt. But the scheme has failed, for a majority of the House postponed further consideration of the matter until March 21, while the trial of Quay is set for February 27. The reverse is not only disastrous to the boss in itself, but still more so in its moral effect, since it greatly encourages his opponents and disheartens his supporters.

A copy of the interesting circular which Mr. Croker has sent to all the members of his club, asking them to increase its membership, has been forwarded to this office. It is an extremely interesting document in many ways, but in none more so than that in which the great man reveals himself frankly as the guiding genius of the institution. He is not its President, or Secretary, or any other official. He signs himself modestly as "your fellow-member, Richard Croker"; but that he is the real boss of the club, that everything it does or thinks proceeds from him as absolutely as if the letters "D. C." on the lamp-posts of its front door actually stood for Dick Croker, is visible in every line of the circular. "There is," he says, "a

first mortgage on our house, amounting to \$125,000, which it now becomes our duty to pay off. If we all act together it need not be difficult to do this. With 2,250 names upon our roll, a simple calculation shows that, if each member brings in one new member, the initiation fees thus derived will enable the club to pay off all its debt and have a handsome surplus. That we can do this during the current year, if we make up our minds to it, admits of no doubt." Why not require every man on the city pay-rolls who has had his salary raised to join at once? That would settle the matter in a jiffy. Possibly this order has been issued already, in a secret circular. It would hardly be put on club paper as this one has been.

The proposed police bill which has been prepared by Mr. Elihu Root, after repeated conferences with the Governor and the leaders of the Republican organization, is by all odds the best measure of the kind that has been drawn in many years. It embodies two fundamental principles that we have advocated repeatedly as the basis of real reform in police administration—a single head or Commission, and complete separation of the Bureau of Elections from the Police Department. On the latter point there is no longer room for argument. All the teachings of experience favor it, and we should have had it provided in our new charter had the framers of that instrument been less under the influence of partisan Republican considerations. The experience which we have had since Tammany got possession again, has convinced even machine Republicans that a bi-partisan board is of no use to them. They have had two Republican members of the board since Van Wyck came in, and the board is as thoroughly Tammanyite as if all four members belonged to that organization. All opposition to a single head seems to have been overcome, therefore, and that change seems to be generally conceded.

It is to be accompanied, of course, by the establishment of an entirely independent Bureau of Elections, with a bi-partisan board of four members in control, to be appointed by the Mayor, on condition that "no more than two shall be adherents of the same political party." A bi-partisan election board is a necessity in order that the interests of no single party may dominate its action; but so long as we have a Tammany Mayor, we shall be in danger of having some such board as our present Police Board. Two Tammanyite Republicans may be assigned to sit with two Tammany Democrats, and there will be no redress. The phraseology used in the present bill is the only one which will not conflict with the Constitution. Under the phraseology the Mayor might, if he chose, appoint

two Tammany men, a Socialist and a Prohibitionist, leaving the Republicans out altogether, and his act would be legal. We must in this, as in all other matters, depend for good government solely upon getting a good man for Mayor.

The proposition of the State Board of Tax Commissioners that the Legislature shall in some way tax the deposits in the savings banks of this State will meet with no sympathy either from intelligent students of the problem of taxation or from the people at large. If all personal property were bearing a just share of the burden of taxation, something might be said in favor of bringing these deposits into the tax list. But when it is notorious that the assessors discover but a small proportion of the personal property in the State in individual hands, there is something very like injustice in the proposal to place a tax on the accumulations of people of small means because it is possible to do this when they are placed in banks, which have to make reports of their finances to a State department. Surely, the mere fact that a poor man's money can be found and taxed, is no reason why the force of the law should be brought to bear against it. The reasoning of the Commissioners seems very defective. They start out with the declaration that a tax of one-fourth of 1 per cent. would bring about \$2,000,000 into the State Treasury, and without reducing the interest paid to the depositors. Aware, apparently, that there is something wrong in the idea that such a sum as this can be taken from any class of people without their knowing it, they next assume that it would reduce the rate of interest, but declare that this would not amount to more than one dollar a year for each depositor. The savings bank is acknowledged to perform too valuable a service for the State to have its operation hampered in this petty way. If the Commissioners would study the recommendations of such experts as the late David A. Wells, they would learn how to make personal property bear a just share of the tax burden without inflicting injustice or individual injury.

Exactly what the "open door" means and implies has been a subject of vigorous debate ever since the phrase was invented. But Lord Charles Beresford, just arrived at San Francisco after his semi-official visit to China, imports a decidedly novel element into the definition. He gravely assures an interviewer that the open door in China involves a unified Chinese army, officered by Europeans, and armed and equipped according to the best modern standards. Precisely what relation this new Chinese army will have to the open door is not made clear; perhaps its duty will be to shoot down any

man who attempts to shut it. Lord Beresford is not explicit on this point, partly, we suspect, because if he tried to explain his real thought, it would be seen that he has in mind the possible use of Chinese soldiers against his dearest foe, the Russians. But it will be a great comfort to the statesmen of China to be told that the control of their army is taken from them in the mystic name of the open door.

Mr. Rhodes has consented to defer his Cape-to-Cairo railway scheme a little. He will take a guarantee for one more section of it, and await developments. Developments of an unpleasant kind, however, appear in the London *Truth*, which has a terrific exposure of faults and follies and scandals in the construction of the line from Mombasa to Uganda. Parliament had voted \$15,000,000 for this section, but *Truth* brings figures to show that it will cost nearer \$50,000,000, and can never be made to pay. It also adduces many instances of incompetence and extravagance of which the select Foreign Office committee in charge of operations has been guilty. Incidentally it is mentioned that already 5,000 coolies have lost their lives in the construction of the line. A paper which, like *Truth*, makes a specialty of exposures, must expect to have its charges rather generously "written off." But the margin left is serious enough, and would seem to warrant, if not to compel, a parliamentary investigation before another penny is voted.

Mr. Balfour's proposal to endow a Roman Catholic university at Dublin comes at an unlucky moment. With the anti-Ritualist agitation rising higher every day, it is not probable that Parliament will even give a hearing to the project. Of course, Mr. Balfour's plan involves erecting a great Protestant university at Belfast at the same time, but though this seems a perfectly fair equivalent to him, it will not to the aroused English evangelicals. All told, it is a singular and embarrassing position which Mr. Balfour now holds as leader of the House, in presence of spreading and violent theological passions. An apostle of toleration and a devotee of sweetness and light, how can he possibly take sides in the controversy? Yet how can he hold the balance level? His letter explaining his plans for the Irish universities breathes of benevolence, and abounds in the subtle distinctions so dear to his intellect. But, under the circumstances, it gives him an air of a detached philosopher innocently entering Donnybrook Fair. The Catholics will have none of him because he does not go far enough to suit them. The Protestants will rage at him because he goes much too far to suit them. It looks as if the mild metaphysician were not cut out for such shillelah-work.

THE WARNING.

Primarily, we suppose, Mr. Cannon's bold and startling speech in the House on Thursday was Speaker Reed's way of saying "Check!" to the Hanna-McKinley Syndicate gamblers. They, in their desperation, have been challenging the power of the Speaker and the Republican leaders in the House to keep down appropriations. What shall it profit a Syndicate to hold the Government in trust unless it can exercise the right to lay taxes and vote appropriations? Hence the fury of Hanna and his fellow-speculators when informed that Mr. Reed was opposed to their schemes. They never heard of such impudence. But they would teach the Speaker who was master. They would pin an appropriation of \$115,000,000 for their pet Nicaragua Canal bill to the river and harbor bill, and ask Mr. Reed what he was going to do about it. Well, what he did was to put up his lieutenant, Chairman Cannon, to make a statement of the financial situation of the Government; to warn the party and the House and the country of the catastrophe to which the imperialistic raids on the Treasury would swiftly carry us.

Mr. Cannon has always clung to the old-fashioned notion of the responsibility of a chairman of the committee on appropriations. He bluntly declares that his chief function is not to make appropriations, but to prevent their being made. In his way, he thus plays the part of a finance minister or Chancellor of the Exchequer in countries which have a rational system of public finance—ruthlessly killing private appropriation bills, and holding down the sums voted for the public service to the lowest possible figure. This is the main business of a government confronting a popular legislature. But, in this case, the rest of the Government have gone over to the raiders. From President down (or up), they have endorsed and pushed ship subsidies, canal extravaganzas, and every form of surplus-dissipating bill. Mr. Cannon stands alone. But his position, if unique, is also highly honorable and useful, and his courage in taking the country into his confidence will not lose its reward. If not immediately, then in the near future, Americans will have grateful words for a man who stood up in the midst of an imperialistic orgy of squanderers of the public money, and told the truth and called a halt.

Mr. Cannon's first flashlight on the gulf which yawns before the Treasury was his proof that the deficit at the end of the current fiscal year will be \$159,000,000. This he figured on the basis of the actual monthly deficit for the portion of the year already elapsed. Secretary Gage had estimated the deficit at \$112,000,000, but the difference only showed how expenditures had gone on swelling beyond all expectation. Even

this huge deficit of \$159,000,000 did not reckon in the \$20,000,000 to be paid to Spain for kindly selling us an insurrection, nor the \$25,000,000 or upwards of claims of our citizens against Spain which, under the treaty, our own Treasury assumes. Mr. Cannon next paid his respects to the boasted surplus, and showed that it would be practically exhausted by July, 1900. At the end of the present year there would be an available surplus of \$108,000,000. But even Mr. Gage had admitted a deficit of \$31,000,000 for the year 1899-1900, and that, of course, was on the basis of existing law. But already the appropriations for the army and navy had added millions to the estimates; and the total upshot would be that in less than two years we should have to issue more bonds or levy fresh taxes. This would be truly an awful thing for the Advance Agent of Prosperity, just on the eve of his second campaign.

"Where do we come in, then?" faintly asked the champions of the Nicaragua Canal bill and ship subsidies. "You do not come in at all," was Mr. Cannon's rough answer. "You are out in the cold and must stay there." Surely they must, unless we mean to rush to embrace bankruptcy. When the severest economy is necessary to pay ordinary expenses, with what face can we appropriate \$115,000,000, as the Hepburn bill proposes to do, to dig a canal in foreign territory? Even this sum is a mere first guess at the cost of the canal, which is certain to demand \$200,000,000 if built in the wasteful way laid down in the bill. And as for pure gratuities to Hanna and his fellow-subsidy-seekers, what figure in the election would a party cut which had flung \$50,000,000 into their eager hands and then had to issue bonds to foot the bill? The Hanna-Payne subsidy bill was truthfully described by the minority report as "one that was prepared and brought to Congress by a voluntary committee of ship-owners and ship-builders, representing the gentlemen who will receive the bounty which the bill proposes to give from the public Treasury." It will at least require an extra session, after Mr. Cannon's speech, for that burglarious crew to get inside the vaults.

Mr. Cannon's fearless words, moreover, go beyond the particular matter of the danger in our financial situation, or the iniquity of any special scheme of public thievery, and strike, even if unintentionally, at the great peril of reckless imperialism. As John Morley said the other day, an essential article of the imperialistic creed is belief in Fortunatus's purse. The true expansionist flings public money about as if there were no end to the national resources. Mr. Cannon has performed the great public service of presenting his little imperialistic bill. He shows that, in spite of war taxes and war loans, the last dollar in the Treas-

ury is in sight. There must be new imperial taxes and imperial loans if we are to go ahead in our present lavish way. This is a very disagreeable revelation, but it is the one that always comes to man or nation that has run a rake's progress.

THE DISCREDITED COMMISSION.

It is safe to say that there will be no general demand for copies of the full report of President McKinley's investigating commission. The abstract given to the press on Monday will quite suffice. One needs to read only that to see that the report is nine-tenths whitewash to one-tenth apology. The plain truth is, that the Commission lost public confidence before it began its work, and that it has since passed through stage after stage of discredit, until finally it had to suffer the awful blow of having its creator disown and repudiate it, as respects the chief part of its inquiries, by appointing a competent court of inquiry to do what it had so signally failed to do. How can the President expect the public to pay any respect to his commission's report on the great beef scandal when he himself has practically shown that its conclusions on this subject are not worth the paper they were written on?

The whole course of the affair, from the appointment of the Commission to its rather pitiful finale, has been one long demonstration of how not to do it. When Mr. McKinley set about the business, there was much firm talk about his stern determination to secure a commission which would completely command public respect and trust, and which would push the inquiry to the bitter end without fear or favor. Some of the eminent men first named seemed to promise such a result. But it was an ominous thing that one after another of them declined to serve. The significant thing was, that they did it in almost every case after conferring with the President. This does not necessarily imply that they found him half-hearted in the business. It does surely indicate, however, that they found the proposed method of inquiry weak and vicious in method, and that they were unwilling to have their names associated with what was bound to be a fiasco. It was certain to be that, in any hands; in the hands of the men who finally consented to serve, failure was foredoomed. More than one of them was an avowed partisan of War Department methods; others were open to the suspicion of being prejudiced by personal favors received; the rest carried little or no weight. The result was inevitable. A dawdling inquiry, without power to compel the presence of witnesses—from which, in fact, witnesses shrank as from a prejudiced tribunal—has issued in a report in which the hair has grown in the shaving, so portentously slow has it been in preparation, and which fell flat

as a document in which the public will take but the most languid interest.

But if the Commissioners show themselves feeble and almost unable to make up their minds in nearly all matters else, in one particular they are suspiciously emphatic and make their animus clear. One great culprit they have found, and he is Gen. Miles. It would be laughable, if it were not so despicable, to note how they go out of their way to attack him. In the part of the report relating to the military camps, for example, there is a glaring instance of their partiality. Some of the sites they report to have been badly chosen. Chickamauga was bad, Camp Alger was bad, Tampa was bad, Miami was bad. Yet the only instance in which they specify an officer responsible for locating a camp in unfavorable surroundings is the case of Miami. Why was this? Because that was recommended by Gen. Miles. No mention was thought necessary of the man who selected Camp Alger or Chickamauga or Fernandina; but wherever they saw Gen. Miles's head they showed their eagerness to hit it. So they tacked on his name, leaving the others to be brilliant by absence.

It is, however, when the Commission approach the beef scandals that they show most clearly their own incapacity and *parti pris*. They begin by severely condemning Gen. Miles for not having run to the President with his first suspicion that the meat was bad. Instead of waiting, as he did, to get complete reports, he should have gone off on the first hint he had that the rations were not what they should be. As a military procedure we do not comment upon this; but that it was common sense seems clear to the layman. Then the Commission triumphantly fish out of the War Department records a recommendation by Gen. Miles in 1897 of "canned meats put up by reputable firms" as an army ration in Alaska, and seem to think, in their fuddled way, that this is a complete proof that putrid meat was a good thing for the soldiers to eat in Cuba and Porto Rico. Then they victoriously present proof that the refrigerated meat was, on the whole, good, when the main charge is that the canned roast beef, so called, was bad. But really it is not necessary to dwell upon this part of the report. The President himself has made the sufficient comment upon it by throwing the whole of it into the waste-basket, and appointing a military court to do thoroughly the work which these civilians have hopelessly bungled.

The really valuable part of the report is in danger of being overlooked in the mass of irrelevant or prejudiced matter. This is the testimony of the Commissioners, unwilling witnesses as they are, to the essentially faulty organization of the army in general and the War Department in particular. They point out how the various departments were con-

tinually at cross-purposes with each other and with their official head. The result was delay and floundering. When these Commissioners, who certainly are entitled to pose as authorities on floundering, assert this of the operations of our military authorities, under the present vicious system of organization, it may be taken to be true. Thus at whatever door we go in, we always come out with the conclusion that the army is badly organized, that it works under antiquated and conflicting laws, and that there is a crying need of adopting new methods, so as to put our army into line with the teachings of experience and the practice of the leading military countries. This part of the Commission's report is well worth the attention of the Senate in its consideration of the army bill.

BAGGAGE EXPLANATIONS.

The Assistant Secretary of the Treasury repudiates with something approaching to heat the charge that the Treasury has been "doing anything at the dictation of this or that merchant"; and asserts that what it has been trying to do is its duty in "enforcing the law in the manner most promotive of good morals in its own service." Well, how is it that what is called "The Merchants' and Manufacturers' Board of Trade," officered by two tailors, one tailor-trimnings dealer, one shirtmaker, one auctioneer, one shoe-dealer, one dealer in dressmakers' supplies, and one furrier, have been boasting through these officers for two years that it was they who had got the regulations changed; that their design was to stop people from buying things in Europe which these dealers had for sale in New York? How was it that they were allowed to put on the wharf detectives, in their own pay, to watch the officers of the Government and see that they did their duty? This sort of thing has been going on openly for two years, without denial or remonstrance on behalf of the Treasury. Was the assumption surprising that the passengers were being harassed in the interest of private dealers? Has Shayne been telling falsehoods about the operations of the Treasury, or has he not? If he has, why has he been allowed to do it so long without contradiction or remonstrance?

The Assistant Secretary's explanation, that the regulations, far from being intended to bring profits to the tailors, were meant to enforce the law in the manner "most promotive of good morals in our own service," is interesting. But in all services we have ever heard of in which "good morals" are of any importance whatever, there are only two modes of promoting them. One is to employ a high class of men; the other is to diminish the temptations to do wrong, and increase the rewards to do right.

This means, being interpreted, the exaction of high qualifications from persons desirous of entering the service, and the giving them, when in, fixity of tenure and high pay. This question has been so much discussed, both here and in England, and has been so thoroughly tested in every civilized country, that we feel quite warranted in saying that all doubt on the subject is ended. When a man complains now of the badness of his service, we prescribe these remedies with as much confidence as we have in prescribing a blue pill for inactivity of the liver. To us the Assistant Secretary's remedy, the tormenting of the public with whom the officers come in contact, is extremely odd. All civilized Powers have precisely the same difficulty to contend with that we have. They all collect a large portion of their revenue, if not all, by duties on imports. They all have to contend with the dishonesty, in one form or other, of the inspectors on the wharf or on the frontier. They all try to meet it by sharp punishment of the officer who is employed to prevent smuggling, and who yet allows it to be done by any class of men, whether passengers by foreign steamers or any other. America is the only one, as far as we know, which makes the passenger or traveller a public servant *pro hac vice*, and proceeds to make him assist, by a process of annoyance, in collecting duties on his own baggage, which the Government officer, through either corruption or negligence, fails to do; at the very moment, too, when the passenger will be most unwilling to undertake any such task.

This seems a startling statement; but is it not correct? The Government collects the bulk of its revenue through customs duties, and employs a large host of officials to collect them on all goods coming over the frontier. It has power to employ as many as are necessary, and professes to do so. It is the duty of these men to search the baggage of every passenger. They fail in their duty, and the experience of human nature tells us that it is for one of three reasons. Either their original character was bad, or they are not paid well enough, or the temptation to smuggle is made too strong by the amount of the duties. The Government makes no effort to improve the character of the officers, or to raise their pay, or to diminish the temptation to smuggle by lowering the duties. The only thing it can think of is to annoy the passengers to such a degree that they will hesitate either to travel or to buy clothing or other small articles abroad.

The way this remedy is applied is almost comic. When one of the great steamers arrives with five hundred or one thousand passengers on board, all are obliged to sit in rows, waiting for hours to make sworn "declarations" before a small number of officers, con-

cerning a number of things they may not have seen for at least a fortnight, and which they must then produce, no matter how small in value. If they fail to enumerate the various articles in their baggage, no matter how trifling, and the officer finds them afterwards, it may be presumed that the passenger's declaration was a perjury, and the officer may report him to his superior as a person who has sought to defraud the revenue. His only recourse is to throw himself on the mercy of the Deputy Surveyor. To him is submitted the question, practically without appeal, first whether the "declaration" is or is not a perjury; whether the swearer meant to smuggle, and whether he has told the truth about the price of the article. The inspector who examines the baggage and the Deputy Surveyor then have the passenger in their hands. One of them may accuse him of lying and smuggling, throw all his clothing out on the wharf, detain him for hours, and insult him grossly.

The object of all this is to make the passenger submit to great humiliation in order to relieve the Treasury from the necessity of employing more inspectors, and paying them such salary as would deliver them from temptation. Nothing can be more amusing than the plea of the Assistant Secretary that the Government treats passengers leniently in taking "forgetfulness," "absorption of mind," or "business worry," as an excuse for omissions in making the declaration. The Treasury theory evidently is, that the traveller is a person who is caught in something *flagrante delicto*—that is, when he ought to be collecting revenue for the Government, he allows his thoughts to wander off to his children or his own wretched affairs. It evidently considers him very kindly treated when he is not worked harder, and does not have his property confiscated oftener for absent-mindedness.

The truth is, the whole affair has been greatly muddled. In the first place, the value, or rather the importance, of the passenger travel, from the revenue point of view, has been grossly exaggerated. Dingley knew so little about it that he allowed himself to be persuaded by the New York tailors and dressmakers that it could be made worth ten million dollars a year to the Government. It is not worth, as has been shown by experiment, \$200,000. It is not worth the civilized man's while to annoy and pursue his fellow-citizen that the state may get this sum. It is, to use the popular phrase, "a mean business." It is worth twenty times that sum to the United States to have its citizens see the world, mark, learn, and inwardly digest. We are the only people who try to frighten travellers away. The sight of a transatlantic steamer's saloon full of passengers, waiting to swear their "declarations," makes foreigners wonder and Americans blush. The source of the trouble is, that Ame-

ricans have not yet learned to distinguish between trade and travel as means of collecting revenue. Trade is profitable; travel is worth nothing. To have citizens move about and see is the main use of travel. To be persuaded by tailors to stay at home and buy their goods is a sorrowful experience which we certainly ought to avoid, now that we have begun to be conquerors. A nation that has killed four thousand heathen in one fight ought not to coop people up and make them swear about their sleeve-buttons and undershirts. What does the great Griggs say to this? Does he call this glory?

THE RIGHT OF MARINE CAPTURE.

Commander Stockton, President of the Naval War College at Newport, has an article in the February *North American Review*, in which he opposes the proposed surrender of the right to capture the merchant vessels of an enemy at sea. The article is written "at the suggestion of Capt. Mahan," and is intended to be a clear presentation of the subject "from the point of view of a belligerent," and of one "to whom the practice and principles of international law are not unknown." The article is a summary of all that can be said in favor of the right of marine capture.

Commander Stockton is, we think, quite right in assuming that the Declaration of Paris may now be regarded as an integral part of international law. The rules that the neutral flag protects the enemy's cargo, and that neutral goods are not subject to capture under an enemy's flag, have been adopted by the great majority of civilized states, and by us they have, in practice, been accepted as binding; but it should not be forgotten that if we are not yet among the signatories, it is because we alone among all governments objected that the Declaration did not go far enough, because it did not exempt all private property from capture.

Commander Stockton says at the outset that he is opposed to prize-money laws, and is in favor of their repeal, obviously because he perceives that until the prize-money laws are repealed, there will always be a sinister pecuniary interest affecting the settlement of the controversy. But, for ourselves, we believe that the prize-money laws are the life and soul of the system, and that without them, as we shall endeavor to show, the capture of merchant vessels would speedily lose its interest for everybody. Prize-money may be little or nothing to Commander Stockton, but his disclaimer does not affect the fact that the navy as a whole has a most powerful pecuniary interest in the maintenance of the practice. Indeed, as enemies of the practice, we are rather grateful to him for so separating the military argument in favor of marine cap-

ture from the baser motives on which the system is supported, that any one can readily see just how strong the former is.

To come at once to his argument: his first point he evidently thinks a novel one. Hitherto the advocates of marine capture have discussed it as a simple extension to the sea of the exemption of private property from seizure on land. Commander Stockton insists, on the other hand, that private property on land is not free from seizure. He says that the extent of the exemption on land is "over-estimated." This statement he supports by showing that, in the Franco-German war, the Germans took, by means of "systematic, but unrecompensed, requisitions and contributions," some six hundred millions of francs. He also insists upon the great damage to property done by the march and encampment of armies in the field. Besides this, there may be deliberately ordered devastation on land, as in Sherman's march to the sea. What has been given up on land is pillage, or the appropriation to the individual soldier, officer, and commander of the goods and chattels, and money and ornaments and statues and bills receivable of the citizens or subjects of the enemy.

This is true, but it is not new. It may all be found in such a well-known handbook as Lawrence's 'Principles of International Law.' What the advocates of exemption from capture at sea say is, not that there is no confiscation or devastation on land, but that the requisitions and damage are allowed only for purely military reasons—the subsistence of troops, the operations of war, or compensation for military losses—and not for the unmilitary and sordid purpose of enriching the soldier at the expense of a defenceless victim. Merchant-ships are captured altogether as plunder, and the proceeds are divided among the captors exactly as if they were pirates or buccanniers; the case does not differ from plunder on land, except that prize money is obtained through the adjudication of a court, and therefore is more decorous than the corresponding land operations.

The real question is, supposing prize money abolished—how much value would the right to capture merchant vessels still have, as a pure belligerent right? How far does it contribute to making the enemy sue for peace? Commander Stockton argues that it is a very valuable right for several reasons: (1) because many vessels can be made over into war-ships; (2) because incoming cargoes, if not seized, would yield to the belligerent customs duties; (3) because capture is cheaper than an effective blockade; (4) because by capturing merchants' ships you may cut off the enemy's food supply or destroy its commerce.

The reply of the advocate of the exemption to all this is, not that it is not theoretically true, but that in the history

of modern warfare there is no proof that the right has been of any substantial value to a belligerent in shortening the war or bringing the enemy to terms. In all the wars that we know anything about, the pecuniary losses through capture have been compensated by insurance; and the crippling of the enemy by cutting off its food supply, though much talked of, has never taken place. In our civil war our merchant marine was obliterated, yet commerce went on just as usual, and when an impartial court estimated our damages, they were unable to put the loss higher than \$15,500,000, in a war which cost thousands of millions. Commander Stockton tries to meet this by saying that if they had had any prize courts, the Confederates would have prevented the English from carrying our cargoes, and confiscated American vessels transferred to the English flag, as having only a colorable register. But he supports this strange contention by no authority or proof whatever. The fact is, that, under the practice which has become established since the Declaration of Paris, endangered commerce, at the outbreak of a war, goes for refuge to neutrals, and, with their aid and that of the insurance companies, the losses through marine capture are so distributed as to play no part in bringing the enemy to terms. The idea of throttling the food supply of your enemy, and making prizes of all his ships, and so bringing him to terms, is a magnificent belligerent dream, but it is not such war as we know anything about. It is a legacy of Napoleon to our reactionary publicists; but even he found it impracticable, and it is certainly much further from realization now than it was in his day.

There are a great many of the old rights of war for which a far clearer case can be made out than for the retention of the right to capture private property at sea. For instance, there was the right to murder or enslave enemies when taken prisoners, universal throughout the ancient world, or to hold them to ransom, so much valued in the Middle Ages. Is it not a distinct loss that we must feed and protect and house prisoners, and get nothing out of them in return? Would not a poor country, going to war with a rich one, have a great military advantage if it could seize upon multi-millionaires and other contributors to the sinews of war, and insist upon their ransom under pain of death? Plunder on land was most effective during the Thirty Years' War in Germany, and caused far more damage than has been caused by the right to capture merchant vessels in any modern war; shall we restore it? The moment you abandon the modern view that the only legitimate object of war is the exhaustion of the armed forces of the enemy, every right of war becomes valuable, even those which have fallen into desuetude

and disgrace. Almost every one of Commander Stockton's arguments in favor of marine capture can be matched by one in favor of plunder on land.

PARNELL.—II.*

DUBLIN, January 21, 1899.

Capt. O'Shea, a Parliamentary colleague, had in 1880 introduced Mr. Parnell to his wife. "A friendship, which soon ripened into love, sprang up between them, and from 1881 they had lived together as husband and wife." Capt. O'Shea strangely does not appear to have realized the situation until 1889, when he filed divorce proceedings. I must here part company with Mr. O'Brien. The remainder of his narrative, covering the last two years of Mr. Parnell's life, is largely an apology for him and condemnation of those who repudiated his leadership. The author contends that the connection was generally known, that in any case Parnell's followers condoned it after the trial, and that they abandoned their leader at the call of Mr. Gladstone. He implies that home rule would have been saved had they stood by him; that Mr. Parnell's death, the dissensions that have paralyzed Ireland, and the practical disappearance of the home-rule cause from consideration are due, not to the action of Mr. Parnell, but to that of his former followers. Upon all these points I differ with Mr. O'Brien, and must appeal to authorities slurred or ignored by him.

The connection was not generally realized. To a considerable degree, from the period of his imprisonment Mr. Parnell appeared an altered man. His old earnestness was abated, his openness and a certain simplicity of character appeared warped. He shrank generally from publicity, and upon some crucial occasions he was not to be found. The real cause was not generally suspected. When rumors of the divorce proceedings (a year before the trial came on) appeared in the press, Mr. Davitt went over from Dublin expressly to see Mr. Parnell. The interview was afterwards reported in the New York papers, and is given at page 14 of Mr. Stead's 'Story of the Parnell Crisis':

"Mr. Parnell then spoke to me as follows: 'Davitt, I want you to go back to Ireland to tell our friends that I am going to get out of this without the slightest stain on my name or reputation,' and he repeated those words again. I fully believed, and I think he intended me to believe, by those words, that he was entirely innocent of the charge made against him. I immediately went and told John Morley so. I crossed over to Ireland and told Archbishop Walsh. Mr. Morley was delighted and so was Archbishop Walsh—intensely relieved, Archbishop Walsh was. I wrote out to friends in Australia and in America, and I repeated those very words—that he was entirely innocent of the charge made against him."

Week after week, his organ, *United Ireland*, reported votes of confidence passed in the belief that he would successfully defend the action. Our feelings were voiced by a speaker at the Cork Board of Guardians:

"Any one who knew the character of Mr. Parnell knew that a man in his position, leader of the Irish race, not alone in the United Kingdom, but all over the world, would never, by committing such an offence, give himself and the cause of his country away to his enemies."

And so it was all over Ireland. We confidently assured the high-minded men and

*The Life of Charles Stewart Parnell, 1846-1891. By R. Barry O'Brien, Barrister-at-Law. Harpers. Two volumes in one. Pp. 378, 394.

women who in England and elsewhere espoused our cause, that he would come out unscathed from the divorce proceedings, as he had from the Pigott forgeries. The trial came on, and was undefended by Mr. Parnell. The jury gave a verdict against him without leaving the box.

"I repeat [says Mr. O'Brien] that I do not think it is my duty to enter into the details of this most unfortunate suit. Mrs. Charles Stewart Parnell [Mr. Parnell married Mrs. O'Shea after the divorce] and her children [by Capt. O'Shea] are still alive. I must consider her and them. I shall not dwell on a subject full of sorrow and pain to both."

That is precisely the difficulty which Mr. O'Brien should have realized when he undertook the responsibility of writing Mr. Parnell's life. No one desires to "dwell on a subject full of" such "sorrow and pain." Mr. O'Brien's book will find a place upon the shelves of the principal libraries throughout the world. No one will undertake the hateful task of publishing the divorce proceedings in permanent form. Not many will care or find it easy to consult the papers of November 17 and 18, 1890. Not many are likely to have preserved the condensed accounts given in the 'Story of the Parnell Crisis,' an extra of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. The revelations of the most scandalous character. Falsehood and duplicity had marked Mr. Parnell's conduct. He had, passing under feigned names, taken different houses to facilitate the intrigue. He had disguised himself, he had hidden away. Much of the evidence could never be gainsaid; some, which it was said might have been shaken on cross-examination, has never been weakened by any open explanation. Addressing a meeting afterwards in Dublin, Mr. Parnell said:

"I could not come amongst you and look you in the face as I do to-night, did I not know that there is another side to this question, as to every other question, and that you will wait and hear the other side before you decide."

Neither during his lifetime nor since his death, so far as I am aware, has any other side to the shocking evidence been presented, and it was then realized that in forcing Capt. O'Shea upon Galway in 1886, he had palmed off on Ireland the husband of her who for years had been his mistress.

Some excuse can be offered for those who upon the moment, at the National League, and at the Leinster Hall, boasted unshaken confidence in their leader. The Leinster Hall meeting had been called long before for general purposes. Some were conciliated by the resolution concerning Mr. Parnell approving only his *political* conduct. Most felt bewildered. Many were carried away by what Mr. McCarthy said:

"I am not going to ask what were the motives—I am perfectly certain myself that they were generous and they were chivalrous—which led to the result that no defence was put in in that case. I am not going to ask you here—I shall not ask you whether, if my esteemed personal friend, Mr. Frank Lockwood, who sat in that court, had been allowed to ask certain questions in that case, whether he might not have knocked all to pieces certain evidence given there, and whether he could not have made the case to assume a position very different in appearance. . . . You would have had a very different story to-night."

It is impossible to explain the attitude of those who saw nothing in Mr. Parnell's conduct to weaken their allegiance—of admirers who became adorers, of those who previously

criticised or held aloof and now became his most ardent followers. Nothing can explain it but the glamour, force, and attraction of his personality. "I have often thought Parnell was like Napoleon," said Mr. Chamberlain to Mr. O'Brien.

Prepared to sacrifice to the Irish cause everything but honor, shocked most of them beyond expression at the proceedings in the divorce court, puzzled by such speeches as Mr. McCarthy's and the apologies of some of the most high-minded men and women in Ireland, the Irish members attended Parliament, which met a week after the trial. Some sought counsel of English friends, and were amazed there also to find opinions favorable to Mr. Parnell. We were informed on reliable authority that a communication from Mr. Gladstone would be read at our assembly, before the election of chairman. It was understood that, in consideration of Mr. Parnell's services to Ireland and his feelings, he was to be reelected, whereupon he would of his own accord resign, and, for a time at least, retire from public life. No communication was read, he was reelected, he made not one word of apology. We supposed that somehow it was generally thought best to condone his conduct—that the general political outlook would not be materially affected. However, almost immediately afterwards it became known that Mr. Gladstone had written a letter to Mr. Morley asking him privately to convey to Mr. Parnell his opinion that his leadership of the Liberal party would be difficult if Mr. Parnell's leadership of the Irish party were continued. It was evident that Mr. Parnell had kept out of the way. A member afterwards acknowledged that Mr. Parnell's private secretary remarked to him: "Morley is searching everywhere through the House for Parnell, with a letter from Gladstone, but I will take devilish good care he will not find the chief, because I will keep him out of the way."

Mr. McCarthy appears to have been responsible for not having at the meeting communicated to his colleagues the contents of this letter, when aware that it would not otherwise be brought forward. In self-defence, Mr. Gladstone gave the letter to the public the same evening. The principal passage ran:

"While clinging to the hope of a communication from Mr. Parnell to whomsoever addressed, I thought it necessary . . . to acquaint Mr. McCarthy with the conclusion at which, after using all the means of observation and reflection in my power, I had myself arrived. It was, that, notwithstanding the splendid services rendered by Mr. Parnell to his country, his continuance at the present moment in the leadership would be productive of consequences disastrous in the highest degree to the cause of Ireland; . . . would not only place many hearty and effective friends of the Irish cause in a position of great embarrassment, but would render my retention of the leadership of the Liberal party, based as it has been mainly upon the prosecution of the Irish cause, almost a nullity. This explanation of my own view I begged Mr. McCarthy to regard as confidential, and not intended for his colleagues generally if he found that Mr. Parnell contemplated spontaneous action. But I also begged that he would make known to the Irish party at their meeting tomorrow afternoon that such was my conclusion, if he should find that Mr. Parnell had not in contemplation any step of the nature indicated."

A majority of the Irish members felt they had been tricked, and demanded that the question should be reopened. Mr. Gladstone's letter was in no sense felt by them as a command; it conveyed necessary information as

to what was likely to be the attitude of English Liberals, the main wing of the home-rule army. Mr. Parnell, with extraordinary adroitness, set about confusing the issue. He issued a manifesto calling in question the good faith of Mr. Gladstone, and declaring that the "independence of a section of the Irish Parliamentary party" was "apparently sapped and destroyed by the wire-pullers of the Liberal party." He played upon every prejudice and passion of the Irish nature. The English were "wolves now howling for my destruction," as later Mr. Gladstone was "an unrivalled sophist," "a garrulous old man." On his own showing, he deliberately violated the seal of secret, private, and confidential intercourse at Harwarden. Future political coöperation of responsible ministers would be impossible. It was asked of the majority: "Would any people, on the eve of victory, abandon, because of an act of immorality, the general who had organized victory?" The answer was clear: "Certainly, if, in the exposure, characteristics fatal to confidence in him were shown; and if his conduct and bearing had alienated a leader and a people without whose aid victory was impossible."

Ireland became fatally divided against herself; the majority believing that to obtain home rule under or through Mr. Parnell would be impossible—the other that it was possible only through him. Few can look back with any equanimity upon the contest that ensued, and that was exacerbated by Mr. Parnell's decease. He wore himself out in frantic effort to reassert himself. It was scarcely to be expected that Ireland would carry on an internal quarrel upon a higher plane than that she had so often found necessary to assume in her contest with Great Britain. Protestants realized one curious fact, that, according to Catholic canonical law, Mr. Parnell appeared to aggravate the moral offence by marrying Mrs. O'Shea, a divorced woman.

I must now draw to a conclusion this perhaps too lengthy notice of Mr. O'Brien's book. He keeps much out of view the extent to which Mr. Parnell's success depended on the assistance of the men who gathered round him. Upon one side of his life we should like to have had more information—the quarrying and mining operations he carried on in the County of Wicklow. Often, while pondering these volumes, have I asked myself, Can it be that the Ireland of to-day is the same Ireland as that of Mr. Parnell's time, fused in agitation, set in grim determination for the attainment of home rule? A few lines from the Irish correspondent of the *Times* might be taken as fairly representing the present situation:

"The present circumstances of Ireland may be briefly summed up in the statement that at no period of her history did she appear more tranquil, more free from serious crime, more prosperous and contented. . . . There is no longer the agitation which convulsed the country in days gone by. . . . The relations between landlord and tenant continue to be generally friendly, and both parties are, with some remarkable exceptions, adapting themselves with prudence and good feeling to the change consequent upon the application of a new law."

We must, however, remember that this is quoted by Mr. O'Brien as written in 1875, on the eve of the most searching agitation Ireland has seen in this century. It is never safe to judge from appearances. Nevertheless, many of the elements and conditions of violent agitation that formerly existed appear now wanting, apart from the extent to

which Mr. Parnell gathered to himself, only to carry down with him, the political spring and hope of the country. The revulsion from the delusive hopes of the French Revolution is said, with many Liberals in the early part of the century, to have induced a philosophy of despair. The breakdown of the home-rule movement, small in importance as it was in comparison with the French Revolution, has not been without a similar influence.

No chapter in Mr. O'Brien's book is more interesting than the last—Mr. Gladstone's "appreciation" of Mr. Parnell—a remarkable proof of the generosity and self-forgetfulness of that noble spirit. I shall conclude in Mr. Gladstone's words: "Poor fellow, poor fellow! . . . Dear, dear, what a tragedy! I cannot tell you how much I think about him, and what an interest I take in everything concerning him. A marvellous man, a terrible fall." D. B.

EXCAVATIONS IN THE FORUM.

ROME, January 15, 1899.

Since I wrote you last December, the excavations in the Forum have been steadily continued. The exploration of the foundations of the Temple of Vesta is completed. After clearing away the encumbering earth, brick walls were found. These, built in the centre of the mound, were four in number. The one on the western side had been destroyed in some past age. The others seem, from the excellent character of the work, to be of the time of Hadrian; but as no stamped bricks were found, it is not possible to be absolutely sure of the date. Near the bottom of the chamber formed by the walls a brick with the words *Rec Dn Theodorico Bono Rome* came to light. This, however, did not belong to the walls, but is evidence that, as was the case in respect to many other buildings in Rome, Theodoric interested himself in the preservation of the Temple of Vesta. What purpose was served by the walls cannot be told. Were they built by Hadrian to support the superstructure, or did they form a chamber for the ashes of the sacred fire which were taken off once a year and thrown away by the *Porta Stercoraria*? Of small objects few were found. A splendid boar's tusk and one or two Roman bronze coins of late date were turned up. Much more numerous were the fragments of vases ranging in date from our own times to the end of the fifth century before Christ. These shards were, as a whole, of but little value, but among them was one small piece that is of sufficient interest to make up for the dulness of all the rest. It is a bit of a Greek red-figured vase of the end of the "strong" style, and shows the figures of two warriors in combat. It was found deep down among the foundations. Its interest is in the suggestion it affords that such were the vases used by the Vestals for their own needs and those of the goddess. How else could such a fragment have got so deep down below the temple?

Such has proved to be what Lanciani (to mention only one, but he the latest, among many writers on the subject) described as "a shapeless mass of concrete!"

What will first strike the attention of whoever now, returning to Rome, goes to the Forum, is the Honorary Column. Once more it stands erect and fulfils its purpose; for though we do not know to whom it was originally set up, it serves henceforth as an honorable monument to Minister Baccelli and

to his "braccia destra," Signor Boni, with-
out whom its disdained fragments would still
be cluttering the ground. There is no ques-
tion that the column stood originally not di-
rectly on the existing brick base, but, like the
Column of Phocas, on a marble pedestal placed
between the base and the shaft. This pedestal
has not been found. Consequently, some
were in favor of doing nothing about the col-
umn, while others thought it had best be
placed directly on the brick base. Fortu-
nately neither of these courses was followed,
but a pedestal of brick was made of the same
proportions as the pedestal of the column of
Phocas, and on this the column stands. This
is, clearly, the proper solution of the ques-
tion. To erect the column on the base with-
out any pedestal would have been to make an
architectural abortion which no one with any
understanding of architecture could advise.
As in the case of the brick support of the
edicula of the Atrium Vestæ, this brick
pedestal is not a restoration or in any way
deceptive. It merely serves to set the column
in its proper relation to the base and to the
neighboring buildings.

A work that does not attract much visual
attention, but which adds greatly to the at-
tractiveness of the Forum, is the closure of
the opening made by Rosa years ago into
the Cloaca Maxima at the eastern end of
the Basilica Julia. The constant stench that
arose from the sewer made the neighborhood
disgustful, and the only reason for the origi-
nal making of the hole, or for now leav-
ing it, was that inquisitive tourists might look
at this ancient drain. There are so many
opportunities for the satisfaction of the
"yellow" curiosity that enjoys such sights,
that this hole seemed needless, and it re-
quired only a few moments' consideration
on the spot to convince Minister Baccelli
that it had best be closed.

Another small but much required under-
taking was the insertion of some iron bars
in the base of the Temple of Saturn to clamp
together the blocks which showed ominous
signs of giving way and letting the super-
structure crash down. Signor Boni has seen
to this, and the Temple is safe for a long
time to come.

So far I have described matters of im-
portance, but in no way surprising or ex-
citing. Two discoveries, however, have been
made the interest attaching to which could
scarcely be surpassed in connection with
the history of Rome. One of these is the
base of the column set up where Cæsar's
body was burned, and one the "black stone"
which was supposed to mark the burial-place
of Romulus. For what more could one ask?
After the exploration of the Temple of Vesta
was completed, Signor Boni turned his at-
tention to the Temple of Cæsar. As all who
have studied the topography of the Forum
will remember, Suetonius tells of a column
of Numidian marble (what we call *giallo
antico*) dedicated *parvuli patriæ* on the spot
where Cæsar was burned. An altar also was
placed there, but this was destroyed because
the worship of Cæsar was illegal. After-
wards, Augustus built, as he tells us in his
autobiographic inscription, the Temple of
Julius. Later authors say that the temple
stood on the site of the funeral pyre, and it
is scarcely conceivable that Augustus should
have destroyed the column. Those who know
the Forum will recall that in the front wall
of the podium of the Temple of Julius there
is a semicircular recess, in front of which
stands a wall of tufa. This tufa wall does

not close the recess to all access, but merely
makes it necessary to enter from the sides.
The wall is of late origin—probably, to judge
from the construction, of the third or fourth
century of our era. If there was one spot
where more than anywhere else one would
have sought for traces of the marble column,
it was in the space between this late wall
and the inexplicable hemicycle. It is well-
nigh incredible, but it is the fact, that when
some time ago this spot was excavated, only
a few bushels of earth were taken away at
one end of the wall, and the space between it
and the hemicycle left absolutely unexplored!
Signor Boni has now cleared away the
earth, and there, on a pavement of well-cut
travertine blocks, are the remains of a base
such as one would expect the column to have
had. This is the pavement which Cæsar
trod. Here is the very spot where once his
body rested. Here Antony aroused the deeper
emotions of the plebs, and here from the
phoenix ashes of a dead Republic rose the
young Empire.

Only the core of the base is left, and the
marble that originally covered it has dis-
appeared—stolen, no doubt, in the sixteenth
century by one or other of the architects
who used the Forum as a quarry. This core
is noteworthy, for it is made of fragments
of *giallo antico* and gray Carrara (*lunense*)
mixed with *pozzolana*—these chips being,
most probably, those made by the workers
on the column; for *giallo antico* was not a
common marble, and *lunense* was rare in
those days. Pliny says that M. Lepidus, a
consul in 676 A. U. C., was the first to in-
troduce the *giallo*, while Mamurra, one of
Cæsar's officers, first used *lunense* in large
pieces.

To many persons the so-called Tomb of
Romulus will be of quite as great interest
as the site of Cæsar's funeral pyre. The
ancient authors give us but scanty infor-
mation about the tomb. What they say, though
slight, is perfectly clear. Festus, under the
words *niger lapis*, writes that there was a
"black stone in the Comitium which showed
where there was a grave"; some thought this
had been intended for Romulus; he, of
course, was never buried, and, after his dis-
appearance, the grave was used for Faustulus
and Quinctilius. These statements are borne
out by the scholiasts on a verse of one of the
Epodes of Horace (xvi. 13), who say that
Varro wrote that the Tomb of Romulus was
before the Rostra, where, also, two lions
stood. One of the scholiasts quotes Varro as
saying not *before* but *behind* the Rostra. For
various topographical reasons, this must be
a mistake. A few days ago this "black
stone" was found. Signor Boni had for some
days been exploring the late branch of the
Sacred Way that ran from the Arch of
Severus to the Temple of Faustina. In the
neighborhood of the arch there was an op-
portunity to enlarge the extent of the ex-
plorations, and very soon a well-laid trav-
ertine pavement of the Republican epoch was
found. It was in close proximity to the spot
on which the buildings of the Comitium
stood, and this pavement is part of that of
the Comitium. Hardly had it been discover-
ed when the workmen came upon a trav-
ertine curb. Further digging showed that this
curb protected a *black stone*. This has now
been entirely uncovered, and turns out to be
a small pavement, about twelve feet square,
of black marble blocks (19-25 cm. thick),
protected on all four sides by the travertine
curb, the latter, however, not entirely pre-

served. This is sufficiently strange, but what
proves the sanctity of the site is, that when
(probably in the fifth century A. D.) the road
was built that now runs from the Arch of
Severus over the spot, large marble slabs
were raised like a solid fence all about the
black stones to protect them. The blocks of
the pavement, which are not absolutely regu-
lar in form, are of the black marble streaked
with white that comes from Tænarum—what
the modern *scapellini* call *marmo nero di
Grecia*. For the present they have been par-
tially covered up, as the attacks of relic-
hunters began instantly after the announce-
ment of the discovery, and the authorities do
not desire fresh confirmation of Horace's
words:

"quæque carent ventis et solibus ossa Quirini,
nefas videre! dispabit insolens."

Not only is this *niger lapis* of great interest
in itself, but we now know more accurately
than ever before the approximate position of
many of the most sacred monuments of
Rome, for close to the Tomb of Romulus was
the statue of the wolf suckling the two bro-
thers, and the Nævian fig-tree planted by
Tarquinius Priscus over the spot where he
had buried the stone which Nævius cut in
two with a razor. How splendidly dead his-
tory is awakening into life!

Since the discovery of the metope of the
Basilica Æmilia, several other objects of a
similar nature have been found. One, most
interesting because the first of its kind
known, is a piece of one of the windows of
the second story of the Basilica Julia. This
had been discarded by the previous excava-
tors as of no interest. Considering that they
thought so little of the metope of the Basilica
Æmilia as to build it into the retaining wall
of a road, it is not surprising that they did
not realize the value of a piece of window
frame. There are, in truth, no terms of con-
tempt too strong to characterize the work
that has been done before this year in the
Forum and that which is still being done in
other parts of Italy. Were it worth while,
proofs of such mismanagement, carelessness,
and self-seeking could be given, that those
hearing them might think they were lis-
tening to tales of Turkey.

The discovery of such pieces as the metope
suggests two things that it is greatly to be
hoped Minister Baccelli will successfully ac-
complish. One of these has been already
undertaken: it is the taking over from the
Church of the Temple of Romulus, which,
freed from late additions and put in its origi-
nal shape, so far as may be, will then serve
as a museum for all objects found in the
Forum, and others, such as photographs or
engravings or casts, that are connected with
it. Here ought to be put the statues of the
Vestals found in the Atrium Vestæ and now
in the Museo delle Terme. Where they now
stand they are lifeless objects—dead archæ-
ological facts, material statistics. In the
Forum near where they were originally
placed, they would acquire some faint im-
pulse of life, and render the Forum and Ro-
man history more truly intelligible than it
now is even to those few who are blessed
with the power of imagination.

The other suggestion given by the present
work is that the Minister arrange for the
excavation of the northern side of the Fo-
rum, which is entirely disused except for a
loop in the track of the electric tram—a loop
which, with no difficulty whatever, could be
run along the road beside S. Adriano. This
undertaking would be worthy of him. To do

what has so far been done required no intelligence; the results have all been got by merely removing earth that plainly was out of place. It will take some thought and trouble to carry out the further excavation here suggested, but it will have to be done some day. Minister Baccelli might as well pluck the laurel as leave it. Then, too, the ground where the Capitoline Plan was found ought to be excavated. It never has been. A mere ditch, a few feet broad, was dug at the foot of the wall on which the Plan was originally fastened. If the earth, not only a few feet, but a few yards away from the wall were searched, other pieces of the Plan would, in all probability, be found. That game is assuredly worth the candle.

There are many other varied interests of which to write—the question of the Ducal Palace at Venice, which has aroused much comment; the Ponte Vecchio at Florence, which seems to be saved this time; the School at Mondragone, which has nothing to do with antiquities, but is a good illustration of certain governmental conditions—but I fear I have trespassed too much already on your valuable space. All must sincerely hope that the new year will carry out the promises uttered with the last breath of 1898. R. N.

Correspondence.

"TAKE UP THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I wonder if anybody fully appreciates how this recent lyric is taking hold of people, and what an appeal it is making in favor of imperialism and militarism to many whom no other appeal would reach. The "burden" is the work of civilizing and policing the world, beginning, of course, with the Philippines. The "white man" is the Anglo-Saxon. It is to America that the appeal is made to "take up" this "burden." The "judgment of your peers," which is to drown every other voice, is the judgment of England. And certainly if the lines mean more than this, they mean this at least.

But let us not stop at the first line. Let us look the "burden" fairly in the face. There it all is, set down in black and white by an expert who weighs his words. I forbear quotation, as the lines are familiar, but can the most hardy read them without a shudder!

And who imposed this burden? That is a very long and a very old story. The burden of civilization, whence came it? But the main question is, Who are to share it? Who laid it upon the shoulders of the "white man"? There is a Good Book that says something about burden-bearing, but it makes no such limitation as this. Indeed, it was once a problem how to get the "white man" to assume an iota of this burden. Do not reason and revelation agree in this, that all races—white, black, and red—need the discipline of this sort of burden-bearing? Have we not read into these lines a race pride and a race narrowness which demand a chastisement somewhat like that which Mrs. Browning used to administer to her insular friends? "You evidently think that God made only the English. The English are a peculiar people. Their worst is better than the best of the exterior nations. Over the rest of the world He has cast out His shoe."

E. A. STRONG.

YPSILANTI, MICH., February 6, 1899.

DOMESTIC PEACE, FOREIGN WAR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the *Nation* for January 26, in an article on "The English Political Muddle," occur these words: "Both the Republicans and Conservatives are now getting out of their domestic difficulties in the same way, . . . by undertaking to thrash somebody." I am reminded of a remark that Plutarch makes in his *Life of Coriolanus*: "The consuls contrived it so that employment abroad [under arms] might still the intestine tumults." This was nearly twenty-four centuries ago, when the Roman republic was in its teens. For us the device has the respectability of age; to the Romans it might have appeared as a youthful indiscretion.

A. B. H.

WENTZVILLE, MD., February 6, 1892.

Notes.

'Democracy and Empire,' by Prof. Franklin H. Giddings, an imperialistic apologia, and 'The Trail of the Gold-Seekers,' by Hamlin Garland, an account of the author's journey to the Stickeen River and Atlin Lake country, will be published by Macmillan; the one shortly, the other in June. In October, 'Boy Life on the Prairie,' also by Mr. Garland.

Longmans, Green & Co. have in press or in preparation 'Selections from the Sources: A Supplement to Text-books of English History, B. C. 55-A. D. 1832,' arranged and edited by Prof. Charles W. Colby of McGill University; 'The Life of William Morris,' by J. W. Mackall; 'The Early Married Life of Maria Josepha, Lady Stanley, from 1796,' edited by J. H. Adeane; the fourth and concluding volume (1660-1696) of 'The Memoirs of the Verney Family,' by Margaret M. Verney; 'A Handbook to French Art,' by Miss Rose G. Kingsley; 'Wood and Garden: Notes and Thoughts, Practical and Critical, of a Working Amateur,' by Gertrude Jekyll; 'A Text-book of Theoretical Naval Architecture,' by Edward Lewis Attwood, Assistant Constructor, R. N.; and 'Indian Philosophy,' by Max Müller.

M. F. Mansfield and A. Wessels, No. 22 East Sixteenth Street, New York, are making a facsimile reprint, for subscribers, of the first (Lahore) "Public Document" edition of Kipling's 'Departmental Ditties,' now become very rare. They announce also the same author's poem, 'The Betrothed,' with illustrations in tint by Blanche McManus.

J. M. Bowles, Boston, will soon publish 'Composition,' by Arthur W. Dow, curator of the Japanese Paintings and Prints at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

'Washington the Soldier,' by Gen. H. B. Carrington (Boston: Lamson, Wolfe & Co.), is, in the main, an abridgment of the valuable work by the same author, 'Battles of the Revolution.' The maps of battle-fields are the same, and for authenticity and completeness are among the very best that are accessible. They were carefully compiled and drawn by the author himself. In the briefer form, recast and made more distinctly biographical, the book will be welcome to a large class of readers to whom the larger work is not easily within reach.

The second edition of Haigh's 'Attic Theatre,' just issued by the Clarendon Press (New York: Henry Frowde), practically superseded the edition of 1889 in respect to many

points which have been illuminated by the discoveries and investigations of the last ten years. Several chapters have been entirely rewritten, others have been thoroughly revised, new illustrations have been added, and the latest conclusions as to many mooted questions have been incorporated in the work. Moreover, all the latest literature, German, French, English, and American, on the stage question and on the architecture of theatres recently explored is here represented with great completeness. While adopting Dörpfeld's plan of the Dionysiac Theatre at Athens and some of his professional opinions as to the date of its structures, Mr. Haigh rejects, after an elaborate discussion, the German antiquarian's special views on the stage question. The whole treatise is brought up to date in the most satisfactory manner, and the Clarendon Press deserves the thanks of scholars for this second edition, which sums up so promptly the conclusions of many scattered dissertations and the results of explorations accessible only in expensive publications.

The Germans possess a model *multum in parvo* in the 'Jahrbuch' of Kürschner, of which the issue for 1899 is as rich in its contents as any of its predecessors. The amount of general information, from reliable sources, found between the covers of this pocket encyclopædia is truly remarkable. While on American subjects it is quite naturally not complete, on non-American, and especially European, subjects it is almost all-embracing for a volume of its scope and purpose. The cost is only one and a half marks.

Of Andree's 'Allgemeiner Hand-Atlas' a new fourth and thoroughly revised edition has appeared, edited by A. Scobel. This standard work now contains 263 fine maps, nearly equally divided between main and side maps. The additions to the new issue deal largely with America, thus repairing one of the shortcomings of the first three editions. Not only political, but also physical and commercial geography is furnished here, representing the latest detailed researches all over the globe. About 200,000 geographical names constitute the Index. A popular edition of Andree has been brought out by the publishers, Velhagen & Klasing, in Leipzig, for the remarkably low price of 28 marks (or, in leather binding, 32 marks), while an *édition de luxe* on Japan paper in fine binding will cost 120 marks, and be limited to 100 numbered copies. The high coloring of the mountainous districts causes some difficulty at times in reading the names.

A list of 220 early books relating to America (more than half antedating 1550), the gift in December last of Mr. Alexander Maitland, is recorded in the January Bulletin of the New York Public Library. There, too, is to be found a summary review of the valuable library of Samuel J. Tilden, now incorporated with the amalgamated collections resulting from his foundation. We can mention only 123 volumes of Cobbett's 'Parliamentary History' and Hansard's 'Parliamentary Debates'; 115 volumes of the New York *Herald* (1846-1886), with files of the *World* (1860-1886), *Times* (1865-1886), *Tribune* (1867-1886), and *Sun* (1870-1886); an extraordinary collection of Gillray's caricatures (1777-1811), mounted and bound in eight folio volumes, with specimens of Hogarth and Cruikshank; and numerous extra-illustrated works—Waverley, Moore's *Byron*,

Bray's Stothard, Thornbury's Turner, Par-ton's Franklin, Ticknor's Prescott, Boswell's Johnson, Macaulay's Life and Works, etc.; Duyckinck's 'Cyclopædia of American Literature,' and Cromwelliana.

The Library of the University of Pennsylvania has been acquiring, through P. S. King & Co., London, a set of British Parliamentary Papers—the most important before 1880, a complete collection since that date. A catalogue of the earlier papers has been printed by Messrs. King, with analytical annotations revealing curious and important documents concealed under general and apparently unrelated titles.

The second annual report of the Historical MSS. Commission of the American Historical Association, dated December 30, 1897, and issued last year from the Government Printing Office, is notable for its tabulation of certain Colonial Assemblies and their journals as a guide to students; for the conclusion of the letters of Phineas Bond, British Consul at Philadelphia, to the Foreign Office, 1790-1794; and the Mangourit correspondence respecting Genet's projected attack upon the Floridas, 1793-'94. The next report will be eagerly awaited, as it will contain the correspondence of John C. Calhoun, as already announced.

Commissioner Swan's eleventh report on the Public Records of Massachusetts is remarkable for an appendix giving the locations of towns in counties, according as these have undergone change of boundaries. Such changes are described in detail before the alphabetical list is given. As the Massachusetts example of the care of records is being followed by other States, and deserves to be followed by all, the report has a widespread interest. A State standard ink has been evolved for insuring permanence of records, and Mr. Swan now addresses himself to the subject of the ink proper for type-written records. This discussion, too, has a general importance. For one thing, he says, never use a copying-ribbon for records.

The well-known American Father Hecker is not allowed to rest easy in his grave. He was made last year the occasion of a stout volume, by Charles Maignen, entitled 'Études sur l'américanisme. Le Père Hecker est-il un saint?' (Rome: Desclee & Lefebvre; Paris: Retaux). The question implies the author's answers. The Abbé discovers, beside the virtues of his antagonist, shortcomings spiritual and intellectual, and aberrant doctrine. Father Hecker was a Liberal in disguise. His pet Paulist foundation makes no show in vigor in comparison with the Redemptorists whom he quitted when seeking a more "American" form of conventual life.

The *Annales de Géographie* for January contains a brief description of some of the physical features of the coast of Maine as an example of the coastal plane, by Prof. W. M. Davis of Harvard, and the conclusion of M. Pasquet's account of the development of London—the "ville-province." His aim has been, not to attempt to exhaust so vast and fertile a subject, but simply to show "how the past of London has determined the present, how this past still lives in the present." There is also an illustrated account of a journey in Southern Yunnan, and an interesting summary of the results of the commercial mission to China of the Lyons Chamber of Commerce, accompanied by a valuable "economic" chart, exhibiting, among other things, the principal products, dis-

tributing centres, and ways of communication in Central and Southern China. M. Martonne describes the curious distribution of forests in Madagascar, where they form a belt—in some places two belts—surrounding the interior treeless highlands, the different species of trees and their commercial value.

The overthrow of Mahdism has directed attention anew to the great Mohammedan Religious Order of the Sanatsiyah, which, though not yet fifty years old, has one hundred and twenty monasteries scattered throughout northern Africa and the Sudan, and seven hundred students in the theological college attached to the head monastery in the oasis of Jaghbûb in the Libyan desert. According to a writer in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* for January, the great object of the founder "was to erect an impassable barrier to the progress of Western civilization and the influence of Christian powers in Muslim lands." In these ardent propagators of a great Pan-Islamic movement it is possible that Great Britain and France will find deadly foes harder to conquer than the Khalifa and his dervishes.

Among the varied contents of the January Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund are reports of the new excavations on the possible site of Gath by Dr. Bliss and his associate, and an interesting notice, with photographs, of Abraham's oak at Hebron, by Dr. C. Shick. In regard to this region he says, "One thing struck me, namely, to see that in the last forty years the cultivation of the land, hills, and valleys had made marvellous progress round this site and Hebron in general. Everywhere it was green with vines, trees, etc., and between them are many new houses in all directions. Moreover, wherever I went, there was plenty of water to be found either in cisterns or springs, and I could see several rivulets or little brooks." A traveller on the east of the Jordan in 1898 met the Haj pilgrimage on its way to Mecca. It consisted of 10,000 civilians, with an escort of 500 mounted infantry and a mountain battery, and was at least four miles long. Children and women, he says, were almost in as great numbers as men, and for half an hour after it passed he could hear it "like the sound of the sea." He was particularly impressed with the marvellous discipline which prevailed among this mixed multitude.

"The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians," by Franz Boas, is published in the Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History as the second contribution of the Jesup North Pacific expedition. It treats of the remnants of a once numerous tribe now living on the coasts of Dean Inlet and Bentinck Arm in British Columbia. They are shown to have developed a peculiar mythology, involving the coördination of a number of supernatural beings whose functions are so well defined that they may properly be termed deities. This system is vastly superior to that of the neighboring tribes. The Bella Coola are divided into village communities organized on an endogamic basis, each having its tradition and rites. The description of their ceremonies, and translation of many of their legends, constitute a valuable addition to our knowledge of Indian folk-lore. A series of plates portray the masks used in some of the ceremonials.

The Museum has also issued the tenth volume of its Bulletin, containing several papers

of note. "The Huichol Indians of Mexico," a primitive tribe hitherto almost unknown, are described by Carl Lumholtz, who also contributes an article by himself and Ales Hrdlicka on "Marked Human Bones from a Prehistoric Tarasco Indian burial-place in the State of Michoacan, Mexico." These are believed to have been the bones of enemies kept as amulets and buried with the warrior who procured them. William Beutenmüller's "Descriptive Catalogue of the Bombycine Moths found within Fifty Miles of New York City" is illustrated with several plates. Papers on "The Extinct Camelids of North America and some Associated Forms," by J. L. Wortman, on "The Vertebrate Fauna of the Hudson Highlands, with Observations on the Mollusca, Crustacea, Lepidoptera, and the Flora of this Region," by Edgar A. Mearns, and contributions from Joel A. Allen, Henry F. Osborn, and others are included in this volume.

The *Annales* of the Argentine Meteorological Office, volume 12, contains the first instalment of a series of observations relating to the climate of Ascunción, Paraguay, and Rosario, province of Santa Fé.

Dr. Murray remarked lately that it was a rash man who should affirm what his Oxford Dictionary didn't contain. A correspondent reminds us that Franklin's "Orthodoxy is my doxy," etc., has already appeared under *doxy*, but not ascribed to him, and with an error of J. Q. Adams for John Adams, and of year (1778 for 1779). There, also, is given Priestley's attribution of nearly the same formula to Bishop Warburton.

—Mr. Todd, who founded the newspaper department in the Boston Public Library, has procured for that institution a file, complete as far as possible, of the London *Times*. This gift is of 232 bound volumes, which include all issues since 1808. The file in the Lenox Library runs back two years further, to 1806. That in the Congressional Library is said to be the only one in America containing all issues of the *Times* from its establishment in 1788. It seems impossible now to discover in book marts any file for the first twenty years which are lacking in Mr. Todd's collection. Nor is this strange, since in 1800 its circulation was no more than 1,000 copies. It is now thirty years wanting one since Mr. Todd brought about the establishment of a newspaper reading-room in Newburyport, by offering the City Council \$300 a year for purchasing newspapers if an apartment for the use of them should be furnished by the authorities. He was then a resident of Newburyport, and has described to the writer how he was led to that new library departure. Meeting business men (often of liberal education), he asked scores of them how many books they had read during the last year, and in most cases the answer was, "None. We must read the papers or we cannot do business; and then we have no time for books." Solon's laws were not the best he could give, but they were the best the Athenians would take. Thus speaks Mr. Todd regarding his experiment in Newburyport and his benefaction to Boston.

—The Wisconsin Historical Society, which ended its first half century on the 30th of January, has just published an annotated Catalogue of its Newspaper Files in a volume of three hundred and seventy-five pages. The size of this compilation appears surprising, although the collection amounts to

ten thousand bound volumes; but the work is much more than a list of newspaper titles. On well-nigh every page are notes as to the successive editors, politics, religious doctrine, and other features of the publications. For example, the *New York Weekly Inspector*, an octavo journal which attained two volumes, August, 1806-7, was "edited by Thomas Green Fessenden in opposition to Jefferson." (It was to this publication that Poe truthfully referred for one of the earliest occurrences of the word *highbinder*.) In many files there is many a gap, but it is frankly stated with infinite painstaking what and how many there are of these missing links. Thus, it is confessed that the sixty years of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* treated in sixteen lines are represented by only thirty-four volumes, although not a few numbers are of the rarest dates, as 1775-'77, the volumes for which three years are quoted by dealers as worth \$500. Reproductions and facsimiles are also carefully acknowledged, and the presence of an index in each volume. To facilitate the labor of consulting the catalogue, it is divided into two parts, the first of which is styled Geographical. Here the papers are arranged alphabetically according to their location—first those in the several United States, and then those in foreign countries. In the second part, termed Chronological, the arrangement is by decades, with abbreviated titles, while for details in each case the reader is referred back to Part First. The earliest of all issues was in Oxford (Eng.), *Mercurius Aulicus*, 1643. The earliest dates in America were the *Boston Gazette*, 1719, and, in Philadelphia, the *American Weekly Mercury* and the *Independent Whig*, both 1720. The foreign publications are set forth under two hundred and eighty-two titles. The titles up to 1750 were sixty-nine, and fifty-six in the Revolutionary decade 1771-'80. Among foreign notabilia are the *Toronto Grip*, 40 volumes, the *Parisian Montieur*, 31 volumes, and the *Leyden Nouvelles Extraordinaires*, 18 volumes, from 1765. This Wisconsin newspaper index seems to make a new departure in its line, and has cost a prodigality of labor. No newspaper searcher in any large collection can fail to hold in grateful remembrance Miss Emma Helen Blair, to whose patient, intelligent research and rare expertness the editors chiefly ascribe whatever is most valuable in the Catalogue.

—The American Economic Association has published (through Macmillan) the first of its studies for 1899, containing the notable presidential address of Prof. Hadley, on the "Relation between Economics and Politics," and the reports of two committees, on currency reform and on the twelfth census. All deserve careful attention, and give evidence of the useful activity of the Association. The Report on Currency Reform is a temperate and careful statement, by a body of competent specialists, of the reasons why reform is needed, and of the direction in which it should proceed; and, without obtruding any pet plan of its own, gives advice which, alas, the average Congressman is too apt to disregard. Yet every such judicial statement of the needs of the case has its effect on public opinion, and serves to strengthen the slow-gathering convictions of the half-informed legislator. The Report of the Committee on the Twelfth Census is a more elaborate production, and criticises in detail the methods of our overgrown cen-

sus. A reasonable pruning of the scope of the census is generally advocated, and the familiar and sensible recommendation for the establishment of a permanent census bureau is repeated. We observe that the complete reports by the various experts (some twenty in number) who examined for this committee the several divisions of the census, are to be published in full as one of the larger monographs of the Association. The volume so made up will be a mine for all who have occasion to use the census volumes, and will command attention among the official compilers of statistics the world over.

—We take this opportunity to notice two other of the Studies recently published by the Economic Association. Mr. M. A. Aldrich's summary account of the American Federation of Labor (No. 4 of the Studies of 1898) is by far the best to be had of that curious organization. Neither a trade-union proper, nor a loose affiliation of everything in sight, like the English Trade Union Congress or the Central Labor Unions of our cities, the American Federation has pursued for many years a steady policy of promoting trade-union organization, which, whether or no one sympathizes with its aims, commands the respect due to careful plan and consistent execution. It has at least a fighting chance of escaping the fate of its predecessors, and especially of the Knights of Labor, who met deserved defeat and almost extinction after a brief career of o'ervaulting ambition and organized disorder. How far the Federation will succeed in maintaining its coherence, will withstand the blandishments of the Socialists and the insidious temptation to take a hand in party politics (always the beginning of the end in our labor organizations)—all this the future must show. Meanwhile Mr. Aldrich's compact analysis will be welcome to observers of this factor in the social movement. Somewhat different in type, yet useful in the same way, is the account of the purchase of the railways by the state in Switzerland, which Dr. J. Cummings has translated from the French of M. Michèle. Here we have a movement which, on the surface at least, is of signal interest to the American public: the purchase and prospective management of the entire railway system by a democratic community having a federal political organization very similar to ours. It is true that the small scale of the operation, the peculiar geographical position of Switzerland, the curious financial complications from the ownership of bonds by the Swiss and of stocks by foreigners, deprive the experiment of the significance which at first sight it seems to have for us. But none the less the movement is a most instructive one, taking its place with the state railways of the Austro-Prussian colonies as portending a danger or a triumph—as one chooses to view it—for the future of democracy. This account, at all events, tells the tale; we know of no other source in English where one can learn just what has been done in Switzerland, why and how the railway purchase is to take place, the pros and cons of the debate. As everywhere, the advocates of state purchase take a rose-colored view of the financial outlook, and do not fairly grapple with the financial complications which are inevitable when the democratic public demands at once good pay for the servants and low rates for the service.

—When is there to be an end with Sir Richard Burton? His life was essentially one of "fierce wars and faithful loves." Dr. Johnson would have taken him to his heart as a good hater. And the wars and the hates promise to drag themselves on so long as there are papers of his left that in any degree seem ready for publication. His friends would be well advised to leave him at rest with the work which he has done and of which the world already knows; it is surely enough to keep his fame as a great linguist, an unwearied explorer, and a gallant soldier. He was not a scholar—his judgments and theories are worth nothing; but what he saw he told, and we can depend upon his story. His great version of the "Thousand and One Nights," in spite of the loquacious inadequacy of its commentary, is the work of a specialist in life though an amateur in books. Compare his account of Mecca with that of Snouck Hurgronje. Burton's, with all its little absurdities, lives; that of the Dutch scholar is learned, accurate, and very dull. But for the existence, at least in print, of such essays as have now been edited by W. H. Wilkins ("The Jew, the Gypsy, and El Islam"; Chicago: Herbert S. Stone & Co.), there seems no shadow of excuse. The volume, beautifully printed and got up, with an excellent etching of Leighton's portrait, contains three separate papers. The first, on the Jew, might be regarded as a venomous attack if it merited any regard at all; but in it Burton is among books, and his amateurism is rampant, self-sufficient, and exhaustive. His appendix, dealing with human sacrifice among the Eastern Jews, and with the murder of Padre Tomaso, the only part of first-hand value, is suppressed by the editor. The second is a study of the gypsy, and may contain some useful matter, as it is based on Burton's own observations. That, however, can be determined only by "Chinganologists"—such is their beautiful name—and to them we must leave it. Experience of Burton in other fields suggests that the harvest here may not be great. Much of the essay is taken up by polemic as to priority. Third, comes a comparatively short paper on Islam, about which the less said the better. It seems to have been written soon after 1853; and it will be absolutely misleading to all but those who do not need to read it. Perhaps, when all our squabbles and jealousies have been stilled by the throwing of the little dust, these essays of Burton may be read as we now read "The Anatomy of Melancholy" of his great ancestor. Then the wild ideas, the far-fetched learning, the squinting brain working in a style strangely mixed of the purest English and a dozen tongues besides, may come to their true kingdom.

—Mr. Thwaites's edition of the "Jesuit Relations" (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers Co.), which is now almost exactly midway in its course of publication, reaches with volumes xxxiii. and xxxiv. what is probably the culminating point of its interest, if one considers the narratives chiefly as records of heroic and self-obliterating deeds. We refer to the destruction or dispersion of the Huron people by the Iroquois, a catastrophe which involved one of the Jesuit missions and several of the leading missionaries. 1648 and 1649, memorable in European history for the Peace of Westphalia and the execution of Charles I., were also years of great activity in the American wilderness. During 1648

the Jesuits thought themselves (leaving out the one contingency of Iroquois attack) within easy reach of a coveted object, viz., the salvation of several thousand Hurons. We have already seen that Brébeuf did not shut his eyes to the likelihood of a deadly attack from the Five Nations, but, during the twelvemonth before that relentless foe came with fire and sword, the purely missionary prospects appeared much more hopeful than ever before. At one spot in Huronia, the residence of Ste. Marie, there were, according to Ragueneau's report, forty-two Frenchmen, including eighteen Jesuits. 1,300 persons had been baptized since the last annual report, and 3,000 natives sheltered by the fathers during times of famine and pestilence. Furthermore, it had been proved by experience that a better means existed of reaching the Indians than by open denunciation of their witchcraft and devils. Gentle ridicule and an appeal to the judgment were yielding the fruits of salvation where threats of hell-fire had previously proved fruitless. Many of the early converts are reported as proving steadfast, and manifesting a faith which does not desert them even among the flames of torture.

—Thus, in 1648, Ragueneau records some striking successes; yet the year had its full share of disappointment and death. On the 4th of July St. Joseph was sacked by the Iroquois, Father Daniel martyred, the church destroyed, and the flock butchered or scattered. Early in the next spring the foe returned, now confident of capturing the principal Huron villages and destroying the flower of the race. Two explicit accounts remain of this raid—the most sanguinary which was ever directed by one North American tribe against another. The one is Christopher Regnaut's narrative of the death which Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant met; the other, Ragueneau's story of the whole invasion, with its immediate results. We omit details of the torture to which the Jesuits were subjected (merely recalling their superb fortitude), and confine our brief notice to Regnaut's statement concerning the episode. Since this is the principal source of information as to the manner of Brébeuf's death, it deserves scrutiny. The details proceed from an Indian source, for neither Regnaut nor any other Frenchman fell into Iroquois hands at St. Ignace and survived. In this regard our source resembles that relating to Dollard's exploit at the Long Saut in 1660. He and his sixteen followers were all killed, and the circumstances of the fight rest on Huron testimony. However, Regnaut stands much nearer to Brébeuf's martyrdom than does any French writer to Dollard, because on the day following he reached the spot and found remains which justified the Indians' stories. He describes in the most explicit way what he discovered, and how he secured the relics which were afterwards venerated at Quebec. The style of this important document is simple and straightforward, although in concluding the writer apologizes for its roughness: "Ce n'est pas un Docteur de Sorbonne qui a composé ceci vous le voyez bien; cest un reste d'Iroquois et une personne qui a vecu plus qu'il ne pensoit."

A PIONEER.

Emma Willard and her Pupils; or, Fifty Years of Troy Female Seminary. American Tract Society. 1898.

This bulky volume, published by Mrs. Rus-

sell Sage, frankly accounts for itself in a preface of admirable candor, though of very little literary competence. It is part of an organized attempt by students of Mrs. Willard's Troy Seminary to do honor to their teacher, and incidentally to place themselves in the ranks of sharers in the so-called higher education. The work of collecting and compiling this record was intrusted to a committee of the Emma Willard Association. The result is something between an expanded form of the ordinary general catalogue of a college or university, and a literary and social study of an institution of learning. This is to be regretted, for, in spite of index and classification, an alphabetical list of the students of the Troy Seminary conceals by its very fulness much that is of interest to the reader, and, on the other hand, the historical sketch of Mrs. Willard and her work seems almost pitifully inadequate until it is supplemented by the scores of interesting reminiscences appearing in the rambling contributions of the representatives of Mrs. Willard's seven thousand pupils. The portraits of persons connected with the Seminary give a fair impression of the wide range of the influence of Troy Seminary, and suggest some of the reasons why Mrs. Willard, in spite of her undoubted ability and devotion to the interests of women's education, did not succeed as did her contemporary, Mary Lyon, with far less personal magnetism and with a less striking personality, in founding a permanent institution or in definitely influencing the course of higher education for women in this country.

Mrs. Willard leaves the impression of having been more of a courtier than of a statesman. Her trust was in persons rather than in ideas; and her resources, in the demonstration of strong individuality rather than in the development of fundamental social ideals. When the New York lower house threw out the bill for endowing her school, she declared, "Could I have died a martyr to the cause and thus have secured its success, I should have blessed the faggot and hugged the stake"; but she had apparently played her last card, except so far as she could recommend her school by industry and enterprise of the personal sort. It is a perfectly natural sequel, from the reader's point of view, that her personal and deputed conduct of the school should be referred to as "the Willard dynasty," but the reader feels that this is not the way institutions grow. Mr. Depew's tribute to her on the occasion of the dedication of the Russell Sage Hall in 1895, "She was an apostle, an evangel of the higher education of women. . . . Her influence did not stop here. It crossed the ocean; . . . it created Girton and Newnham Colleges under the shadows of Oxford and Cambridge," etc., is not simply eulogy in hysterics, it is a complete misapprehension of the history of the higher education of women. The relation of Girton and Newnham to the education of women is so essentially different from anything dreamed of by Mrs. Willard that it may fairly be questioned whether she would have approved of it; and in any case the credit for the idea of a college for women connected with one of the English universities and resulting in Girton College must be definitely given to Miss Emily Davies, as far as it is worth while to assign credit for ideas so manifestly in the air that it is almost a matter of chance who happens to express them first.

But all this detracts not at all from the

value of the specific services Mrs. Willard rendered to her generation, nor from the impressive dignity of her personality, and only changes the angle from which her work is to be viewed. Born in 1787, in Berlin, Conn., the sixteenth of seventeen children, before the appearance of Webster's Dictionary or Spelling-Book, when families still did "chores" and knew leisure only by change from less to more congenial labor, Emma Hart was trained by the efforts of a father who read Shakspeare and Milton aloud to his family, and who told them what he knew of science and encouraged their interest in it. She seems always to have been a girl whom Miss Austen would have called superior; and when, after financial trouble came upon her husband, Dr. John Willard, to whom she was married in 1809, she opened a school, it was the sort of thing readily looked for from her and in which her success was taken for granted. But a little town in Vermont, such as Middlebury, did not offer scope enough for her growing plans, and, with the experience she had gained in Waterford, N. Y., and in Middlebury, Vt., she moved her school to Troy. In this step she had enlisted the sympathy of DeWitt Clinton, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, George Combe, and Dr. Dick. It was in this stage of her work that she hoped for State aid, and indeed the Senate granted \$2,000 for an endowment; but the bill failed in the House. With the help of \$4,000 raised by the Troy Corporation by tax, and another fund raised by subscription, Mrs. Willard, at thirty-four years of age, opened the Troy Seminary.

Precisely what this change of plan meant to Mrs. Willard, and how far it may have modified the scope of her ambition, it is now impossible to say. It must be admitted that she was bitterly disappointed at her failure to secure State help for her school; but whether she essentially changed the character of what she was trying to do in view of this failure, or not, it is certain that her work had from the start certain clear limitations and an equally clear coherence. She found the public impervious to ideas that she valued highly, and, in many directions, she had politely to bully her public; in others she waited for the results of the educating process she was applying to the parents through their daughters. In this connection some of her letters, fortunately preserved, are most edifying, in spite of their inflated rhetoric. One of her primary objects was to improve the character of the teaching of women in the United States, and to this end she wrote textbooks and trained promising pupils for the profession (as she tried to persuade them their work might be considered). Her success may be inferred from the fact that she helped organize schools in Greece and in Bogotá, besides supplying teachers to scores of schools and to hundreds of families in this country. Some sixteen years before Mt. Holyoke was opened, she insisted upon public examinations for her pupils, provided them with instruction in science, and was one of the first to use the so-called laboratory method of instruction. She combated the notion that study of anatomy and physiology was indelicate in a woman, and insisted upon instruction in manners, cooking, and morals. She was a firm supporter of what was then known as woman's sphere, and wrote and talked emphatically of the claims of the home. Her

interest in the engagements and marriages of her pupils was almost romantic, and she enjoyed journeying from one to another of the homes they had made, to see how they carried out the spirit of her instructions.

The history of the school is a frank display of the thousand and one interests, big and little, trivial and important, that make the thing we call education in a school for a hundred boarders and two hundred day scholars. Board and tuition in the Seminary, in 1819, cost at the rate of \$3.50 a week. There are hints from time to time in the letters of old graduates that the modern college girl might profit by the simplicity in dress and furnishing required at Troy Seminary. One writes:

"I recall the simple, uncarpeted rooms, . . . each furnished with a lowpost double bedstead, a painted bureau, table and washstand of the simplest pattern, two chairs, a looking-glass, and a box-stove for wood. . . . We made our own beds and fires and brought up our own pitchers of water from the pump in the yard. A lunch of excellent dry bread, a slice apiece, was served to all who wished it twice a day, at eleven A. M. and nine P. M."

The course of study was more or less flexible, and nowhere is there a record of what precisely was required for graduation. It was not until 1843 that diplomas were awarded, but after that time a sharp distinction for official purposes seems to have been made between the holders of full diplomas and of "partial certificates." The textbooks used by Mrs. Willard herself have an antiquated flavor, full of quaint associations to some of us, from corner cupboards in country houses, or from the stories of aunts and cousins who went to Troy when a young woman from Canandaigua was known as one of the "Western girls." They were Newman's 'Rhetoric,' Hedge's 'Logic,' Paley's 'Moral Philosophy,' Dugald Stewart's 'Intellectual Philosophy,' Day's 'Algebra,' Legendre's 'Geometry,' Adams's 'Latin Grammar.' Besides writing and helping compile textbooks on geography and history, Mrs. Willard published a 'Treatise on the Motive Powers which produce the Circulation of the Blood,' which attracted respectful comment from scientists in Europe. Her 'Journal and Letters from France and Great Britain' by its sale helped found the first girls' school in Athens. Her poem "Rocked in the Cradle of the Deep" was written on her return from her first visit to Europe in 1830. At this time she visited the Government schools of France, and came back with profound conviction of the importance of the work women had to do in the world. In 1838 she surrendered the conduct of the school to her son and his wife, and retired to Berlin, Conn., where she took an active part in the educational interests of the State and of New England. Her friends at this time were Dr. Henry Barnard, Mr. May, and Mr. Alcott. In 1844 she went back to live in Troy, in the seminary grounds, and there, in 1870, she died.

The record of the pupils of the Troy Seminary is given in decades, each with a character and atmosphere of its own. The first naturally has more of the picturesque and the socially interesting, although there is quite as much of definite attainment and more of positive accomplishment in any one of the later periods. A touch of pathos and tragedy comes in with the histories of the woman associated closely with the civil war. The Troy Seminary had always drawn many pupils from the South, and it is to the credit of the school

that the representatives of both North and South were energetically loyal to their standards of duty during the conflict, and prompt to avail themselves of opportunities for the renewal of old ties as soon as it was over. The fifth decade closes the connection of the Willard family with Troy Seminary. In 1872 Mr. and Mrs. John Willard withdrew, the seminary property owned by the city was purchased by the trustees, and Miss Emily Treat Wilcox made principal. That the school, even after its fifth decade had closed, was still popular, is shown by the fact that, on Miss Wilcox's withdrawal, in 1895, eighty young women received diplomas for the full course and nine took certificates for a partial course. But before this the women's colleges had been opened, and department work had been organized along lines of a strict division of labor. The time was past when a woman teaching mathematics, chemistry, the higher branches of physics, English literature, and psychology, herself, however highly endowed or however attractive and influential, could expect to compete with the college for women, differently organized and with a most attractive social life. The fifth decade, therefore, contains many names of a high degree of general attainment, but fewer than any other of eminence or special accomplishment. Henceforward these were to be looked for in the catalogues of Mt. Holyoke, Vassar, Smith, Wellesley, Radcliffe, Bryn Mawr, the associated colleges for women, and in coeducational colleges and universities.

HENRY REEVE.

Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Henry Reeve, C.B., D.C.L. By J. K. Laughton, M.A. Longmans, Green & Co. 1898.

This is the 'Life' of a man who was exceptionally happy in realizing every energy and using all his talents like tools. A "lambent dulness" inevitably plays about the biography of one who, without personal brilliance, pursued so unchequered a career. Henry Reeve is a good representative of a nation that has set its heart's delight upon action, and these two volumes record a long life of hard work and energetic play. With no advantages of birth or fortune, without a spark of imagination or a ray of humor, this middle-class provincial, by dint of a calm self-confidence and an intelligent and active interest in the questions of the day, acquired an influence that, for fifteen years, at least, was international. He was the only son of a widowed mother of small fortune, and it was to her common sense that he owed the advantage of not having buried his mind in a university education—a piece of good fortune that sometimes lifts your average Englishman above the mediocrity that, to the 'varsity man, too often appears golden. Like Gibbon, he rubbed off the provincial in Switzerland, and acquired his cosmopolitanism in the brilliant society of Geneva and Paris. A desultory education and frequent visits to the French capital did much to counterbalance the solid British qualities of a man who had not a single redeeming vice.

That there was much solidity to leaven we gather from his youthful letters from Geneva. At the age of nineteen, he writes in describing a friend's marriage:

"The young ladies have, of course, been thrown into a delicate confusion by this

early *enlèvement* of one of their virginal band; puis, de l'autre côté, the cohort of male admirers in dire dismay and disappointment. . . . I, for my part, at the above-mentioned soirée, made my congratulatory bow with all due gallantry; but in my own room I have felt that a very vain bubble, when it bursts, leaves almost as great a chasm in a man's spirit as if a mountain rose from its foundations and became air" (p. 20).

This is "steep" even for the Early Victorian thirties. At the same age he "thinks with Cousin" (or rather, "has long thought") what Cousin thinks; at twenty-two he writes that "Hugo has fallen rather low, and is so mad, so childish, and so blackguard that all his acquaintance have cut him, or he them. I saw him at the Bibliothèque du Roi, but did not care to renew our acquaintances" (p. 36). A few years later he "dropped the acquaintance" of Louis Napoleon.

It is not, however, our object to show that Henry Reeve lacked a sense of proportion and a sense of humor; we should rather remind ourselves that this dull person who, to judge by his correspondence, from his teens to his seventies, was never guilty of an incorrect sentiment or a single epigram, so impressed his contemporaries with his ability that at twenty-five he was given the responsible and well-paid post of Clerk of Appeals to the Privy Council, and at twenty-six was "on terms of acquaintance with the whole cabinet." From 1842 to '57 he was one of the chief leader-writers for the *Times*, in the days of Delane's editorship, when the spirit of nations still rose or sank every morning at the bidding of the most important journal in Europe. Reeve had nothing of the "touch-and-go, blackguard-genteel" which, as Scott said, distinguishes the genuine press-man. He never "plunged," but wrote his leaders with a lively sense that he was swaying the cabinets of Europe. And whenever there was a political crisis, especially in foreign affairs, it is plain that Reeve's private letters of advice (written, for the most part, from Paris) had a real influence on the policy of the English statesmen to whom they were addressed. His relations with French politicians were hardly less intimate. Guizot and De Tocqueville, whose 'Democracy in America' he translated, were his lifelong friends. Perhaps the most interesting portions of the book are those connected with the *Coup d'État* and the fortunes of the Empire, to which Reeve was inveterately hostile. In 1855, at the age of forty-two, he succeeded Lewis as editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, and ceased to write for the *Times*. In spite of Disraeli's sneer at the quarterlies as "Boots at the Red Lion and Chambermaid at the Blue Boar," whose occupation had gone with the coming of railways, the editorship of the *Edinburgh* was still one of the highest prizes of the profession of literature. Moreover, Reeve, who, besides writing many articles himself, never published the articles of his contributors without careful revision, may be said to have occupied, like Oliver Wendell Holmes, "not so much a chair as a settee."

He was, at heart, an historian and a politician rather than a literary man. If we may judge from his 'Life,' he practically left off reading when he began to write. We get no glimpse of his literary preferences or dislikes; his judgment of Carlyle—he "is odious—arrogance, vanity, self-conceit, ingratitude to old friends"—is purely personal and in the nature of a *tu quoque*. Though his thorough grasp of a given political situation made him invaluable in

Downing Street, he had no gift for political prophecy. He always expected an Orleanist restoration, he backed King Otho and championed Austria against the Hungarians. Gladstone, who has fared so ill in contemporary biography, was naturally the *bête noire* of so determined a Conservative. After the defeat of the home-rule bill in 1886, Reeve writes: "I do not remember another instance in which a man's best and earliest friends have turned upon him, to unmask him, and that without any motive of personal resentment. It is the noble motive which led Brutus to strike Cæsar" (p. 346). It was about this time that Mr. Labouchere said of Gladstone: "How is it possible to play with an old sinner who has got an ace up each sleeve, and says God Almighty put them there?"

The professional politician will find in these pages much that is of interest, if not strikingly new. In 1873 Reeve suggests that "England is directly concerned in Cuba by its close proximity to the Bahamas. Cay Lobos (British territory) is but twenty-four miles from Cay Confitas (Cuban territory). That leaves but eight miles of high seas in width. The people of the Bahamas have made frequent complaint to the Governor about the conduct of the Spanish authorities in Cuba. In August this year the Governor of the Bahamas sent a memorial to the Captain-General of Cuba about the impediments to the Bahama sponging-trade caused by the arbitrary acts of the Spaniards. No notice has been taken of this. It has not even been acknowledged" (p. 220).

In 1895, during the struggle between China and Japan, he writes to a friend: "It is curious that nobody points out that the United States are the country with the largest future interest in the Pacific, and that they must have a voice in this controversy" (p. 206).

The general reader will be interested in Reeve's account of the famous "Brougham hoax," which is told in outline in the 'Greville Memoirs,' but now for the first time in detail. In October, 1839, Reeve wrote to his mother:

So rapid and so mysterious is the flight of all rumors which have grief in them, that I shall probably not be the first to announce to you the death of Lord Brougham. Yesterday morning A. Montgomery, a youth on whom Brougham doted, rushed over to Gore House before they had sat down to breakfast, with the letter in his hand. . . . It was from Shafto, the only uninjured survivor of the party. Brougham, Leader [still alive in 1898], and Shafto hired a bad hack carriage to go from Brougham Hall to see a ruin in the neighborhood. It was so like him to choose to go in a wheelbarrow instead of a coach and four. They had not gone far when the splinter-bar broke; they were thrown out, and one of the horses kicked Brougham on the head, which made him insensible, so that he could not get out of the way of the carriage, which turned over on him in the ditch, crushed his head, and killed him on the spot."

This was the only letter received in London. In an hour the rumor pervaded the town.

"Shed" rushed from the Athenæum to pen a magniloquent obituary, which appeared in the next day's *Chronicle*. . . . Windsor Castle shook with glee, and Lord Holland began to think that he should venture to speak again in the Lords'. For the first time for five years, all the world talked for a whole day about Brougham's virtues, and there was wondrous forgiveness of injuries in the whole metropolis. For my part I had selected the 12th and 13th verses of St. Jude's Epistle for the funeral sermon. . . . Nobody could look at Brougham's wild, uncouth handwriting without tears in his eyes.

I had not half done my reflections on B. and his gifts when I discovered from a letter from Brougham, dated Sunday, that

he did not die on Saturday. In the afternoon everybody learned it was a hoax—a very pretty piece of devil's amusement."

Reeve adds that, in November, when the Queen had withdrawn from the Council, "the Duke of Cambridge ran round the room after Brougham, vociferating at the top of his voice, 'By God, Brougham, you did it; by God, you wrote the letter yourself'; to which B. could not well reply," though he had actually challenged his old friend, Sir A. Paget, the week before, for saying as much.

Reeve makes another effort to clear Mrs. Norton's memory of the charge of treachery which Mr. Meredith has done much to perpetuate in 'Diana of the Crossways.' The facts are these: Early in December, Peel announced to his colleagues in the Cabinet his intention to repeal the Corn Laws. Lord Aberdeen told Delane, the *Times* editor, on December 3, and on the 4th the *Times* published it. There was great agitation, and Peel resigned on the 6th. His premature announcement in the *Times* was a piece of strategy on the part of Aberdeen, who wished to soothe the Government of the United States in the negotiations then pending. But this was not known, and so the scandalous story arose that Delane had bought the secret from Mrs. Norton, to whom it had been confided by Sidney Herbert, one of her admirers. Mr. Meredith, in the last edition of 'Diana,' has added a note to the effect that the incident is fiction, but the misrepresentation will probably haunt Mrs. Norton's memory for ever.

Reeve owes a great part of his reputation to the notoriety he gained over the publication of the 'Greville Memoirs.' Greville had intended to intrust the famous journals to Sir G. Lewis, editor of the *Edinburgh*, but he survived Lewis, and Reeve, a week before Greville's death, was invited to take over the memoirs as he had taken over the editorship of the *Review*. The 'Greville Memoirs' had a success of merit as well as a *succès de scandale*. The first part was published in 1874.

"The Queen, though I believe she had not yet read the book, but only newspaper extracts, sent me a message by Helps to express her disapproval of it, on these grounds: (1.) It was disparaging to her family. (2.) It tended to weaken the monarchy. (3.) It proceeded from official persons. I begged Helps to reply, with my humble duty, that the book showed that, if the monarchy had really been endangered, it was by the depravity of George IV. and the absurdities of William IV.; but that under her Majesty's reign it had become stronger than ever" (p. 226).

The Queen, however, never forgave Reeve, and he never received the K.C.B. which would naturally have followed on the C.B. given to him in 1871.

We do not think it is altogether the fault of his biographer, Prof. Laughton, that one reads the two massive volumes of this biography without becoming interested in the personality of Henry Reeve. He kept no *journal intime*, and we could have spared the extracts from his meagre diary of engagements which Prof. Laughton has too conscientiously included. A mere list of dinner engagements with all the celebrated men and women of Europe, and no record of their table-talk, is but a Barmecide feast for the reader. To us, Reeve appears as a sedate and pompous official. His biographer should have made some effort to explain how it was that a person who, from his letters, seems able to record nothing but commonplace facts and strikes no spark from his correspond-

ents, was a social success, to a degree that is mysterious, in the most fastidious and brilliant circles of London and Paris.

Chinese Porcelain. By W. G. Gulland. With notes by T. J. Larkin, and 485 illustrations. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898. Pp. xxiv, 270.

This book is an attempt to do for the student in ceramic art, or in the collecting of decorative objects generally, a part of what is done at a much higher cost by the large books of Du Sartel and Granddier. That is to say, it gives a great many illustrations, in fairly good photographic prints, of important pieces of Chinese porcelain, and these are so far described that their significance is explained to the comparatively unpractised student. It is a regrettable fact that photography renders fine Oriental ceramic ware rather less agreeably than works of art of any other class. The gloss or still higher polish of the porcelain, the rounded forms retreating from the focus, the prevalence of deep-blue which the photograph always misinterprets, the placing of patterns, borders, and figures on such inaccessible surfaces as the shoulder of a vase or the inner side of the lip—all these circumstances enhance the general difficulty of rendering bright colors in the photographic gray and white. A piece of porcelain has to be handled to be enjoyed—every collector knows that; even the piece behind the plate glass of the museum and plainly visible in full daylight (as all museum pieces are not), is difficult to appreciate thoroughly. Take away from it, then, the charm of color, the truthfulness of representation which only a comparatively flat near object can receive, and show from one point of view only that which is meant to be examined from a quite indefinite number of points of view, and you face a difficulty which has hitherto been insuperable. For this reason the description of each photograph in the text is quite essential. Even a nearly flat plate is much better understood after being so described; and when it is a convex and somewhat elaborate piece which is the subject of examination, the description becomes indispensable.

There are two attempts in the book at classification of pieces, the one by their shapes, the other by their surface decoration. It is hard to see the value of either of these attempts. The first classification, that of form, begins with the commonest European shapes, cups with handles, cups and saucers, dishes and platters, and the like; and one of these tea-cups is called "bell-shaped," another "cylindrical," which it certainly is not, and other pieces are described simply as "rectangular," meaning thereby rectangular in plan, or "hexagonal," or "octagonal," with the same significance. It would be hard to explain what is gained for the student by being able to refer to such a classification as this. The only thing which he would be apt to get from the pages and the cuts devoted to this subject is the readier use of the names employed in the trade—such names as "beaker," "ginger-jar," "pilgrim-bottle," etc., and such adjectives as "oviform," "bulbous," and "pear-shaped." In other words, these pages serve as a dictionary reversed; the name of the object being given after the presentation of the object—or definition first, term afterwards. The possible utility of this is, of course, to be admitted. The other classifica-

tion, that by decoration, is apparently an enlargement of the rather preposterous one introduced by Albert Jacquemart. It is due to the dealers in porcelains to say that they are not very much enamoured of the attempted division of Chinese porcelain into *famille verte* and the other families, and the relegation of by far the greater number of varieties and styles to the "exceptional" class. On the other hand, the terms "celadon," "under-glaze," and such partly naturalized French terms as "flambé" and "soufflé" should be explained, and are so explained here. The fault to be found with this part of the work is its failure to seem really learned—to be the outcome of a lifelong acquaintance with the subject.

This is still more visible in the prefatory chapters devoted to the Chinese religion; drawing, painting; symbols, emblems, and charms; flowers and plants; and fabulous animals. In all this there is apparently one point of view only, the old, exclusively European, untravelled, non-Oriental, condescending tone. The religion and philosophy of China are treated as if by a Christian missionary, the painting is treated as if by an exclusivist student of eighteenth-century painting in oil, the decorative writing is treated as if by a person who cannot understand that writing in itself can be lovely, and who is, therefore, not a student of mediæval or later manuscripts. The symbols, emblems, and charms are explained according to the traditional old ways, without any serious attempt at ascertaining the facts, and the way in which the painting on porcelain of animals and plants is criticised can be best exemplified by the following sentence (p. 115): "The drawing of flowers on porcelain is often so conventionalized, and the coloring so untrue to nature, that it is frequently difficult to make out the particular species intended." As to this last subject, it is, however, fair to say that it is rather description than criticism which this part of the book undertakes. It is only when one opens the book at the brief chapter devoted to drawing and painting that he meets the full European ignorance of Oriental art in a concentrated form. The opinions of Marryat about Chinese painting, and the queer old stories, so often repeated, of how the Chinese could not understand drawings in perspective, and the like, are offered here once more as grave analysis, and here again a sentence expresses the whole chapter: "The inveterate prejudices of the Chinese did not admit in painting either of drawing or perspective." Again, in the paragraph on Drawing and Painting, on page 7, and under the general treatise on Religion, it is gravely alleged that, as the Chinese always prefer literature to fine art, so "the small amount of encouragement accorded to drawing and painting accounts for the, in some respect, backward state of these arts in China." One would suppose that the recent treatises on the painting of China as seen through Japanese eyes, and on the painting of Japan, founded confessedly upon that of China, and what little has been ascertained direct of the great early schools of painters in the Middle Kingdom, had never been published. It is true, indeed, that Western people are hardly able as yet to study Chinese painting of the great schools with any thoroughness. Even the painting of Japan is but inadequately represented, except in one or two collections, not generally accessible; and perhaps those who control and best know those collections would be the

first to say that even their abundant stores fail to reveal the whole historic truth. At the same time it is now easy to check and modify out of existence the hasty conclusions of writers who, half a century ago, before the opening of the Japanese world to Europe, themselves knowing nothing of any fine art whatever, blundered into statements not only untrue but containing the exact opposite of the truth.

The conclusion seems to be that nearly five hundred photographic illustrations with such comment as will explain their general significance cannot but be valuable, and that some of the information given in the chapters of general discussion is useful as well, except that this latter is too generally mingled with erroneous or wholly inadequate criticism.

The Battles of Trenton and Princeton. By William S. Stryker. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1898. Illustrated.

In selecting the battles of Trenton and Princeton for historical study, General Stryker takes a subject that he has made peculiarly his own. He has from time to time printed for private circulation essays on the events connected with those engagements, and the volume now published comprises the mature results of special investigation. It is hardly necessary to point out the author's minute attention to detail, and the many evidences of his industrious drudgery among printed and manuscript sources. The work has been done thoroughly; and if it fall short in any line, it is not because of carelessness on the part of the writer, but because of certain limitations of view inevitable in so restricted a study.

The importance of the surprises, rather than battles, was of a political and not a military character; and in laying so much stress upon the military incidents, Mr. Stryker has slighted the more important, because the more lasting, effects on the social aspect of the Revolution. He has a partial appreciation of some of these effects, as his closing chapters show; but he fails to recognize their value in educating the Revolutionary forces. The evacuation of Boston by the British army certainly had a great effect in furthering the cause of liberty. The mere fact that an army, hastily collected, imperfectly equipped, and ignorantly officered, should have obliged the seasoned and disciplined troops of England to retreat from a stronghold open to the sea, was in itself sufficient to support the views of those who thought the success of revolution possible. But when the same forces, with the American army better trained and equipped, met on Long Island and above New York, the advantage possessed by the foreign soldiers became manifest, and Washington was forced to retire until he was beyond the Delaware, and pursuit was checked only by the absence of boats and the want of enterprise on the part of the British to build them.

Retreat is disheartening to an army when no alternative of success is offered. It was hopeless to make a stand against the enemy; almost equally hopeless to retreat through a country favorably disposed to accept the King's mercy, so liberally offered and so niggardly given. The very atmosphere of the Jerseys was tinged with loyalty, and Washington was "cruelly disappointed" in receiving no aid from the inhabitants. Hardly a company of men reinforced him in his long

and anxious journey, while hundreds flocked to the following standard of the King, eager to make their peace and take the oath of allegiance. He gained no military strength during the retreat, but was successful in placing a wide river between his army and the enemy, thus securing time for gathering together his scattered forces. Even this was a matter of some difficulty, for Lee's eccentric movements and disregard of orders made a full union doubtful. Indeed, had not Lee been, or permitted himself to be, captured, the battles of December would never have taken place. As it was, reinforced by militia and in full command of his own army, Washington found himself strong enough to venture an offensive movement, and the successes have come down as constituting his strongest claim to military glory.

It is not as military operations, however brilliant, that Trenton and Princeton are to be gauged. They proved thus early in the game the incapacity of the Continental Congress to conduct the war, and the remarkable ascendancy of Washington's personality. They were the first test applied to the system of running a campaign through a legislative council, as compared with one controlled by a strong and independent executive. Congress had raised its army on short enlistments; so each December the trained force melted away, to give place to a new army that must be whipped into form. This experiment, defensible on political grounds, was disastrous in a military point of view, and reacted disastrously on the strength of Congress. To raise a new force and to pay bounties, required funds; to equip, to clothe and feed it, was very costly; to transport it, with all its baggage, in active service, was almost beyond the power of the commissariat as then constituted. Money was demanded in immense sums and wastefully expended. But Congress had no funds, levied no taxes, and was possessed of a doubtful credit, contingent upon success. Bills of credit had been issued in large amounts, and were accepted by the people until the enemy gained advantage. Every step taken by the British in the Jerseys reduced the area of circulation of these bills, and cast discredit on the whole issue. For who would accept these promises anywhere when their value was seen to vanish at the approach of the hostile force? British gold against American paper won the day, for unless the Revolution ended in independence, the Continental credit was worthless. Further, Congress was confessing its own weakness by hastily leaving Philadelphia on a prospect of Howe's advance, and by conferring powers of a dictator on Washington. Yet this was the body that "created" the credit on which the bills must rest. Their formal resolutions denying any intention to leave the city were as mischievous as those denouncing as enemies any who should refuse to accept at par the paper money. Both acts showed weakness, not strength; and both acts were properly interpreted by the people.

Unless Congress could give some evidence of an established credit, the contest was at an end. Unless it could still circulate its bills for something like their face value, it could not carry on the war. A military success was essential, and it was in recognition of this fact that Washington determined upon risking all on a happy stroke. His conduct was justified by the event. He checked the advance of the British, saved

Philadelphia from capture, and obliged the enemy to retire to New York. The wavering were strengthened, Congress resumed its sessions at Philadelphia and again set the printing-presses to work. The poison of depreciation had set in too far to be checked, but it wrought more slowly; and the question of army management was brought to the front, though not fully settled for some years. Unless Washington had surprised the Hessians and carried the day at Princeton, the battle of Saratoga would not have been fought, and the French alliance would hardly have become effective. Trenton and Princeton are, therefore, pivotal events in the Revolution; but it is because of the lessons they taught in the administration of the army that they are of special value. Short enlistments were soon set aside for enlistments "during the war." Paper money in a few years ran its course of depreciation and disappeared from circulation, proving more destructive than the British army had ever been. With an army at his back, and a commissariat no longer dependent on the weak credit of Congress, Washington husbanded his strength until the happy occasion of the Virginia campaign offered a fair opportunity for exerting it. The politics of the Revolution made victory possible only when the Congress and its foolish financial experiments had been crowded from the scene. In December, 1776, its incapacity was first tested and proved.

It is a pleasure to meet with a work composed on such a scale and showing such care in matters usually slighted—such as the names and ranks of the officers. Apparently Lieut. Kimm was twice killed and on different places of the field (pp. 149 and 172). It is hardly just to assume, on so slight evidence, that Charles Lee was informing the enemy before his capture. The tendency to accept legends is compensated by a bulky appendix of original documents. The book has many illustrations, some of which are hardly historical.

The Autobiography of a Veteran, 1807-1893.
By General Count Enrico della Rocca.
Translated from the Italian and edited by
Janet Ross. Macmillan. 8vo. Pp. 299.

The translation of Della Rocca's memoirs has been made by Mrs. Janet Ross, daughter of that delightful letter-writer, Lady Duff Gordon, and granddaughter of Mrs. Sarah Austin, who was herself well known as a writer and translator. In translating, Mrs. Ross has somewhat condensed, especially the passages dealing with military details, which, for the ordinary reader, have little meaning and less interest. The result, so far as we have compared the translation with the original, is usually satisfactory. We have noticed no instance in which the General's opinions have been misrepresented through omission or condensation.

The work as it stands in English, even more as it stands complete in Italian, is as entertaining as it is important. It will take its place along with the autobiographies of Garibaldi and of Massimo d'Azeglio as a successful personal record of a great period. Many readers besides those who pay special heed to the history of recent Italy, will enjoy it, because it not only gives fresh news of famous persons and events, but also reveals in its author a character intrinsically interesting. Della Rocca is a type of that best class of Piedmontese nobility which did so much to transform little Piedmont into the

Kingdom of Italy. Aristocracy has hardly ever had so fine an exemplification as in Piedmont during a part of this century. There *soblesse oblige* meant something. Della Rocca, like his peers, was brave, soldierly, devoted to his sovereign, having the instinct for diplomacy which seems to be innate in all Italians, and able, in spite of provincial bringing up, to conduct negotiations of great moment among the men of the world in Paris or Vienna. Moreover, in his personal criticisms on his contemporaries he is generous and candid; and he freely acknowledges his own mistakes. Very entertainingly does he describe the life of the old régime in which his youth was passed; and thenceforward, for more than fifty years, as he was attached to the person of Charles Albert and Victor Emanuel, he gives us near views of these remarkable princes. And not of them only, but of Napoleon III. and Plon-Plon, of Cavour, Lamarmora, Garibaldi, and most of the other Italian leaders of the age. He is no eavesdropper, nor scandal-monger, and had much rather talk over old campaigns than rehearse the court gossip of Europe; but he still admits enough personal details in his narrative to endue it with life. For the historian, he has many little points concerning the coming to pass of great events, and some secrets and half-secrets to reveal; while at all times his is the testimony of a credible witness whom fortune placed in a favorable position.

To enumerate the important events in which Della Rocca took part would be to outline most of the crises in Piedmont's history for half a century. He was particularly useful on secret or delicate missions. As early as 1840 Charles Albert employed him to investigate privately the French frontier fortifications. Della Rocca slung the tin box of an amateur botanist over his shoulder, and, while ostensibly busy in collecting flowers, he learned what was necessary about the French defences. Later, he was sent on a delicate errand of a different kind. After the death of Queen Maria Theresa, Victor Emanuel was urged to marry again, and Napoleon III. hinted that it would be politic for him to ask for the hand of Princess Stephanie of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. Accordingly, Della Rocca was secretly dispatched to Düsseldorf, where he pretended to be a mere ordinary traveller, bent on seeing the sights of the city, while really hoping to get a glimpse of the Princess. For a while he was baffled. At last, however, he bethought him of asking to visit Prince Hohenzollern's stables, and this brought him an invitation to the palace and the chance he wanted of setting eyes on the Princess herself. He decided that she was too young and shy to suit his master. Among his diplomatic missions we may mention that to Napoleon III., after Orsini's attempt, when the Emperor was greatly exasperated against Piedmont, and Della Rocca's discretion and tact conciliated him. These specimens show what stuff his book contains. It is well worth reading. In writing it, the chivalrous old General has added another historical portrait to the really vital documents *pour servir* of the century.

The City Wilderness: A Settlement Study.
By Residents and Associates of the South End House. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1898.

We have in this compact volume an ex-

haustive study of the "South End" of Boston and its inhabitants. Beginning with the time when the old "Neck" was but a narrow path, often submerged by the tide, the authors trace the changes in the topography of the region, under the influence of increasing business and population. As these demands increased, the flats and marshes were filled in, houses and shops were built, and on half a square mile of made land there now live some 40,000 people. Necessarily the surface of this land is to a great extent too low for residential purposes. The sewage is pumped out, but the dampness cannot be, and the sanitary conditions must be unfavorable in spite of all regulations. Moreover, such portions of the land as were originally fitted for residence, and were covered by well-built houses, are no longer occupied by well-to-do people. The tide of the ocean has been forced back, only to make room for the tide of immigration. This floating scum necessarily deposited itself where it could find a place, and its presence drove away such of the former inhabitants as were able to remove to more agreeable neighborhoods. Their dwellings, built for the housing of single families, have been altered so as to shelter three or four, their yards and gardens have been covered with tenements, and the alleys, intended for the use of garbage-carts, have become the front streets of inferior houses.

The inhabitants of this region represent every nation of Europe and all the continents of the globe. There is a native American element, not of the best, but it is far outnumbered by the heterogeneous mass of immigrants. It must be said that this motley herd somehow manages to lead its varied life with surprisingly little friction and with a certain amount of prosperity. Not more than one-fourth of the families belong to the class called poor, having incomes of less than ten dollars a week, and only one-sixth of them receive alms. That they receive what is better, in the shape of elevating influences, is proved by the appearance of this book. It records a bewildering number of systematic and unsystematic efforts on the part of outsiders to improve the condition of this "city wilderness," not the least of which is to be reckoned such a missionary enterprise as the "South End House." This book, however, is not a record of the work of the "settlement"; it is a study, substantially on the lines followed by Mr. Charles Booth in London, of the physical, racial, social, economic, and political conditions of a community of foreign nature, established within an American community, and comprehended within American citizenship. Such communities are found in all our great cities, and as this investigation is thoroughly scientific in character, it deserves the attention of all who are interested in charitable labors.

We shall pass by the chapters which describe the characteristics of the different races, their employments, their amusements, and their vices, and shall note only that there is no lack of religious influences or of schools of divers kinds. These descriptions do not differ materially from others in similar fields, although it is cheering to find a hopeful spirit lighting up a sombre picture. The chapter on the "Roots of Political Power," however, deserves particular attention as illustrating that degraded form of party government which produces "boss-rule." The description of the development of the local

"boss," or political leader, is particularly graphic, and is a genuine contribution to political science. The lesson which it bears on its face would seem to be that no progress towards better city government is to be expected so long as there is a great deal of patronage at the disposal of government officers. The local politician, in short, attains his power because he is able to distribute some of the public revenue among his followers. Without that resource he would lose his influence; and his influence increases as the number of "places" offered by the municipal government enlarges and as their emoluments are swollen. In view of this, the anticipation expressed in another chapter that enlarged municipal functions and the limitation of municipal employment to the members of favored guilds will purify our politicians, appears to us inconsistent. No attempt is made to support this theory by evidence, and, as we have noted, the evidence brought forward is against it. But a difference of opinion on this point need not keep us from heartily appreciating the disinterested labors which have resulted in so instructive a volume as this "Settlement Study."

The Hittites and their Language. By C. R. Conder, Lt.-Col. R. E. Dodd, Mead & Co. 8vo. 1898.

Whether with or without reason, it still remains true that scholars are wont to look askance at the writings of certain men whose theories they treat with ill-concealed disdain. The author of the volume before us belongs in this category. Others might easily be mentioned, and it will be remembered that the name of Schliemann figured on the list. It cannot be denied that men like Schliemann, Sayce, Conder, and others are often carried away by their zeal for the subject of their investigations, and advance theories which cannot be maintained under the bright light thrown upon them from the workshop of the humdrum scholar. The world may sneer, if it will, but it is the richer because these men have lived and theorized. By all means let us have cool-headed scholars to control results, but we also need men who are not afraid or ashamed to go ahead and propound theories at the risk of seeing them adjudged fallacious or even chimerical. For science is advanced and the ground is cleared even by a negative result.

In the present book, Col. Conder's thesis is that the Hittites were Mongols who spoke a Mongol (Turanian or Turkish) agglutinative language, and that, therefore, the Hittite inscriptions are to be deciphered by the help of Mongol speech. In his 'Hettitische Inschriften' (1892) Peiser had already declared in favor of comparing the Hittite language with the Turkish, and made an attempt at deciphering the inscriptions. Then came Jensen with his 'Hettiter und Armenier,' in which he classes the Hittite as an agglutinative or suffixing and uninflected language, but nevertheless ranks it as Aryan, and compares it with Armenian, a prefixing and inflected language. Both Jensen (whose work Messerschmidt has severely criticised) and Conder undertake to translate the Hittite inscriptions, but with results so widely divergent that, for the present, laymen must needs suspend judgment, to put the matter mildly.

According to Conder, the Mongol race held

undisputed sway in the Tigris-Euphrates valley from 2250 to 1700 B. C. Their empire was first shaken by Egypt (1700 to 1200 B. C.), and was finally overthrown and its inhabitants scattered by the Semitic race in Assyria and Palestine (1200 to 700 B. C.). Their peculiar script ceased to be used before 1500 B. C. The earliest notice of the Hittites in Syria is in the fifteenth century, when their empire extended from Marash to Carchemish and Phœnicia; but as history advances, their empire contracts, until we hear of it only at Carchemish. East of the Euphrates the Hittites were only occasional invaders.

The author next essays to show that his thesis that the first ruling race in western Asia was Mongol, is proved both by the language and the physical type as seen in Hittite monuments. He does not claim for them the Mongol type of the Mantchus or the Chinese, but that of the pure Turks or Tatars of Bactria. These people he calls Sumerians, and contends that their language presented all the main features of the Turkish speech of to-day. These Mongol tribes ruled west of the Euphrates in Syria and Asia Minor before the Semitic race gained power; they were attacked in the west and north by Aryans and in the south by Semitic races, and were finally crushed at about 700 B. C. The texts, written in a very early pictorial script which still exists on rock-cut sculptures throughout all this region, were surely couched in Mongol speech, and not in Aryan or Semitic speech, seeing that the population was certainly Mongol. The peculiar script of the rock-cut sculptures is intimately connected with that of the Sumerians in Chaldean.

Conder next investigates the rock sculptures, the slabs, and seals which are inscribed with Hittite inscriptions, and undertakes to prove that the religious designs found upon them serve to show that the religion of this Mongol race was portrayed by symbolism identical with that of the Sumerians and Akkadians. Religious symbolism, therefore, like racial type and language, supports the contention that the Hittite script was that of the northern Mongols of the earliest age, and dates from about 2250 B. C. The Hittite symbols do not exceed 167 all told, while the Egyptians possess 400, the Babylonians 550, and the Chinese 24,235. The inscriptions are written in boustrophedon style—a fact discovered, we believe, by our Dr. Ward, though no credit is given him for this or his other work along these lines.

Between the Hittite hieroglyphs and the Cypriote syllabary the author draws a parallel which seems to have a plausible basis, and then he proceeds to show that the Cypriote emblems were originated by a people who spoke a Mongol language. For instance, a Cypriote sign having the outline of two mountains has the sound *mt*; we, therefore, must hunt for a language in which *mt* means "mountain" or "country," if we would find the language of those who invented the script. Similarly, a sign representing a man holding a stick has the sound of *ts* or *ds*. Accordingly, in the language of the inventors of the script *ts* or *ds* must mean *best* or *drive*. And so on. These conditions are fulfilled in Mongol speech, where *mt* and *mt* do mean "earth," "land," or "place," and *ds* means "to drive." Conder next proves that internal evidence of the texts themselves shows that the structure of the language is Mongol, that is, agglutinative, using suffixes

and post-positions instead of prefixes and prepositions.

Col. Conder then falls foul of De Rouge and his theory as to the origin of the alphabet, and shows that in early Egyptian Hieratic *Aleph* did not mean "ox," nor *Beth* "house," etc., as we should naturally expect from their Phœnician names. But we do find that in old Mongol *ᠠ* or *av* means "bull," and in Akkadian *eb* (Turkish *ev*) means "house." Therefore, we owe the invention of the alphabet to the Hittites and not to the Egyptians. This thesis, we believe, was maintained by Sayce some ten years ago in his book, 'The Hittites.' Scholars generally believe that De Rouge's theory is builded upon the adamant rock, and therefore may not be undermined. But there are some who chafe under this yoke, and Evans, for instance, in his masterful essay, 'Primitive Pictographs and a Pre-Phœnician Script from Crete and the Peloponnese,' ultimately points to the Hittites as the original inventors of our alphabet.

Now, whatever may be the final word in regard to all this theory, it has much in it that is plausible, much that is suggestive, as well as much that is wrong. The Elamites, Kassites, and Sumerians have nothing to do with the Hittites, so that the first chapters of the book might have been omitted. Assyriologists will certainly call Col. Conder to account for his comparison of the Hittite hieroglyphs with the archaic script of Babylon, and philologists will hardly approve of his linguistic methods.

The results of Col. Conder's labors are set forth in the several appendixes. Appendix i. deals with Chronology, ii. with the Akkadian language, iii. with Deities and Myths, iv. with the Hittite syllabary, consisting of 167 symbols, v. with the Origin of the Alphabet; vi. gives a translation of the Hittite texts, vii. gives the Hittite vocabulary. At the end of the volume we find sixteen plates containing the known Hittite inscriptions. These plates will be valuable, although much less so than if they had been larger. In the front of the volume a map professes to show the distribution of the Hittite monuments, but it fails singularly to do so. It were difficult to discover why the author has neglected to note the existence of Hittite monuments at El Flatan Pufar, Fasiller, Izghin, Arslan Tash, El Bostan, and Singhirli; but such is the fact.

Col. Conder does not wield a facile pen, for his pages are disfigured by such sentences as this: "Ten years of study seem to result in the historical rather than the religious being the true explanation" (p. 189), or this: "In conclusion of the present chapter, it is proposed to consider the later history of the script" (also p. 159).

Éléments de Botanique. Par Ph. Van Tieghem. Paris. 1898.

Of late years there have been few greater surprises in botany than that which has been given by Prof. Van Tieghem's revolutionary proposal to change the system of classification of plants. So-called natural systems of classification of organisms are expressions of views as to relationships. Under the old dogma of constancy of species, such a thing as a natural system, in the sense of its expressing relationship by descent, was manifestly an impossibility. Degrees of difference and of likeness were carefully weighed, and from the results were constructed sys-

tems which were expressions of these degrees. Some of the systems were characterized by most interesting collocations of species, and were helpful in many ways. The most widely accepted of these systems which had their birth under the dominance of the belief that species did not greatly change, was the work of many hands. In its composite form, it was adopted by innumerable writers, and is even now the basis of some of our most convenient manuals. But it became plain, after the general acceptance of a working theory of evolution, that the established system must be revised. It was admitted that the marvellous sagacity of its constructors had, in truth, anticipated many of the results reached by applying the theory of natural selection, but the time appeared to have come for a complete revision in accordance with the new luminous thought. This work fell to the hands of certain Germans, and their reconstruction was thorough. Hanstein, De Bary, Eichler, Engler, and many others, cooperated in the endeavor, and although the system was not finished at one coup, it was marvellously consistent. Its usefulness as a practical system has been everywhere acknowledged to a greater or less extent, and it is, day by day, more and more approving itself to its users. It appears to be a clear statement of the birth-relations between species of plants.

A few years ago, Prof. Van Tieghem of Paris undertook the study of certain parasitic plants of the higher class, and came to remarkable conclusions as to the structure of their seeds. The investigation has been continued with but few interruptions from that time to the present, but its course has traversed some fields outside of its earlier limits. As a consequence of these excursions, the author began to suspect that there had been an overlooking of obscure affinities even where the light had seemed brightest. In communications to the French Academy, Prof. Van Tieghem gave from time to time fragments of his discoveries, and last year presented a synthetic view—a system, in fact. The proposed system differs in so many particulars from the recently established one which we have referred to, that it has been looked upon in most quarters as based on insecure foundations. There has been a general feeling that the results attained were of extreme interest, but could not be consolidated into a unified working system of classification.

In the handbook now before us, Prof. Van Tieghem makes a fair trial of his system, and commends it to the attention of elementary students. This is of the nature of a distinct challenge, and the challenge will no doubt be eagerly accepted by many. We must frankly say that the boldness of such a challenge commands respect, and, however the contest may terminate, cannot fail to have profound influence upon existing systems. In stating this to the lay reader, one feels as if he ought to give in untechnical language the reasons for this conviction. Such a presentation of the case is, however, plainly impossible from its very nature, and we can only hint at even the most striking of the innovations.

As everybody knows, there are two great groups of higher plants known respectively as dicotyledons and monocotyledons; the dividing line between them, based on the number of seed leaves, being associated with other less constant but yet strongly marked characters. Among these secondary charac-

ters are the contrasts as to structure of the stems, veining of the leaves, and numerical plan of the blossoms. The line between the two groups was laid down as long ago as the close of the seventeenth century by the great master, John Ray, and nothing has been done from that time to this to obliterate the line. But, as may be supposed, much thought has been given, since the idea of selection assumed sway, to the fundamental question of the relationship between these groups. Did they spring fully differentiated from a common stock, or did one develop from the other at a later period, and so on? Such answers are hard to obtain, but a few of them seem to be nearly within reach. The questions and answers are purely speculative, and have, at first sight, little or nothing to do with the questions of a practical character as to what plants are on this side and what are on that side of John Ray's line. It would seem to most persons to be a matter of inspection and counting whether grasses, for instance, have in their seeds one cotyledon or two. In such inspection and counting, everybody has made out for the grasses only one cotyledon or seed-leaf in the embryo, and hence, from John Ray's time down to Van Tieghem's, grasses have been by common consent termed monocotyledonous. But Prof. Van Tieghem has detected a rudimentary second cotyledon in the embryo of grasses, and has associated this discovery with certain others.

As a result of his interpretation, he places the grasses in a quasi-intermediate class, and puts by their side a vagrant order of dicotyledons which have held an uncertain position in all systems. This may indicate the revolutionary character of Prof. Van Tieghem's work. It may also indicate to our botanical teachers that in his elementary treatise may be found many surprises worth examining. And we may say to such teachers that they will find the little handbook thoroughly French in its lucidity, and charming from beginning to the end.

Modern American Oratory: Seven Representative Orations. Edited, with Notes, and an Essay on the Theory of Oratory, by Ralph Curtis Ringwalt. Henry Holt & Co. 1898. Pp. vi, 329.

Mr. Ringwalt prints here, without abridgment, addresses delivered by Schurz, Black, Phillips, Depew, Curtis, Grady, and Beecher, as specimens of the chief styles into which oratory is divided; with the additions indicated on his titlepage. There is, further, a bibliography of orators and oratory. The volume is intended as a textbook, containing both precept and example for young speakers. There are pretty abundant references to previous treatises, and at the same time the determination to be untrammelled by the past is pushed to paradox, contempt being expressed at the very outset for the "popular estimate which ranks Edmund Burke among the world's great orators." After reading carefully every word of the introductory treatise, one is forced back upon the conclusion that Mr. Ringwalt, like all his predecessors, will do good service by teaching young orators some things to avoid; but as soon as they attempt to construct orations by his precepts, they will lose the very essence of all oratory—reality. There are, in some of his model orations, many passages in the falsest taste, which were perhaps carried off at the time by the personality of the speaker, but which would be very likely to infect

a college speaker by the taint of their influence.

Mr. Ringwalt's English is by no means above criticism. He says "masterful" for "masterly" (p. 12), "look to" for "look at" (p. 13), "proportion" for "portion" (p. 21). He upholds Cicero's *Oratio* for Milo as a model of narrative oratory; yet he must know it was never delivered, and consequently lacks one of his own essentials for a really model speech.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Albalat, Antoine. *L'Art d'écrire Essai en Vingt Leçons*. Paris: Colin & Cie.
 Banks, Rev. L. A. *Anecdotes and Morals*. Funk & Wagnalls Co. \$1.50.
 Berry, Arthur. *A Short History of Astronomy*. Scribners. \$1.50.
 Botsford, G. W. *A History of Greece for High Schools and Academies*. Macmillan. \$1.10.
 Brain, Belle M. *The Transformation of Hawaii*. F. H. Revell Co. \$1.
 Chapman's Homer. 2 vols. (Temple Classics.) London: Dent; New York: Macmillan. \$1.
 Cleveland, Helen M. *Historical Readers. Book I. Period of Discovery*. Boston: B. H. Sanborn & Co. 25c.
 Collingwood, S. D. *The Life and Letters of Lewis Carroll*. Century Co. \$2.50.
 Conrad, E. *Grüsse an meine Freunde in New York*. New York: Dykes & Pfeiffer.
 Cones, Elliott. *Forty Years a Fur-Trader on the Upper Missouri. Personal Narrative of Charles Larpeur, 1833-1872*. 2 vols. F. P. Harper.
 Cust, Lionel. *The Master E. S. and the 'Ars Moriendi': A Chapter in the History of Engraving*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde.
 Davenport, C. B. *Experimental Morphology. Part Second*. Macmillan. \$2.
 Eliot, George. *Silas Marner*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. 40c.
 Evans, Sebastian. *The High History of the Holy Grail*. 2 vols. (Temple Classics.) London: Dent; New York: Macmillan. \$1.
 Farnell, George. *Rev. Josiah Hilton, the Apostle of the New Age*. Providence: Journal of Commerce Co.
 Fonseca, João Severiano da. *Voyage autour du Brésil. Rio de Janeiro: A. Lavignasse, Filho & Co. Gospel of the Stars; or, Wonders of Astrology*. Continental Publishing Co. \$1.
 Green, Rev. S. G. *The Christian Creed and the Creeds of Christendom*. Macmillan. \$1.75.
 Guerber, H. A. *The Story of the Thirteen Colonies*. American Book Co.
 Haackel, Ernst. *The Last Link. Our Present Knowledge of the Descent of Man*. London: A. & C. Black; New York: Macmillan. \$1.
 Hanks, Beulah D. *For the Honor of a Child*. Continental Publishing Co. 75c.
 Henderson, Prof. C. R. *Social Settlements*. New York: Lenthion & Co. 50c.
 Hovey, Richard. *Along the Trail. A Book of Lyrics*. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. \$1.50.
 Hoyt, Derishe L. *The World's Painters and their Pictures*. Boston: Ginn & Co. \$1.40.
 Hume, Fergus. *The Clock Struck One*. F. Warne & Co. \$1.25.
 Huntley, Florence. *Harmonics of Evolution*. Chicago: The Author. \$2.
 Johnson, R. B. *Eighteenth Century Letters*. 3 vols. Henry Holt & Co.
 King, W. N. *The Story of the War of 1898*. Illustrated. P. F. Collier.
 Kirtland, J. C., Jr. *Selections from the Correspondence of Cicero*. American Book Co.
 La France au milieu du xviii. siècle. *D'après le Journal du Marquis d'Argenson*. Paris: A. Colin & Cie.
 Laing, Ransom L. *The Philippine Islands*. Continental Publishing Co. \$2.50.
 La Main Malheureuse. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 25c.
 Lawler, John. *Book Auctions in England in the Seventeenth Century*. London: Elliot Stock; New York: Armstrong. \$1.25.
 Lawton, Prof. W. C. *The Successors of Homer*. Macmillan. \$1.50.
 Lecky, W. E. H. *Democracy and Liberty*. 2 vols. New ed. Longmans, Green & Co. \$5.
 Luquer, L. Mel. *Minerals in Rock Sections*. D. Van Nostrand Co.
 Marr, J. E. *The Principles of Stratigraphical Geology*. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan. \$1.50.
 Merriman, H. S. *Young Mistley*. New York: A. Mackel & Co.
 Noyes, Minna B. *Twilight Stories*. New and enlarged ed. Hartford, Conn.: T. J. Spencer. 50c.
 Patterson, C. B. *New Thought Essays*. New York: Alliance Publishing Co. \$1.
 Pierce, C. A. *Kuru and Other Poems*. St. Louis, Mo.: The Author.
 Porter, Mrs. Gerald. *Annals of a Publishing House*. John Blackwood. Scribners. \$7.50.
 Pusey, Rev. E. B. *Spiritual Letters*. Longmans, Green & Co.
 Quirós, Manuel G. *Entreteneimientos Poéticos*. Havana: El Figaro.
 Réjéac, E. *Essay on the Bases of the Mystic Knowledge*. Scribners. \$2.50.
 Renouvier, Ch., and Prat, L. *La Nouvelle Monadologie*. Paris: Colin & Cie.
 Sargent, Prof. C. S. *The Silva of North America*. Vol. XII. Conifers. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
 Savary, John. *Poems of Expansion*. F. T. Neely.
 Stone, W. J. *On the Use of Classical Metres in English*. Oxford: University Press; New York: Henry Frowde.
 Travers, Graham. *Windysburgh: A Novel*. Appleton.
 Varley, Henry. *Christian Science Examined*. F. H. Revell Co. 15c.
 Walker, F. A. *Discussions in Education*. Henry Holt & Co.

HENRY HOLT & CO., N.Y.**BEERS'S ENGLISH ROMANTICISM -
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1900.

The Week.

President McKinley's address to the Commercial Club in Boston contained a frank announcement that the protectionist "racket" is played out. "We have quit discussing the tariff," said Mr. McKinley, "and have turned our attention to getting trade wherever it can be found." With something dangerously like plagiarism from his predecessor in office, he added: "We have turned from academic theories to trade conditions, and are seeking our share of the world's markets." This is the very thing which the same eminent economist declared only eight short years ago would lead to national disaster. "The foreign market is delusory," was then his cry. It was the "poorest" of all markets, he said, because "in the foreign market the profit is divided between our own citizen and the foreigner, while with the trade and commerce among ourselves the profit is kept in our own family. If any one says, after reading that profound utterance, that Mr. McKinley in 1890 evidently knew nothing about foreign trade, we agree, with the addition that we do not think he does now either.

Clearly all that will be done by the present Congress regarding our policy towards the Philippines will be the ratification of the treaty, the appropriation of the \$20,000,000 required to carry out one of its provisions, and some makeshift measure for keeping in the army during the next twelvemonth as large a force as the exigencies of the situation require. The \$20,000,000 appropriation was ruled out of the Sundry Civil Bill in the House on a point of order on Thursday, but the course of the debate showed that the money would be voted in some way before the 4th of March. It would, of course, be ridiculous to force an extra session simply in order that the appropriation might be made after the 4th of March, instead of before. Indeed, Mr. Bailey, the Democratic leader, who is a member of the committee on rules, said that this committee would provide a way to meet the demand, and there would be no popular support of any opposition to such a provision. On Monday a separate bill carrying the appropriation passed the House without difficulty.

It is no pleasant prospect which the news from Manila holds out. The natives have taken to the jungle, where they feel perfectly at home, and ask us to come on. This is an old game of theirs. They have tried it on the Spa-

niards for years, and it seems the most natural thing in the world for them to begin it on the Americans. Gen. Otis has troops enough to hold his lines and repel all attacks with ease; but an aggressive campaign in the interior is out of the question. Even after reinforcements arrive, it will be impossible to hunt the natives down in detail without enormous loss of life. If they choose to go on fighting, we may have for a long time nothing better to offer to the world in the way of Philippine government than the Spanish did—that is, the coast towns held by force, and the interior left unexplored and uncontrolled. It is a great disappointment, undoubtedly, that the Filipinos have shown such a perverse determination to select the sauce with which they were to be eaten; but it should have been foreseen. "Why shall we not," asks Mr. Denby in the *Forum*—"why shall we not take the people of the Philippines kindly by the hand and lead them into the blessed light of perfect freedom?" Well, Mr. Denby and his fellow-commissioners are now nearing Manila, and will soon be in a better position to answer the question than any one at this distance. Seen from here, the principal difficulty in taking the Filipinos kindly by the hand is that they seize that particular occasion to stick a Malay creese into you.

Article 13, amending the Federal Constitution, declared that involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for a crime duly proved, shall not exist "in any place" subject to the jurisdiction of the United States. The Philippine archipelago will, by the treaty, be thus subject. In the secret documents relating to the treaty recently published there is, on page 369, in a report of the testimony given by Gen. Merritt before the Paris Commission, the following:

Senator Davis—"Do you understand that a condition of slavery prevails which is described in that letter read?"

Gen. Merritt—"Yes, sir; entirely as described by Mr. André."

André was highly commended by Merritt as having been in the Philippines fourteen years as Belgian Consul. His letter is on pages 386-389. It describes as generally prevailing the slavery forbidden by the Constitution of the United States. What is to be done with such slave labor? The majority of the Senate Republican leaders and lawyers contend, as Teller, Foraker, and Platt of Connecticut have contended, that the Philippines will not be under the thirteenth amendment till Congress shall so enact. Will Congress enact it? If Congress will not make the enactment, then can President McKinley, or his army officers, acting under the Constitution, uphold the slavery? Ought they not to destroy it

wherever met? Which Spanish laws are, after the treaty has been ratified, to be enforced in the Philippines?

The earnest and unusual appeal of the War Department for the passage of the Hull army-reorganization bill, given out on Sunday, doubtless reflects the anxiety of the Administration lest it be caught without the necessary troops to carry out its Christian policy of civilizing the Filipinos by means of rifle and cannon. It is true, as the appeal states, that Senator Cockrell's compromise bill shows little of the expert's hand, and is lacking in many minor details, but the same is true of the Hull measure in a very large degree. The open confession that the latter was drawn solely by Adjutant-General Corbin and the officers of the department (nearly every one of whom would obtain promotion under it), without any aid from line officers, confirms a well-accepted belief in army circles, which led to its being received with grave suspicion, aside from its inherent faults and weaknesses. No progressive military reform bill could come to life in any Washington staff bureau to-day, because such a measure would begin by sweeping consolidation and effacement of those very bureaus which the Hull bill will strengthen and fortify to a remarkable degree. Yet these branches of the army are the very ones which were to blame for the delays and suffering of the last summer, and their present organization is one long since abandoned by all the Continental nations. The fact is, that if the army's reorganization is to depend upon hasty action taken within the next two weeks, nothing but wasteful, inefficient, ignorant and even corrupting legislation can be looked for. What is needed is an extra session, with plenty of time for the careful examination of a really scientific and far-seeing measure, and with no time for the hasty passage of some concoction of the discredited firm of Alger & Corbin.

The navy personnel bill, originally drawn a year ago by Gov. Roosevelt, has now passed both houses of Congress, and after minor conference changes will go to the President. A more radical alteration of the corps of officers could hardly be made, since the bill provides for promotion by selection, raises the pay to correspond to that of the army, and practically amalgamates the line and engineer officers. How this last change will affect the service can be known only after it has been tried for several years, since not even the English navy has as yet gone so far as to demand that the young officers must be trained engineers, as well as expert gunners, navigators, and fighters. The weak points of the re-

organization are the provisions that when retirements and deaths do not annually provide twenty-five promotions to the lieutenant-commander's grade, a board of rear-admirals shall weed out the least efficient officers, who will then be forcibly retired. Whether this ever-changing board can be relied on to act in a judicial manner and to be free from the minor political influences which have hitherto made themselves felt in Washington naval circles, is a grave question. The principle, too, of retiring able-bodied officers, competent to be of considerable value to the Government, simply to make room for younger officers, establishes a new and dangerous precedent in our pension policy. The late war has proved that the present commanding officers, even if above the ideal age of command, have been fully qualified to perform all the duties asked of them. Whatever the outcome of this reorganization, nobody will deny that the navy has earned the right to try to improve itself still further, by its admirable bearing and conduct in the war, and by its splendid example of what can be done by a department of the Government from which the politicians are kept at bay.

We accept the confession of the "friends" of the Nicaragua Canal bill that it is dead for this session of Congress. Certainly they could devise no more irregular or desperate means of getting their cherished measure through by hook or crook than the one which they tried on Wednesday of last week in the House, only to meet with ignominious failure. If the rules of the House, devised to prevent sneak-thieving in connection with appropriation bills, are to be openly set aside in favor of grand larceny, there is an end of safeguarded legislation. No wonder the House drew the line at the revolutionary proposal of the "friends of the Nicaragua Canal" to fasten their measure as an amendment to the Sundry Civil Appropriation bill. When we say "friends of the Nicaragua Canal," we mean, of course, the people who want, not a canal, but a bill. Any old thing will do. In Heaven's name, pass a bill! Morgan's bill, Hepburn's bill, the Maritime Company's bill, the Cragin-Eyre bill, any one of them, any two of them dovetailed, all of them shuffled up together—pass any measure you will, only pass something. That is what the "friends" have been saying to Congress, and the reason is obvious. As Mr. Dockery warned the House, the same forces which are pushing the subsidies bill are pushing the crude, the impossible canal bills. They are the forces of corruption—what it is convenient to call the McKinley Syndicate. Senator Hanna frankly avowed their plan of campaign in angry talk to Mr. Cannon. In this halcyon time of expansion the Syndicate must grab all that was in sight. Subsidies, bounties, canal

bills—anything would "go" if it was only labelled "expansion" or "greater America." The next Congress might be more particular or timid. Now was the time to seize everything, and what did Mr. Cannon mean by getting in the great Hanna's path? Well, behind Mr. Cannon there stood a burlier form than his. It is the Speaker of the House to whom the credit is due of having smashed the Syndicate.

Another step towards the abolition of liquor in the military and naval service of the nation has just been taken by the Navy Department. The canteen system that has existed in the army, by which beer was sold under the oversight of the military authorities, has never obtained a strong foothold in the navy; but there have been several vessels aboard which such sale was permitted, and there are now two such. An order has been issued by Secretary Long announcing that, after mature deliberation, the Department has decided that it is for the best interest of the service that the sale or issue to enlisted men of malt or other alcoholic liquors on board ships of the navy, or within the limits of naval stations, be prohibited; and forbidding commanding officers and commandants hereafter to allow any such liquor to be sold to or issued to enlisted men, either on board ship or within the limits of navy-yards, naval stations, or marine barracks, except in the medical department.

There is still a chance to save the next census from being wrecked. The bill which provides for that great enterprise passed the House with a section enacting that, in the selection of the statisticians, clerks, and other employees, the operation of the civil-service law, which would naturally apply to such places, should be suspended. The Senate has it in its power to amend the measure so that these thousands of positions shall be brought within the sphere of the merit system. It seems absurd that any argument should be required to demonstrate not only the wisdom of such a provision, but also its necessity, if the census is to be worth anything. Experience has shown the truth of this beyond the possibility of question. The rules were suspended in 1890 in the same way as is now proposed, and the result was that the Superintendent had to give the larger share of his time to the distribution of "patronage," and got such an inefficient set of subordinates that their work was largely worthless. The pending bill provides for "pass" examinations, and its advocates have claimed that such tests would be as valuable as competitive examinations; but the "pass" system was tried a decade ago, and it proved utterly worthless, alike as a method of getting efficient employees, and as a guard

against the controlling influence of political considerations in appointments.

A Washington correspondent reports that the Republican leaders in Congress think that they have got hold of a new issue. They have "kept it dark" hitherto, but judge that the time has now come to reveal it. It is nothing less than a proposition, in accordance with the fourteenth amendment, to revise the basis of representation of the various States in the lower branch of Congress and in the electoral college, with a view to a radical reduction of the power exercised by the States which formerly used to be known as "the Solid South." Every State places some restriction upon the right of male citizens to vote; not one, for example, allowing an idiot to cast a ballot. Some States require the payment of a poll or other tax as a prerequisite to voting. Many States insist that a man shall be registered in order to vote. Several States, like Massachusetts in the North, and Mississippi, South Carolina, and Louisiana in the South, have established an educational qualification. These latter three States have constructed an elaborate system, of which the educational test is only a part, with the openly avowed design of disfranchising the larger part of the negroes who formerly voted. The practical operation of this system gives those Southern States whose colored population is large, Representatives in Congress and Presidential electors out of all proportion to the number of votes which they cast. As nearly all these Representatives and electors are invariably Democrats, the Republicans have a partisan motive for wishing to make a radical change.

The plan proposed is to find out the number of male citizens in every State whose right to vote is denied or in any way abridged, and reduce the Representatives and Presidential electors for each State in the proportion which the number of such male citizens bears to the whole number of its male electors. This would involve only slight changes in the North, but would revolutionize the representation of the States in the South, particularly the lower South. But how are you going to establish the fact of abridgment? A large proportion of the qualified white voters in Massachusetts and of the qualified black voters in the South do not go to the polls. The fact that they do not cast their ballots does not mean that their right to vote has been abridged in any way. It simply indicates that they do not care enough about the privilege to exercise it. It is futile to think of effecting through the fourteenth amendment what the fifteenth amendment has failed to secure, namely, protection against nullification of the right to vote "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The Supreme Court has always

shown a blind eye to evidence of such nullification.

Sanitation in Havana and Santiago has already, though incomplete, wrought wonders in stamping out infectious diseases and reducing the death-rate. There will necessarily be something of a relapse, however, when the rains come and find Havana without adequate sewerage. It is already too late to undertake the work this year; to have the streets torn up in the rainy season would be to invite worse horrors. This question of cleaning up old cities and conquering the plague after conquering the territory which it haunts, is one with which the English have had long and sorrowful acquaintance. "Year by year," says Kipling, "England sends out fresh drafts for the first fighting line which is officially called the Indian Civil Service. These die or kill themselves by overwork, or are worried to death or broken in health, in order that the land may be protected from death and sickness, famine and war, and may eventually become capable of standing alone. It will never stand alone, but the idea is a pretty one and men are willing to die for it." A recent number of the *London Lancet* gave a tragicomic account of the efforts of an English surgeon to root out the plague in Malegaon. There was no hospital, so a rest-house in a Mussulman cemetery was converted into one, which, the surgeon wrote, "was very handy, for the cases usually die in five days." The dogged energy of the man in pursuing his course in the face of the ignorance and superstition and hostility and deception of the natives at last had its reward, and Malegaon became plague-free. But it was not till after the Englishman had had his house looted by the natives, and he himself had been smitten with the plague; in the end, however, the people feted their deliverer.

Doubtless the most serious complication which Governor Roosevelt has to face in the way of a Black legacy is the financial condition of the State. It was brought out at the conference of Republican Senators on Thursday, that the deficits in the various State departments now aggregate about \$453,000. It was also revealed that, in addition to spending the \$9,000,000 special appropriation for canal improvements, with the work only half done, Aldrich entered into contracts for nearly \$5,000,000 more of work, and that the State might be held liable for these. Then there is a special item of \$1,500,000 for war expenses which must be paid. Part of this will be paid back ultimately by the national Government, but in the meantime it must be met by taxation. Here is a total of about \$7,000,000 to be added to the State's expenditures for the year, and that means a perceptible increase in taxation. Thus

the Roosevelt administration must be made to bear the burden of the shortcomings and misdeeds of the Black régime or starchless partisan orgy. If the special counsel, under the Governor's inspiration, can succeed in bringing Aldridge and Adams to book for their doings, the responsibility for the greater part of this burden will be placed where it belongs, squarely on the shoulders of Black and Platt. The people of the State can be trusted, in any event, to see that it is in no way chargeable to Gov. Roosevelt.

The assault of the Croker Government upon the Manhattan Elevated Railway Company gives that corporation the opportunity of its life. Let its managers come before the public with a full revelation of all their relations with Tammany in the past, setting forth the facts as a reason for refusing to yield any further to demands from that quarter. That would silence all Croker's fears and anxieties lest the company be not doing its full duty to the dear people. It would remove all his doubts about the artistic perfection of the elevated structure in Battery Park. It would quiet the qualms of President Mike Murphy and Dr. Feeny of the Health Board about the unhealthful influence of absorbent matting on the floors of the cars, and the danger to life from draughts through the lack of vestibules on the company's trains. The whole Croker "outfit" would find everything relating to the company's business in perfect condition on the mere threat of a revelation of this character. Why will not Messrs. Sage and Gould make such disclosure? Why not let us all know how it comes about that the extremely cordial relations which existed between Croker and the company when Mayor Van Wyck came in, are now so thoroughly disrupted? Only a little more than a year ago nothing was too good for Croker's agents to say of the elevated system. Croker's Mayor extolled it in his first message, and Croker himself spoke highly of it in his various public communications. What was the cause of these delightful relations then, and what has led to their discontinuance?

The public mind is in a very receptive mood on these points now. We may say, also, that it is in a more friendly mood toward the Manhattan Company than it has been for a long time. The vicious character of Croker's assault, combined with his obvious ingratitude for past favors, has created sympathy for the company. There is a general feeling that Croker has "gone too far." Then, too, he has timed his assault badly. We have just emerged from a most unusual test of our transit facilities, in which the elevated lines have demonstrated their great usefulness, not to say their superiority, in such crises, over all other methods which we have in use now.

The people have had it brought home to them that, if we had not had the elevated lines, we should have been nearly deprived of the facilities of locomotion. They are no more convinced than heretofore that the elevated system is adequate for our needs, but they are convinced that until we have something better we cannot suffer any diminution in the accommodations which it offers. Our ruler should have waited until pleasant weather had come, say five or six weeks hence. His motives in making the attack would possibly have been questioned with as much interest then as they are now, but he would not have so alarmed the public about its own convenience. He should be able to see that the one thing he should avoid in the administration of the government is serious interference with the comfort of his subjects. He can rob and blackmail all he pleases, but he must not make life uncomfortable for us. There must be advisers about him who are shrewd enough to see this if he is not. The adviser was certainly shrewd, or else had a retentive memory, who reminded him of that Battery Park agreement upon which he could base his assault. Nobody believes that Croker himself remembered that this agreement was drawn in 1876, when William C. Whitney was Corporation Counsel. Mr. Whitney himself is so absorbed in the affairs of the Metropolitan Street Railway Company that it is doubtful if he remembered it himself till he saw Croker using it as a club. Had he been consulted, he would surely have advised against the assault at this time.

The French seem to be acting on the whole with great restraint and good sense in the crisis precipitated by the sudden death of President Faure. This will disappoint their enemies abroad as well as intriguers at home. It will also mystify a certain order of excited commentators on French affairs who have built up, for their own comfort, a pleasing sort of fiction about "Gallic" fickleness and folly. Things which would be incredible anywhere else they confidently predict for France; and if you ask why, their only answer is, "Oh, well, France, you know—" In particular are they given to foretelling a revolution in France. In favor of whom or how brought about, they will not say, but a revolution they insist upon having year after year. Now it need not be denied that French affairs take many unexpected turns, and that the safest prophets are those who arise after the event; but there have been signs for some time that the solid and conservative elements of the country were getting more and more in control of the situation. Their success in peacefully electing a suitable President in M. Loubet furnishes excellent reason for hoping that they may soon surmount their remaining political difficulties.

THE PRESIDENT IN BOSTON.

It cannot be denied that Mr. McKinley's speech before the Home Market Club in Boston last Thursday was as shrewd as it was characteristic. There was not a spark of initiative or leadership in it. The President stood up before his fellow-countrymen, in this great crisis of our national life, to confess himself as perplexed and confused and ignorant as they, yet as hopeful also, as well-meaning, as ready to grin and bear it, to trust to luck to make all come out right in the end. These are not the arts of the great political orator, or the ways of the daring political leader, but they perfectly fit the assumed rôle of an expectant and obedient servant of the people. They hit the great average dullness between wind and water. "McKinley thinks just as I do," will be the complacent remark of the mass of his readers. Ninetenths of mankind divide all thought into just two classes—"my idee exactly," and "humbug." Mr. McKinley is one of the rare public speakers who are able to talk a good deal of humbug in such a way as to make their average hearers think it excellent sense and exactly their idea.

His performance at Boston was all the more clever because he was confronted there by exceptional difficulties. He had to face past utterances of the Home Market Club, and its recent positive declarations against the policy of adventure in the Philippines, to the defence of which he devoted his speech. Worse than that, he had to face utterances and declarations of his own against that policy. When Mr. McKinley addressed the Home Market Club in 1888, he was the most home-keeping statesman in all the land. "Let England take care of herself, let France look after her interests, let Germany take care of her own people, but, in God's name, let Americans look after America!" That was then his eloquent cry. He was against any "entering wedge," such as the Home Market Club now asserts his policy of the "open door" to be, which "will in the end overthrow the entire edifice" of protection. As for going out to "invade the world's markets," no man could be hotter against that fatal policy than was Congressman William McKinley. Hear what he said, on April 24, 1890, would happen if we were to try doing precisely what we are doing under his direction:

"If we would invade the world's markets, harsher conditions and greater sacrifices would be demanded of the masses. Talk about depression—we would [should] then have it in its fulness. We would [should] revel in unrestrained trade; everything would, indeed, be cheap, but how costly when measured by the degradation which would ensue. When merchandise is the cheapest, men are the poorest; and the most distressing experiences in the history of our country—aye, in all human history—have been when everything was the lowest and cheapest measured by gold, for everything was the highest and the dearest measured by labor. . . . With me this position is a deep conviction, not a theory."

With such awkward voices coming out of the past, it required, we say, no little address on the part of President McKinley to surmount the oratorical difficulties of his position in Boston. But he surmounted them by ignoring them. Not a word about trade or protection or the open door fell from his lips. Instead of charging up the hill, he made a wide détour, and appeared innocently unaware that there was any hill at all. This must have been something of a staggerer to the officers of the Home Market Club, who had been publicly remonstrating with the President for fatally wounding protection in the house of its friends by throwing the Philippines and Cuba and Porto Rico open to the trade of the world. They perhaps wondered how he could get out of this "corner." Bless their simple hearts, had they not read the *Tribune* on the extraordinary eloquence of Mr. McKinley's "silences"? "Corners" simply disappear when silence is dense enough. Difficulties must be impudent indeed if they continue to exist after being ignored.

As a master of significant silences, however, Mr. McKinley was not so successful when he came to speak of our liberating and civilizing mission in the Philippines. If he could only have ignored the volleys from those Filipino guns! But he could not, and their crackling disturbed some of his most touching periods. We were in Manila as "liberators" and "rescuers"—there was no doubt of that; but somehow we had only precipitated "a reign of terror," and the liberated natives were unaccountably engaged in shooting down their rescuers. Still, we were to go on and confer priceless blessings upon the "gems and glories of those tropical seas," and if "the misguided Filipino" did not appreciate or desire our presence, why, the "liberator" could not "submit important questions concerning liberty and government"—their liberty and government—to men whom it was necessary first to kill. Their children and grandchildren, as the President said, may "bless the American republic because it emancipated and redeemed their fatherland," but the present generation is in a fair way to be killed off in the process.

We dwell upon some of the examples of moral and political confusion in the President's speech, because they show us once more into what a false and humiliating position the country has been brought. Mr. McKinley said the best that can be said for the honest intentions and humane purposes of this country in taking over the Philippines. But no canting about humanity can cover up the frightful inconsistencies which mark our progress. We may be humane, but the Filipinos think us tyrannous. The situation in the islands is clearly pictured in a letter from its Manila correspondent in the *Evening Post* of Friday. He wrote a month be-

fore the armed collision, but the drift towards hostilities was unmistakable. The more the natives saw of the Americans, the less they liked them. They did not relish our ways, our manners, or our morals. They would draw no fine distinction between aggressors; and if the Americans were to do as the Spanish did, they would simply class both together in a common hatred. This is the enormous difficulty and inconsistency of our position. We are going where we are not wanted, to do what is not liked. We may be as pure of purpose as St. Francis and as humane in intention as St. Dominic; but if the natives have to be shot in order to be taught how good and benevolent we are, they cannot be greatly blamed for regarding all our humanity, even when tricked out in the flowers of Presidential rhetoric, as no better than the cruel tender mercies of the wicked.

THE DECLINE OF THE PORT.

We do not put this heading to this article to make a sensation, but simply to call the attention of our readers to a very important fact, the truth of which all admit—namely, that the business of the port of New York is and has long been declining, and that nothing is being done to arrest its decline, while much continues to be done to hasten it. Two or three years ago the subject was taken up by the Chamber of Commerce, which for a little while talked a good deal about it, and gave forth much speculation about its causes. The cause of the decline of a port must always be a subject of mere speculation. The business of a port consists in the number of ships which bring cargoes to it and take them away from it. Every one is entitled to his own opinion as to the reason for which this business improves or falls off. The Chamber of Commerce, on the occasion referred to, clung fast to the belief that it was the badness of the channel which did it; and our suggestion that it was bad government seemed almost to throw a great many of the Chamber into a rage, so reluctant were they to cast any imputation on our rulers. The best authorities on this question would be the people who have ceased to send their goods here. We may be sure that as long as merchants are desirous of sending goods here, ship-owners will be glad to carry them. We have not yet heard of a single ship-owner who has withdrawn his vessels on account of the channel. When the big steamers keep up their traffic we may feel pretty sure that the channel trouble is not serious, and that smaller vessels have no real difficulty in keeping up their traffic.

The great difficulty in dealing with the question is that the persons who could throw most light on the subject and know most about its causes, are terrorized, as nearly everybody in New York

is, by an authority of some sort. Shippers are terrorized by the custom-house; ship-owners are terrorized both by the health officers and by the custom-house, while everybody is afraid of Tammany; and there is, of course, therefore, a general desire to throw the blame on somebody or something else, preferably something inanimate like a channel, which will avoid the necessity of blaming somebody who can hit back or inflict vengeance. The custom-house trouble has been becoming worse and worse as the tariff fever has grown. The desire for more duties has naturally magnified the office of custom-house inspector as the man who collects the tariff, and the rights and the comfort of citizens who pay have become of less importance. Our custom-house has been absolutely converted from an office for the collection of duties into an office for discouraging foreign travel, and for controlling people in the purchase of their clothes and their manner of spending their summer. More astounding, too, this is done on the instigation not of leading citizens, merchants, manufacturers, lawyers, or even influential politicians, but of scrubby little tailors or variety men who find their custom short, and actually are able to get the Government to help them persecute and annoy their leading fellow-citizens. Well knowing what they are up to, it legislates for their benefit, and allows them to plant salaried spies on the wharves to discredit and humiliate its own officers, when the proper course for a great government would have been to allow its officers to throw the spies into the river. This would have been illegal, possibly cruel, but it would have exhibited pride. Finally, when charged with helping the tailors, the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury denies it all, and pretends that the legislation was for the promotion of "morality." When one groups a lot of these things together, who would suppose the United States passed much of its time on "glory-crowned heights," or was even a wholesale dealer?

The whole management of the custom-house is infected with the same picayune character. One of the marks of a great nation is the practice of doing things above board, revealing its intentions openly, and defying criticism. People who go to Europe in summer are no more bound to support New York tailors than any other class of the community. Very few of them can afford to support a tailor. Very few tailors deserve to be supported by anybody else. An honest government which thought tailors should be supported by any species of coercion, would have said so. It would not have allowed tailors who were desirous of compelling other people to support them to masquerade as promoters of revenue; it would have put the desire of tailors to be supported in the preamble of the bill, as its true cause.

Then see how it treats its own citizens, who make no complaint, who ask nothing but their constitutional right to go and come, and follow lawful callings, and bear no more than legal burdens. It finds that its inspectors on the wharf are unfaithful to their trust. So, instead of compelling them by law to examine baggage honestly, and increasing their number so as to make the passage of the custom-house by travellers prompt and easy, it falls foul of the passenger, and compels him to submit to the most humiliating ceremony of modern times. It compels him to swear to what he has in his baggage, and then immediately announces it does not believe him by examining the baggage and treating the passenger's "forgetfulness," or "absorption of mind," as presumptively criminal, to be explained before an officer called the Deputy Surveyor, who is armed with judicial powers to pass on the wharf on the honesty of the passenger's intentions, condemn him without jury, and confiscate his property! Are Americans grown so sheeplike that this oath can continue to be administered, without purpose or remonstrance, year after year, and made the basis of a charge of fraud by an officer without legal education, or, for all the passenger knows, without character? Will nobody get the power to administer it for the purpose of convicting citizens of perjury, legally tested? It may be right or expedient to administer it to a trader about the goods he is importing, but to administer it to a man who is simply seeking to reach his home with his personal baggage, and make him wait for hours in order to take it, is one of the most grotesque outrages ever perpetrated in a free country.

The duty of custom-house officers in such a country is not to lay traps for travellers, or trouble or detain them, or throw their effects out on the dirty wharf. It is to examine them as fully and fairly as possible. A government has a right to say how much clothing a traveller may bring in with him free of duty, and has a right to ascertain how much he has brought in, and make him pay on it; but it ought to calculate whether the sum of money it gets from the process is worth the delay, annoyance, and trouble to which it has to subject the citizen. This is the question which runs through the whole subject of import duties. Is the result of the tax worth the cost of collecting it, whether it be in money or vexation? We have no doubt every passenger would pay \$25 to avoid being stripped on the wharf, but would the result make it worth while to strip him? Tailors have no more claim on the state than other people. Make Jones pay his taxes, but there is no "moral" duty to make him pay if the tax is too small to be worth collection. If your force of inspectors is too small, enlarge it. If it is dishonest,

dismiss it. If it is efficient, cling to it. But do not attack private citizens because you do not know how to manage your own business.

THE NEW QUESTION IN ENGLAND.

The controversy with the ritualists in England continues and grows. Sir William Harcourt has for some months been engaged in a discussion with the bishops, in which he has completely overthrown them. His point was, that they could put an end to the ritualistic vagaries if they chose, that the law gave them full powers. They regretted the ritualism, but maintained they could not stop it, first, because they had no legal power; second, because the ritualistic parsons were few in number; third, because they were numerous and valuable; and fourth, because many of their practices were really permitted in the prayer-book, but had fallen into desuetude.

By disposing of the first of these pleas, Sir William really made short work of all the others. In his last letter he cited two cases, one before the old Arches Court previous to its abolition more than twenty-five years ago, but the other in 1883, in which parsons, on the bishops' prosecution, had been deprived of their livings for departures from the ritual as prescribed in the prayer-book. He showed clearly enough that there was abundant law for the bishops' interference with the very practices which are now going on in so many churches in England, and the only reason that will bear examination why they are not stopped, is the bishops' refusal to interfere. The question why they refuse is receiving various answers, but the favorite one is that they really sympathize with the ritualists themselves, either because they agree with them on points of doctrine, or because they consider the ritualistic clergy so valuable as a religious influence on the masses, particularly in the great cities, that they shrink from driving them away from the church.

Lord Salisbury has assigned a reason for the bishops' inactivity which has probably a good deal of truth in it, viz., that they dread the expense of clerical prosecutions. We have been assured by one of them that it costs him at least three thousand dollars out of his own pocket to prosecute even what is called a "criminous clerk," guilty of immorality, where the case is plain. Prosecutions on points of doctrine cost even more, because they involve long arguments by crack counsel, learned in church law. Now bishops are human. Their incomes, though apparently large, are not so, considering the demands upon them. Custom requires them to live in a certain style, and the amount of hospitality which they have to bestow is a terrible burden. Their charities, too, are very large. On the whole, therefore, they may be considered poor men as far as their

official income is concerned, and but few of them have private fortunes. A year ago a bill was introduced in Parliament providing that they might receive the cost of prosecutions of offending clergymen from another church fund, but it was withdrawn at their unanimous request, because they did not wish to appear to be saving their own pockets at the expense of another worthy object. They generally have families, too, and one of the curious anomalies of the English church is that, though the church is a state institution, they are expected to keep it sound and respectable out of their own money. Everything has been done in times past to make them consider a bishopric a good thing from a worldly point of view, and yet they are now expected to act as if the worldly side of the office were of no consequence.

They are now, however, apparently left without excuse for not acting. Harcourt having demolished their legal defence, they are brought face to face with the popular feeling, which is strong. And it is strong for more than religious reasons. The democratic wave has naturally not rolled so long in England, and taken away the county government from the fathers and brothers of the parsons, without reaching the churches. The old doctrine that the church and churchyard were the parson's freehold, has been shaken to its base. It is not many years since some of the parsons were disposed to resist even the act of Parliament which allowed people, under certain restrictions, to have other than Episcopal burial services in the churchyards, over their own dead. One parson wrote to Archbishop Tait that he would meet with a pitchfork the first Dissenting funeral procession which came to his churchyard. That has all gone by. The democracy, having got hold of the state, is now disposed to deal drastically with the church also, and cut down the parson's powers as well as the squire's.

Consequently, there is a good deal more than either ritual or theology in the present movement. The independence of the clergy offends a great many people who care nothing about the ritual, and the tendency of the ritualistic movement is greatly to exalt the power of the clergy. In fact, to all intents and purposes, it makes them the "church," and gives the laity hardly anything to do except genuflect. This the masses in England are not disposed to stand. The relations between the country people and their parson are rarely cordial. Under the old régime the parson was apt to meddle a good deal, and take a good deal on himself in virtue of his social position and his property in the church and glebe, and he could not do so for long years without breeding a good deal of resentful feeling. It is mainly in the towns among the "residuum" that the ritualistic clergy have

made way. In the country towns the masses are apt to dissent, and in the country they growl a good deal at the parson.

This is, therefore, not a lucky time at which to push a Romanizing movement and spread "priests" all over the country once more. Some one, in writing to the *Times* about the matter, recalls a passage from Froude in which he speaks of the terrible mistakes of the Catholic reaction after the Council of Trent. Instead of trying to come to terms with the Protestant revolt, it became more arbitrary, uncompromising, and ferocious than ever, and we had the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the Dutch war, the Dragnonnades, and so on. The result was savage hatred of the church in the leading countries of the world. This is now dying out, but instead of still further fostering kindly or tolerant feelings towards the pretensions of the church, the ritualistic clergy are making demands on credulity which the public rejected three hundred years ago, when it was twenty times more credulous than it is now and had twenty times as much respect for priests as it has now, and when the clergy had an intellectual preëminence which they have lost.

THE PRE-IMPERIAL JOSEPHINE.

PARIS, January 26, 1899.

The indefatigable M. Frédéric Masson gives us a new volume on the first wife of Napoleon. It is entitled 'Joséphine de Beauharnais' and deals with her only before she became the wife of General Bonaparte. M. Masson has hitherto been occupied chiefly with the Empress; he gave to the public the end of his long and patient study before its beginning. Many parts of the present volume have appeared in fragments in reviews, but we have now before us the whole of Josephine's existence from 1783 to 1796; and strange and romantic as her after life was, her early life is in one sense no less interesting.

When the ceremony of Napoleon's coronation occurred, when the new Cæsar took the crown from the hands of the Pope to place it himself on his head, when he felt surrounded by all the pomp of the court of his own creation, he turned for a moment to his brother Joseph, and, remembering his early days, asked, "What would our father say if he saw us now?" Josephine might well have made the same reflections: the contrast between her new and her former life was as great, and, in one sense, perhaps greater, for if there was much to explain and justify the glorification, the apotheosis of the new Cæsar—if a hundred victories surrounded him with a prestige which was felt by all—what was there to explain the ascent of Josephine into the region of historical greatness? She had a single title to it: she had been distinguished and chosen by Napoleon, and she had been loved by him. Napoleon often said of himself, "Je ne suis pas tendre," and he gave sufficient proofs of it. He was *tendre* towards Josephine, and towards her alone; he felt for her a genuine passion, which he never afterwards felt for any other woman, and

this is why Josephine will always interest the psychologist as well as the historian.

"This woman," says M. Masson, "played in the sentimental life of the General, the Consul, the Emperor, the chief part. Her action was not foreign to decisions which he took; and in order to explain certain tendencies of his mind, certain states of his imagination and his heart, it is necessary to know exactly who she was, how she thought, where she came from, and what became of her. In most if not all of the books which have been written about her, one finds only imbecile legends, interested praises, voluntary errors, a lot of idle declamation, proving nothing and explaining nothing; in the place of facts, epithets; in the place of dates, adjectives. I have found it necessary to go over this life as a judge would have done; to preserve of all that has been printed only serious, authentic documents, coming from the contemporary parties concerned; to group round these documents those which I owe to my personal researches; and, of the collection so formed independently of any preconceived idea, without any sentiment of flattery or of complacency, to disengage the woman, her life, her acts, her character, her spirit."

In 1726, Gaspard-Joseph Tascher de la Pagerie went to Martinique in quest of fortune. He belonged to an old and poor family; he married a Mademoiselle de la Chevalerie, and had three daughters. One of them, Marie-Euphémie-Désirée, succeeded in being attached to the household of the Governor of the French Islands, M. de Beauharnais. The Governor had among the officers of his staff a M. Renaudin, who fell in love with Mademoiselle de la Pagerie and offered to marry her. Renaudin's parents opposed the marriage, but not because of Euphémie's poverty. "The ill-behavior of her father, his disordered affairs, and the reproaches which were publicly levelled in the island against Mlle. de la Pagerie for having obtained on several occasions, through her standing with M. and Madame de Beauharnais, favors which excited much discontent," were the reasons alleged by the family. On the death of the elder Renaudin, the mother withdrew her opposition; the marriage took place, and the power of the young Madame Renaudin became greater than ever at the little court of the Governor. M. de Beauharnais gave great dissatisfaction to the inhabitants of the island; he was recalled and replaced. He left for France in 1761, with his wife and a young child. M. Renaudin remained in the colonies; Madame Renaudin left with her father for France. There was no legal separation between her and her husband, and she retained all the legal advantages which she had received by contract from her husband. While he was Governor, M. de Beauharnais procured a good match for a brother of Madame Renaudin, Joseph-Gaspard de la Pagerie. This young La Pagerie was married by a Capuchin curate of Trois-Îlets to Mlle. des Vergers de Sannois, of a good nobility of Brie. He was Lieutenant of Artillery and of the coast-guard. Josephine was one of the three children of M. de la Pagerie. She was born on June 23, 1763—a Frenchwoman, since at that date the island was in possession of the French. La Pagerie was put on half-pay and pensioned; he had a powerful patron at Versailles in the person of M. de Beauharnais, who was in high favor and had been made a Marquis.

On her arrival in France, Madame Renaudin first took an apartment of her own, but after a short time she began to live openly under the same roof with M. de Beauharnais. Madame de Beauharnais retired to her mo-

ther's house at Blois, and came only occasionally to Paris. She died October 5, 1767, and from that day Madame Renaudin became completely the mistress of M. de Beauharnais's house. She kept under her sway not only Beauharnais, but his son Alexander, who had remained behind at Martinique; she formed the project of marrying Alexander to one of her relations on the island. M. de la Pagerie was very poor; a storm had ruined his home and his plantation. He had to live with his children in the sugar-factory. It was there that Josephine was brought up, a child of nature, idle, lazy, among negro women who idolized her, obeyed her in everything, and looked upon her as a superior being. M. Masson shows her learning to become a coquette in solitude and in complete independence, without any but negro society, without any intellectual, moral, or religious culture, with a mother, grandmother, and aunts as ignorant and lazy as herself. At the age of ten she was put to school at Fort-Royal in the house of the Dames de la Providence. Towards her fifteenth year, her education was considered ended, and she returned home.

"Are we to believe that, at that period, Tercier, then Captain in the regiment of Martinique, who flatters himself not to have been indifferent to her, does not lie, on that page of his memoirs? Ought we to retain something of the strange story of that Englishman who, in the prime of his youth, knew and loved Josephine, who remained faithful to her memory, who would never marry, and who, in 1814, having become a general, wrote to the Empress, who remembered him and asked him to dinner at the Malmaison? But, on the day fixed, the Empress was ill, in bed, and the Englishman never saw her again."

Alexander de Beauharnais came back to France and was educated with the two nephews of the Duke de la Rochefoucauld in the ducal castle of La Roche-Guyon. Mme. Renaudin, who was his godmother, never lost sight of him. The children of Beauharnais had inherited a good fortune from their mother; she planned a marriage between young Alexander and one of her nieces. Alexander was appointed lieutenant at the age of nineteen, and took the title of Viscount; he had 40,000 livres a year from his mother and more expectations (*espérances* is the classical word in French). Mme. Renaudin did not care which of her nieces Alexander should marry; owing to various circumstances, Josephine was chosen. At the first interview between her and her future husband, he does not seem to have been much pleased. He was only nineteen, but Mme. Renaudin lost no time, and, the contract having been made in due form, the marriage took place on the 13th of December, 1779, in the little church at Noisy-le-Grand, where Mme. Renaudin had bought a country house. The young couple established themselves in the hôtel of the Marquis de Beauharnais, in Paris. Josephine made the acquaintance of her new aunt, Fanny de Beauharnais, a literary woman, "who," says M. Masson, "gave herself to letters chiefly to find lovers; who had had Dorat, Boissy, and Ginguené before falling as low as Cublères; who, though her husband was generally known as an honest and good man, . . . surrounded herself with such persons as Restif de la Brétanne, Mercier, etc." Fanny de Beauharnais's books have been preserved from utter oblivion only by the illustrations of Moreau le Jeune and Marillier. She was born Mouchard, was a *fillic de finance*, and her poems seem to have been written chiefly

in order that she might dedicate them to her fine relations. Such a person could not have a very good influence on young Josephine. Her daughter married the eldest brother of Alexander, and was herself a distinguished and respectable person, but she had as little as possible to do with Mme. Renaudin, and, in consequence, saw very little of Josephine.

The young creole was, in fact, quite abandoned. The Viscount soon left her to join his regiment; he wrote her letters which read more like those of a schoolmaster than of a husband. He had, he said, formed the plan of "recommencing her education." Josephine, in his absence, had a child on September 3, 1781, who was named Eugène Rose (the future Prince Eugène). Josephine was soon afterwards again *enconcinte*. She informed her husband of it at the very moment when he was at Brest, on the point of starting for Martinique, which was threatened by the English. The second child was born April 10, 1783, in Paris, and named Hortense Eugénie (the future Queen Hortense).

What news did Viscount Beauharnais receive at Martinique? He heard only in June that he had a second child; in July he writes to his wife a letter the text of which is given by M. Masson—a very insulting letter, in which he accuses her of misconduct before her marriage with M. de B—, an officer of the regiment at Martinique; with M. d'H—. "I don't ask you to repent," he says; "you are incapable of that, as a woman who, on the point of departure, embraces a lover, knowing that she is destined for another, has no soul; she is lower than the worst *coquines*." He tells her in this letter that he will never again remain under the same roof with her, and orders her to retire at once to a convent and there await his return. The stories which Beauharnais heard in the island were probably only a pretext for a rupture; he took a mistress, lived publicly with her, and sent her to France to await him in Paris.

When the Viscount returned to Paris, Madame Renaudin tried to obtain a reconciliation, but in vain. Josephine took rooms at the Abbey of Panthemont (now given to the French Reformed Church), which was then an asylum for ladies of rank who found themselves in awkward circumstances. An arrangement took place, in virtue of which Josephine and Alexander were to live separately; Josephine was to receive a pension of 5,000 livres; Hortense was to remain with her and to receive an annuity of 1,000 livres till she was seven, and of 1,500 livres afterwards. Eugene was to remain till he was five years old with his mother, and was to be given to his father afterwards. The Viscount had to make the most ample excuses for the letters which he had written from Martinique, in a moment of anger, and to declare his accusations, founded on idle reports of servants and mulattoes, to be absolutely groundless. Josephine may thus be said to have come out of the struggle with all the honors of war.

Correspondence.

RULES FOR UNDERMINING A FLOURISHING REPUBLIC.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A century and a quarter ago, a cer-

tain illustrious American, resident in London as agent for Pennsylvania and several of her sister colonies, drew up and published a set of "Rules for Reducing a Great Empire to a Small One." These rules were several times reprinted, received a wide circulation, and met with much favor from an appreciative sovereign and his obedient ministry and compliant Parliament. Indeed, so closely were they followed that within a very few years his Britannic Majesty found himself eased of the larger part of his transatlantic possessions—at a total expense of only a few millions of pounds and a few thousands of lives.

My friend, Mr. Ichabod Hackney, has submitted to me, with a view to possible publication, a brief set of "Rules for the Undermining and Ultimate Overthrow of a Flourishing Republic," which I beg to lay before you, being myself not well assured whether they be worthy of publication, or, from their all too manifest inferiority to the famous "Rules" after which they are evidently modelled, more fit for consignment to the waste-paper basket. In any event, Mr. Hackney does not presume to hope that his rules will meet with such favor in high quarters, or be adopted with such speedy and signal results, as was the case with those written for his Britannic Majesty's benefit. They may serve, however, as a first rough draft of certain precepts calculated to promote a most worthy end, and subject to such farther elaboration, improvement, and additions as may occur to abler and more experienced publicists and writers than my friend Ichabod.

Rule 1. For chief magistrate of the republic which it is designed to undermine and, if possible, destroy, let some thorough-going opportunist be raised to power by the aid of a syndicate of men possessed of large means and an ardent thirst for still greater wealth. To this syndicate, which must, moreover, be intimately familiar with the workings of destiny, the chief magistrate is to look for guidance and direction on all occasions.

Rule 2. Let this chief magistrate studiously disregard the issues on which he was chosen by the people, and speedily forget his ante-election promises to the country. If, for example, currency reform and the relief of a depleted Treasury were the issues of his campaign, let him set about emptying the nation's coffers entirely; and if he give his undivided attention to the attainment of so desirable an end, he will of necessity have no time whatever to devote to currency reform.

Rule 3. To hasten the accomplishment of the purpose mentioned in the rule immediately preceding, let no opportunity for engaging in war be neglected, as it is well known that warfare is the most expensive of national pastimes. If an occasion offers for purchasing the privilege of joining in this diversification, so much the better, for the ultimate expense is thereby greatly increased. The purchase of a ready-made insurrection at the antipodes is an ideal mode of promoting the end in view.

Rule 4. Conquest, expansion, and militarism, which proved of such efficacy in bringing the Roman Republic to an end, and in finally hastening the downfall of the Empire, should be the nation's watchwords. With the traditions and fundamental principles of a flourishing republic and a country long regarded as in very truth the cradle of liberty, no policy could be more utterly at variance than one of forcible annexation

of conquered peoples; hence its peculiar fitness for the purpose in hand.

Rule 5. To insure the better observance of the foregoing rules, let the utmost possible power be lodged in the Chief Executive and his syndicate. The Legislature will thereby be relieved of much anxiety, and the minds of the people prepared for that centralized or despotic form of government so likely to follow in the train of conquest and militarism. Nothing can better fit them for its final acceptance than a frequent exercise, on the part of the Executive, of prerogatives either rightfully his or assumed by him to be so—as, for example, proclamations to inferior races whom we purpose annexing, or the retention of an unworthy minister, or interposition on behalf of a disgraced military officer, and his retirement on full pay until such time as he may be entitled to retire with honor on half-pay.

Mr. Hackney is prepared to furnish additional rules bearing on the numerous details sure to present themselves in executing so great a reform; but it seems unwise to trespass further on your courtesy at present.—Very truly yours,

PERCY F. BICKNELL.

MALDEN, MASS., February 18, 1899.

THE SPANISH CONQUEST.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Prof. W. G. Sumner's thesis, that we have not conquered Spain, but have been conquered by Spain, suggests the story of King Zohak.

"King Zohak [says Macaulay, quoting Southey] gave the devil leave to kiss his shoulders. Instantly two serpents sprang out, who, in the fury of hunger, attacked his head and attempted to get at his brain. Zohak pulled them away, and tore them with his nails. But he found that they were inseparable parts of himself, and that what he was lacerating was his own flesh."

It seems to me that Uncle Sam, in attacking Spain, gave the devil leave to kiss his shoulders.

A. F. H.

GRANVILLE, O., February 8, 1899.

MR. KIPLING'S CALL TO AMERICA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The cable informs us that "Kipling's stirring verses, the 'Call to America,' have created a profound impression" on your side. What that impression may be, we can only conjecture. They profoundly impress many of us here as first-class specimens of cant, to which one of the examples, drawn from Dryden, given by Johnson as an example of the proper use of the word cant, aptly applies:

"Of promise prodigal, while pow'r you want,
And preaching in the self-denying cant."

There is something almost sickening in this "imperial" talk of assuming and bearing burdens for the good of others. They are never assumed or held where they are not found to be of material advantage or ministering to honor or glory. Wherever empire (I speak of the United Kingdom) is extended, and the climate suits the white man, the aborigines are, for the benefit of the white man, cleared off or held in degradation for his benefit. Where the climate does not suit us, and the natives are in too advanced a condition to be cleared off, the first consideration (at least with the majority, men

of Mr. Kipling's turn of mind) is our material advantage and honor and glory. We are in a precious hurry to lay burdens down when they do not pay, as in the case of our solemn obligations to the Armenians. We are ever ready to shirk them, as in the case of the status of our Indian fellow-subjects in our colonies, when the bearing of the burden of seeing fair play done would be inconvenient. In so far as is compatible with our interests and honor and glory, we have perhaps made the interest of "natives" under our rule of higher and more enduring consideration than that recorded of any other conquering and governing Power. But this talk of burdens is, as I have said, unadulterated cant.

Taking India as a test, no one moves a foot in her government that is not well paid and pensioned at her cost. No appointments are more eagerly contended for than those in the Indian service. A young man is made for life when he secures one. The tone of that service is by no means one "bound to exile," "to serve . . . captives' need," "to wait in heavy harness," or in any degree as expressed in Mr. Kipling's highfalutin lines. It is entirely the contrary: "You are requested not to beat the servants" is a not uncommon notice in Indian hotels. The most refined and educated natives with three-fourths of British officials narrowly and not indeed always escape the appellation of "D—d niggers." Much of England's wealth is derived from the connection with India. She is one of the richest countries in the world (average income, £40 per head); India one of the poorest (average income, thirty shillings). If there were any reality in a united, equally considered empire and of the white man bearing burdens, it would be shown in relation to her. But no—India is made to pay to the last farthing in all questions of common account. She was made to pay for the erection of that palatial India Office in Whitehall; she has had to pay for a state ball given to the Sultan of Turkey in London; she is made to pay even for the training in England of British troops sent out to govern her—of course for their transit, maintenance, and pay in India. So anxious are we, where good pay is concerned, to save Indians the heavy burden of enjoying them, that, while our sons can study and pass at home for Indian appointments, her sons must study and pass in England; and even in India itself whites are afforded chances closed to natives. You are told to go abroad and "Fill full the mouth of famine." Within the last three years we have had the worst famine of the century in India—some eight million perished of disease and starvation. The heroic efforts to combat it have been, with the exception of voluntary contributions, at the expense of India, and have added to her debt. It is impossible to gauge the eventual inevitably impoverishing effect upon India of the millions of pounds annually drawn from her and, under the heads of salaries, pensions, home charges, and army and navy construction, spent in Great Britain.

There never was a fostered trade and revenue resulting in more disastrous consequences to humanity than the opium trade and revenue. There never was a more grinding and debilitating tax than that on salt (it would be a criminal offence in India for a poor woman to evaporate from sea water the smallest grain of it). Upon any prin-

ciple of clearing our consciences and "taking up white man's burdens," we might assume both, and none of us eat a mouthful less or enjoy a moment's less real happiness. By none have such suggestions been laughed to greater scorn than by men of the Kipling cast of mind. And what nice feeling he displays towards your future fellow-citizens—"New-caught sullen peoples, half devil and half child," "Sloth and heathen folly," "Silent sullen peoples," etc. Surely you are not to be egged on to the relinquishment of all your best traditions by such impudent Pharisaical rhyming. Since 1862 you have enjoyed institutions as perfect as man has yet contrived them, let some in their application misuse and degrade them as they may. Here, through old traditions and foreign complications, each one of us is made responsible for unfairnesses and villanies of many kinds. You and we have each to clear ourselves from our several reproaches and work out our destinies as best we may, with all humility and searchings of spirit. In deliberately entering upon our courses, you would jeopardize all the principles in which you lead, without possessing the traditions and experiences rendering it likely you would improve upon the methods by which we have so faultily led.—Sincerely yours,

ALFRED WHEB.

DUBLIN, February 7, 1899.

TOYNBEE'S DANTE DICTIONARY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Having had a pretty wide experience of reviewing, both as author and critic, I am not much in favor of protests on the part of the reviewed. But when a reviewer deliberately goes out of his way to disparage by anticipation a book which has not been submitted to him for criticism, as the writer of the review of my 'Dante Dictionary' in the *Nation* of January 12 has done, I think the author may reasonably be allowed to protest.

Your reviewer expresses his doubts as to my competence to deal with the "etymological side" of the Italian vocabulary of Dante's works, on the ground that I assign *hoc-ille* as the origin of the French word for "yes," which he finds to be "not quite reassuring." If ignorance of etymology is to be imputed, let it be imputed to the proper quarter. In this case, it is not I, but your reviewer, who displays either ignorance, or what, under the circumstances, would be worse, disingenuousness. *Hoc-ille* (to preserve the classical equivalent of *il*, for which it would have been mere pedantry in a Dante Dictionary to substitute the vulgar Latin form) is the accepted origin of O. F. *oil*, as your reviewer may convince himself by a reference to Arsène Darmesteter's 'Cours de Grammaire Historique de la Langue Française' (Part II., p. 177; Paris, 1897). If unaware of this fact, the reviewer is himself convicted of ignorance; if aware of it, he has most unfairly imputed ignorance to me, and in so doing has passed by anticipation a damaging criticism upon my projected work. I may observe that his assumption that the "etymological side" of Dante's Italian vocabulary will be dealt with in my forthcoming 'Dante Vocabulary' is wholly gratuitous.

It is impossible for me, even if it were desirable, to carry on a literary controversy across the Atlantic in a journal which I can only see at rare intervals. I can but express the hope that your reviewer will, in common

fairness to me, withdraw the uncalled-for insertion against which I have protested.

Trusting that you will do me the justice of inserting this letter, I am, sir, yours faithfully,
PAGET TOYNBEE.

DORNEY WOOD, BUCKS, ENGLAND.
January 27, 1899.

[We were not ignorant of the information supplied by Mr. Toynbee. It would require too much space to explain here why his form of statement is unsatisfactory. With no desire to give offence to the author of a Dictionary whose merits we cheerfully recognized, we conceived it not improper to express a hope that so important a work as a Dante Vocabulary, likely to be undertaken once for all, might be fortified at all points. If Mr. Toynbee intends to neglect the etymological side altogether, our well-meant caution was superfluous.—ED. NATION.]

LICENSE IN GERMAN POETRY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The question of license in rhyme is probably as old as the art of rhyming and the profession of the critic. It is rather curious to remember, in connection with Prof. Newcomer's interesting letters on "License in English Rhyme," that the Germans, with all their tendency to exhaust any subject which concerns them at all, have never troubled themselves greatly about the culpability of their poets in the matter of impure rhymes. This I believe to be true both as to the theories of the teachers of prosody in the class-room and the practice of the poets themselves. The maxim, "Singe, wem Gesang gegeben," has guided their poets, and their schoolboys have imbibed a veneration for the songs of Goethe, Schiller, Heine, and Uhland which, if somewhat uncritical, has been all the more inspiring.

It is true that the whole subject is simplified in Germany by the very much greater elasticity of the German language as compared with the English, by the latitude given to provincial differences of pronunciation, and the absence of those idiosyncrasies of orthography which, in the English language, make it possible to "rhyme" *bough* with *enough*. Theoretically, German poetry is perhaps nearly as full of impure rhymes as English—Goethe, Schiller, and Heine team with rhymes like *Gehör, mehr; Gäste, Feste; prüfen, Tiefen; Gewinnst, Dienst; Schosse, Lose; heulen, Wellen; sprissen, grüssen; Sehnen, Thränen*. But practically such rhymes are considered pure. Indeed, it may be doubted whether Schiller, the Suabian, would not have been prepared to defend *Sehnen* and *Thränen* as a perfectly legitimate rhyme. (The argument of a "rhyme to the eye," to which Prof. Newcomer is disposed to allow some slight weight in English, does not, in my opinion, appeal to Germans.) A Berliner will recognize the difference in sound in *Sehnen* and *Thränen*, and a Hanoverian will render the umlaut in *Thränen* with even greater clearness; but probably no German anywhere pronounces the word as it is pronounced on the best German stage, say the Vienna Burgtheater or the Hamburg Thalia-theater. No critic challenges this or any of the above rhymes as objectionable, and even Schiller's *Röthe, Stötte; Blässe, Gekröse; verödet, getödet*, pass un-

ter. The *tour de force* which Heine indulges in more frequently than any other German poet—his *entled'ge, Komödie; Kaiser, Ketzer; Glanz, Renaissance; Balaam's, Abraham's*, etc.—are enjoyed for their comic effect, but neither particularly admired nor condemned. Even simple assonance, which plays such an important part in the Volkslied, has found a legitimate place in modern German poetry through Goethe, Tieck, Chamisso, Uhland, Rückert, and others. Goethe's *Floß* and *Sohn*, in "Es war einmal ein König," is perhaps the best known example of such assonance.

It may be said that the Germans have taken an eminently common-sense view of this matter. They will tell you that Platen is perhaps their greatest master of form, and that his poems contain hardly an impure rhyme; and they read his perfect stanzas occasionally from a sense of duty, while they revel in the "impure" rhymes of Goethe, Schiller, and Heine. And as for English poetry, it seems to me that the uncompromising advocates of pure rhymes are happily confronted by the well-known fact that Burns's "Highland Mary," which will move human hearts as long as any language is spoken, does not contain one single perfect rhyme.

SUMMIT, N. J., February 12, 1899.

FILES OF THE LONDON TIMES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In a notice in the *Nation* for February 16, on the acquisition of a file of the *London Times* by the Boston Public Library, it is stated that the file "in the Congressional Library is the only one in America containing all issues of the *Times* from its establishment in 1788." This, I regret to say, is not the case. The file in the Library of Congress begins with the number for July 4, 1791, and runs to December 31, 1791. Then five years are missing; the set being complete only from January 1, 1796.

DAVID HUTCHESON.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
WASHINGTON, February 20, 1899.

Notes.

G. P. Putnam's Sons' spring announcements include 'Historic Towns of the Middle States,' edited by the Rev. Lyman P. Powell, and uniform with his 'Historic Towns of New England'; 'History of the Territorial Expansion of the United States,' by Charles Henry Butler; the second volume of Blok's 'History of the People of the Netherlands,' translated by Ruth Putnam; 'The Story of the People of England in the Nineteenth Century,' by Justin McCarthy, M. P.; 'The West Indies,' by Prof. Amos Kidder Fiske; 'Erasmus,' by Prof. Emerton of Harvard; the long-expected 'Life of George Borrow,' by Prof. William I. Knapp, in two volumes; 'Israel Putnam,' by a descendant, W. F. Livingston; 'The Law and History of Copyright in Books,' by Augustine Birrell; 'The United States Naval Academy,' by Park Benjamin; 'Roman Africa,' by Gaston Boissier; 'Industrial Cuba,' by Robert P. Porter; 'Nature Studies in Berkshire,' by the Rev. W. Coleman Adams, with photogravures; 'Volcanoes,' by Prof. T. G. Bonney; 'Shakspeare in France,' by J. J. Jusserand; 'Dante Interpreted for Students,'

by E. Willson, with original translations from the "Inferno"; 'A Study of Wagner,' by Ernest Newman; 'Islam in Africa,' by the Rev. Anson P. Atterbury; 'The New Far East,' by Arthur Dlozy; 'Methods and Problems of Spiritual Healing,' by Horatio W. Dresser; and 'Proportion and Harmony in Line and Color,' by George L. Raymond.

'Tales of the Malayan Coast,' by Rounseville Wildman, United States Consul at Hong Kong; 'Germany, her People and their Story,' by Augusta Hale Gifford; and 'The Story of Our War with Spain,' by Elbridge S. Brooks, are in the press of the Lothrop Publishing Co., Boston.

In editing the correspondence of Hans von Bülow, the letters exchanged between himself and Liszt were made a separate volume ('Briefwechsel zwischen Liszt und Hans von Bülow'; Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel; New York: Lemcke & Buechner). These being, however, in by far the greater proportion, written in French, the Leipzig house has very properly concluded to make an edition wholly French, to cover, title, and preface (and perhaps index, though this is of proper names).

Mr. Albert G. Robinson, who was correspondent of the *Evening Post* in Porto Rico during the war and later, has published through the Scribners 'Porto Rico of To-day.' It consists of letters first printed in that newspaper, revised and expanded. We may say of them that they have received high praise from those who know the island well, as being an intelligent and faithful study of present conditions in Porto Rico.

Longmans, Green & Co. bring out the new edition of Mr. Lecky's 'Democracy and Liberty,' in two volumes. The author seizes the occasion of a relapse to write a preface of more than fifty pages, principally devoted to showing that the most melancholy of his predictions of three years ago are sensibly nearer fulfilment, and containing a notable depreciatory estimate of Mr. Gladstone.

Chapman's 'Iliad' follows at a sufficiently long interval his 'Odyssey' in the charming Temple Classics of Dent (New York: Macmillan); but its welcome is assured. The sub-editor, Mr. W. H. D. Rouse, has appended twenty-two sonnets mostly already printed in connection with his Homeric editions by Chapman himself, and mostly dedications of the several parts of the translation to noble patrons. Mr. Rouse has edited as a companion volume Casaubon's translation of the 'Meditations' of Marcus Aurelius. Brand-new are a translation from the Italian, by T. W. Arnold, of 'The Little Flowers of St. Francis,' an anonymous work of the fourteenth century; and another, from the French, by Dr. Sebastian Evans, of 'The High History of the Holy Grail,' also anonymous, with embellishments by Burne-Jones, and an epilogue by Mr. Evans exhibiting the literary history of the book, with a theory of its origin. No other direct English version exists. The present fills two of these handy pocket volumes, and is offered "in all good faith" as "the original story of Sir Percival and the Holy Grail, whole and incorrupt as it left the hands of its first author."

In the year 1743, in Garrison Forest (so named because it contained an ancient fort built as a defence against Indian forays) was erected a modest place of worship, which is perhaps the only church in Maryland that has continued for so many years in regular use. It belonged to the Establishment, and

the Rev. Thomas Cradock was the first rector. Interesting historical facts about the church itself and the old Maryland families whose members worshipped within its walls, or lie under rudely carved stones in the churchyard, are given in 'The Garrison Church,' by the Rev. Ethan Allen (James Pott & Co.), with addition of much valuable genealogical matter from the parish records.

The latest volume of the Columbia University Studies in Political Science, entitled 'Rhode Island and the Formation of the Union,' by Frank Greene Bates (Macmillan), treats in an exhaustive manner one of the most interesting questions in the early political history of our country. It is a well-known fact that Rhode Island was the last of the thirteen colonies to enter the Union: it was almost three years after the submission of the Constitution to the several colonies, and almost two years after its ratification by the other twelve, that Rhode Island reluctantly cast in her lot with her sister States. The reasons for this reluctance have always been obscure. The present volume, tracing the preconstitutional history of the State, finds in the religious and social character of the people, and in the peculiar commercial and financial conditions of the colony, an adequate explanation, tending to remove misapprehensions in regard to her patriotism which have been rife for a century. The investigation, which is based largely on manuscript collections and records, and which involved patient labor stretching over several years, is a noteworthy contribution to American preconstitutional history.

The first three volumes of 'Special Reports on Educational Subjects,' published by the English Education Department in 1897-98, and sold by Eyre & Spottiswoode (London), contains sixty-seven separate reports on the educational systems of England and other countries, and on a variety of opportune subjects. Such timely questions as the connection between the public library and the public school, the arrangement of school museums, the physical education of girls, school hygiene, higher commercial education, manual training, games and athletics, the teaching of foreign languages, etc., etc., are treated by contributors specially fitted for the task. The article on the "Study of Education" (vol. II., p. 337), by Dr. J. J. Findlay, is a thorough and critical discussion of the whole subject. The editor of the series, Mr. M. E. Sadler, Director of Special Enquiries and Reports, writes on the "Problems in Prussian Secondary Education for Boys, with special reference to similar questions in England" (vol. III., p. 83), and gives us what is perhaps the most convenient and comprehensive treatise on the secondary-school question in Germany in its historical relations. From an account of the "London School of Economics and Political Science," by the Director of the School, Mr. A. S. Hewins (vol. II., p. 76), we learn that in this new institution—it was founded in 1895 in conscious imitation of existing institutions of the kind in Paris, New York, and elsewhere, yet specially adapted to English needs—the instruction is given by twenty lecturers, besides the Director, to an average of four hundred students during the second and third years. The history and condition of economics in England are treated in one of the sections of this report. Specialists in this country who keep abreast of the progress in their departments in civilized countries may not discover in these volumes much that is abso-

lutely new to them, but an examination of their contents may yet prove advantageous. For all public and school libraries these Special Reports are unquestionably of great value. For the next volume, contributions are promised by Commissioner Harris and President Eliot on some aspects of American education.

The Baron de Baye reprints, in pamphlet form, from the *Revue de Géographie*, his lecture entitled 'De Penza à Minoussinsk: Souvenirs d'une Mission' (Paris: Librairie Nilsson). It gives an outline sketch of his third trip to Siberia, and includes several very interesting particulars concerning the Mordvinians of the Penza Government, in Russia proper. It is very fully illustrated from photographs, most of them taken by the author. He does not distinctly state the nature of his "mission," or enter into details as to what he accomplished; but the reader infers from references in the text that it was for the purpose of collecting archaeological material, as he mentions having presented many objects found in Siberian mounds to Siberian museums. This is, however, more of a "travel sketch," and, as such, legitimately offers numerous interesting bits of information about the peasant immigration to Siberia from Russia, the conditions attached thereto, and the efficient management of this important and complicated matter by the Russian Government. For adequate comprehension of the Baron's mission and aims this pamphlet should, without a doubt, be combined with whatever he has previously published in regard to his Russian and Siberian trips.

Several years ago, M. Paul Lacombe, inspector-general of the French archives, published an interesting book entitled 'De l'Histoire considérée comme Science,' in which he endeavored to derive the laws of human progress from a consideration of the constant intermingling of the institutional element of social life with what he called the "événement," i. e., the influence of personal forces. He has just supplemented this essay by another entitled 'Introduction à l'Histoire Littéraire' (Paris: Hachette), in which he reviews the development of literature, particularly of French literature, from a similar standpoint. It can hardly be said that the results of this review are in any sense startling. That literary progress moves along the line of greater refinement in form and greater variety of psychological characterization, is a commonplace true enough as far as it goes, but scarcely of such fundamental importance as M. Lacombe seems to assume. Nevertheless, this book is a noteworthy contribution to the study of literature. In contradistinction to both Taine and Brunetière, it emphasizes the prime significance of the literary personality, and assigns to the influences of race and epoch the place of concomitant causes only. Its principal merit is a penetrating analysis of the artistic temper.

Dr. Anton Bettelheim, the well-known biographer of Beaumarchais and Anzengruber, has collected a number of his literary and biographical sketches which during the last two years were written for *Osmopolis*, *Die Nation*, and other periodicals, into an attractive little volume bearing the title 'Acta Diurna' (Vienna: Hartleben; New York: Lemcke & Buechner). While these short papers have not the same finish nor the same charm of individuality which distinguished the author's former work, they form

a convenient *chronique littéraire* of recent events in German intellectual life. The range of subjects touched upon is extensive enough to include, for instance, a sketch of the marvellous growth of Reclam's 'Universalbibliothek'; a scathing criticism of Nordau's advocacy of the Zionite movement; a charming characterization of the Swiss novelist Widmann; notices of Fontane's master-work 'Effi Briest,' of Naumann's essays on Christian socialism, of Saar's Austrian novels; and character studies of such different personalities as Gerhart Hauptmann, Friedrich Mitterwurzer, and Charlotte Wolters. One gains from these pages a fresh sense of the great wealth of literary talent and of earnest spiritual endeavor stored up in contemporary German life. Surely a country where a single publishing firm, Reclam, records a sale within the last thirty years of 619,000 copies of 'Wilhelm Tell,' of 490,000 copies of 'Hermann und Dorothea,' of 33,000 copies of Schopenhauer's collected works; where Sudermann's 'Johannes' within a year has been performed at a single theatre more than a hundred times; and where there is not a single city of importance which does not maintain a theatre of respectable standing and artistic merit—such a country may be considered spiritually safe even in the turmoil and seeming degeneracy of *fin de siècle* art.

"Accordingly to these probabilities, in no more adequate moment than present time,—when the first rays of an era of great prosperity have just arisen from a hopeful horizon,—can the life of such beautiful island as Cuba, justify the creation of this technical review, which will be, in some sort, a periodical monography of Cuban life." We take this sentence from the prospectus of the *Island of Cuba Magazine*, a private venture, published at Havana, but distributed in the United States by the "International Exchanges" of the Smithsonian Institution. It suggests the question why the exchanges should be used for this purpose. Would any magazine be allowed to use them? and if not, what "pull" has the Cuban monthly?

The *Osprey*, an illustrated magazine of ornithology published monthly, with a vacation in July and August, has been transferred from New York to Washington, where it is edited by Elliott Coues and Theodore Gill. Its aim is popular, not technical, and the three concluding numbers of last year (vol. III.) contain much interesting reading. Between birds and trees there is a close relation, and some of the most curious plates are of strange vegetation in the arid parts of this continent. In the December number a plate showing two blue jays is from the pencil of Louis Agassiz Fuertes, which on this occasion has almost a Japanese facility.

The *National Geographic Magazine* for January contains an illustrated description of a trip up the Stikine River in Alaska, by Eliza R. Scidmore. On account of its magnificent scenery this stream's valley has been called "a Yosemite 100 miles long." At one point twelve great glaciers can be seen, and there are 300 which flow directly into the river. Along the shores were frequent signs of the recent rush of gold-seekers to the Klondike and its sudden collapse. At Glenora, the head of navigation, everything apparently was for sale—"so rough notices at every door-sill and tent-flap told." In a brief article on the West Indian hurricane of September 10-11, 1898, Prof. E. B. Garrison

quotes from a Jesuit writer curious testimony to the belief in a general law as to the recurrence of hurricanes in this region. The ecclesiastical authority from time immemorial ordained that the priests in Porto Rico should recite in the mass the prayer for warding off tempests during the months of August and September, but not in October; and that in Cuba it should be recited in September and October, but not in August. Mr. O. P. Austin of the Bureau of Statistics gives some interesting facts in regard to the colonial systems of the world. Two prizes, of \$150 and \$75, are offered by the National Geographic Society for the best essays on Norse discoveries in America, the competition to close December 31, 1899.

The two numbers of volume II. of the *American Journal of Archaeology* for 1898, issued by the Archaeological Institute of America (Macmillan), possess a remarkable range of interest, from the Euphrates to Crete, Corinth, and Rome. We may mention Dr. William Hayes Ward's cylinder testimony as to the horse in ancient Babylonia, and Dr. Richardson's preliminary report on the excavations at Corinth. Among the plates accompanying the latter is a view of the uncovered spring, Pirene.

A contributor to the *Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement* for January describes in a few pages the farcical system of secondary education in Spain. The schools in question are the so-called Provincial Institutes, where boys between the ages of ten and sixteen are instructed and examined in thirty-five subjects, seven of which have been added to the list by a recent decree of the Minister of Education, viz.: Political economy, common law, history of Spanish literature, history of art, book-keeping, and industrial and agricultural technics. The Minister also recommends visits to the museums, but, as the writer remarks, in nine towns out of ten where the institutes are situated, the only museums are the churches with their wax images. The boys work from three to four and a half hours a day, and the newspapers are in a rage over such outrageous disregard for the life and health of the Spanish youth. The deplorable condition of elementary education in the kingdom may be inferred from the status of the common-school teachers as depicted in a recent number of the *Pädagogische Zeitung*. Out of 23,000 teachers, in round numbers, included in the last census, nearly 3,000 were receiving thirty dollars or less annually, 5,000 were paid from fifty to one hundred dollars, and the salary of only 1,000 amounted to more than two hundred and fifty dollars. But the worst of it is that thousands of these poor men and women were not even paid the pittance to which their contracts entitled them.

'Some Efforts of American Negroes for their own Social Betterment' is the title of a pamphlet report of the Third Atlanta Conference for the study of negro problems (No. 3 of the Atlanta University Publications). This document proves once more the useful work undertaken by the University in gathering statistics of social conditions and needs among the black population of the South. Church societies figure largely in the reformatory efforts here tabulated and discussed, along with secret beneficent societies, organized philanthropy, cooperative business enterprises, and the like. In North Carolina, so lately convulsed by race clashing, the richest black man in the State has

promoted the building of a cotton mill for his color, and white Northern liberality has been reinforced by black sympathy and aid in establishing a hospital for negro consumptives. In Texas, a former student at Atlanta University has founded a Farmers' Improvement Society, which in one town has made the negro quarter more attractive than the white. This is said to have branches in thirty-six towns, and 1,800 members. There is much other suggestive information in this report.

A circular letter, signed by Prof. William H. Carpenter, has been sent out from Columbia University asking for contributions of Dutch books and pamphlets for the library of that institution. The letter calls attention to the fact that, in the early days of the Dutch settlement, and subsequently during the time that the descendants of the original settlers still retained a knowledge of the language, books written in Dutch found their way here in considerable numbers. Many such books have been preserved, but, with the disappearance of the language, they have, for the most part, been put aside and forgotten. A collection of Dutch books, it is plain, would have a great literary and historical value if they were catalogued and made accessible to students. A few generations more will see the dispersion and irrecoverable loss of a good deal of material of this kind that is now packed away in lumber-rooms and attics. In the new Library of Columbia, with its liberal provisions for use, such books would be preserved for all time under the most favorable conditions, and would, no doubt, contribute their part to the increased interest in our Dutch beginnings that of late years has shown itself in the community.

Parliament has again faced the problems of local taxation, and the first report of the royal commission on that subject has just been published. The crux is to be found in the system of valuing property for taxation, and any plan that provides uniformity, equality, simplicity, and economy would be acceptable. Under existing methods it is possible, outside of the metropolis, for five independent valuations for the purpose of raising rates and taxes to exist contemporaneously in the same area. In England and Wales alone there are more than 1,000 valuation authorities. With such a multiplicity of agents it is useless to look for satisfactory results, and the differences in other lines greatly increase the confusion. There is no fixed or necessary time for making the valuation lists; no uniform system of, or scale for, making deductions for arriving at the ratable values of certain classes of property; exemptions and allowances are said to be allowed unduly, through pressure brought to bear on the assessing authorities; and the assessment committees have no statutory power to ascertain from owners or occupiers the rent paid and other particulars. Added to these is the common action of authorities in keeping the valuation low so as to reduce their contribution towards common expenditure.

Many attempts have been made to obtain one uniform mode of rating throughout England, but without success. Of late years, a change has occurred in the relative importance of the different rates. In 1880 the county and borough authorities raised 10 per cent. less than the Poor-Law authorities; in 1897 the former raised nearly 73 per cent. more than the latter, and the great

increase has been incurred by the county boroughs. The committee assert that, owing to the distribution of the Poor-Law Unions, it is impossible to suggest any scheme which will in all cases secure that the area of each spending authority shall be continuous with the areas of one or more valuation authorities, or be wholly comprised in the area of one valuation authority. This division of responsibility leads to extravagance, and can be corrected only by creating areas in which the valuation for all purposes shall be the same. A central Government department is set aside as undesirable, and the county borough—not always the geographical county—is suggested as a proper administrative unit, with power to adopt the geographical county. Under the direction of the county or borough councils, the valuation lists are to be prepared; but legislation must provide for the establishment of a maximum scale of deductions, and for compulsory returns from owners of rent paid and other particulars. Special properties, such as railways, canals, mines, docks, gas, water, and electric-light works, should be valued by an expert valuer, subject to appeals to the Railway Commission, or a special tribunal created for that purpose. Although it is provided that the general valuation list should be prepared, whenever practicable, by professional surveyors, the list is subject to revision on appeal. The report is an interesting attempt to point the way to uniformity in what is now a very confused matter.

Public interest in Italy, especially in educated and political circles, has been occupied with the rather singular Mondragone affair. Mondragone is the name of a Jesuit college near Frascati, which, chiefly because it happened to be popular among the aristocratic classes as a school for their boys, was permitted to continue in operation, notwithstanding the law of 1866, which put an end to all the religious orders and their work throughout the peninsula. The laws of Italy demand that when the pupils of a private educational establishment enter the higher schools of the state, they must pass certain examinations. As the pupils from Mondragone very frequently were not able to pass these examinations on account of the inefficiency of the work done by the Jesuit teachers, the friends of that school proposed to have it recognized officially by the state. A petition soon turned up signed by no less than 108 prominent names, notably of members of Parliament, addressed to the Minister of Education, Baccelli, who obligingly decreed that the final examinations at Mondragone should admit pupils to the higher state institutions. Here, then, was the singular phenomenon of a recognition of the Jesuits by a country which since 1848 had officially banished all Jesuits from its borders. Quite naturally the Liberal press raised a decided protest. The list of the petitioners was published, and among them was found also that of Crispi. The signers nearly all began to publish excuses, and Crispi himself published two letters explaining how he came to sign such a document. The Minister of Education hastened to recall his recognition, and Mondragone is a private Jesuit school again as it has been in the past.

The Peking revolution of last September, with its tragic check in the decapitation of six reformers, is the main theme treated of in the eleventh annual report of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and Ge-

neral Knowledge among the Chinese. Three distinct parties working for a rehabilitated China were discernible. One, led by Kang Yu Wei, was hampered by the cry raised to rally in defence of Confucianism. The second party sought for alliance only with Japan, and its cry was for union of Asia against Europe—thus conjuring up that "yellow spectre" which Kaiser Wilhelm feared and pictured. A third party, with broader views than either, was ready to adopt all that was good in the whole world, without fear of harm to their religion, their continent, or their country. This party had made great progress, for it centred in the Emperor himself and had many leading statesmen of China within its pale. The number of native newspapers had increased from 19 in 1895 to 70 in 1898, and the Son of Heaven himself had sent for books illustrating foreign learning and ideas, to the number of 129, of which 89 were published by this society. The Emperor, besides reading their books, followed the advice of the reformers, gave them personal interviews, and then issued a cluster of brilliant edicts, nine in number. These bade fair to relay the foundations of the Chinese social order and intellectual culture, as well as material and political and educational developments. Unfortunately, the reformed cabinet advised cashiering some of the obstructionists, a change of costume, and the cutting off of the cue. These last straws made the burden too heavy for the anti-foreign party, who gathered around the Empress Dowager and misrepresented the motives and objects of the men they hated and feared. This remarkable old lady, now sixty-five years of age, forcibly took charge of the government, beheaded six reformers, imprisoned, banished or degraded scores of others, suppressed the restive newspapers, and forbade the formation of progressive societies or the appointment of men with reform ideas to positions of influence. But the heaven is still working. Besides the reprinting by native booksellers of the Society's publications, which cover every subject of interest to human beings, 181,349 copies of books, or more than 27,000,000 pages, were printed in 1898, and there were sold in 1898 \$18,457 worth of printed matter, as compared with \$12,146 in 1897. The active workers in this society are mostly Americans, though the supporters are various English-speaking people.

—In a recently published paper by Mr. H. C. Russell, read last summer before the Royal Society of New South Wales, an account is given of a remarkable series of water-spouts observed off Eden on May 16 last. Although the phenomenon is said to be frequently observed near this coast, sometimes in groups of three or four, the display recorded is by far the grandest ever described. Within the space of five hours, fourteen complete water-spouts and six others more or less imperfect were formed from a single mass of cloud. Nothing remarkable had been noticed in the precedent weather. In Eden, as throughout southeastern Australia generally, the morning was fine and calm, but early in the forenoon a heavy bank of cloud appeared on the eastern horizon, becoming more dense as it drifted toward the shore. About eleven o'clock Mr. Pilot Newton saw the first water-spout, which seemed to have come suddenly into existence. As straight as a shaft, it was estimated to be thirty times as high as a clipper ship, or about 5,000 feet. Beginning, perhaps, eight miles from the

coast, it drifted toward the southwest until only about three or four miles away, and then quickly disappeared. Mr. D. R. Crichton, a mining engineer, watched carefully through his theodolite, eight water-spouts being visible at one time. Of the fourteen complete ones, reaching from cloud to sea, the first was nearest the shore, the others gradually farther off, until the last must have been distant about thirty miles, toward four o'clock in the afternoon. The weather and sea were perfectly calm and quiet all the time. The cones at top and bottom of one of these spouts were measured, and found about 100 feet in diameter, while the length of each cone from its base to the point at which the spout became cylindrical was probably 250 feet. The column formed by the junction of the two cones was entirely symmetrical and about ten feet in diameter. The formation and subsidence of the spouts made an interesting scene. First, on the placid sea, came a violent disturbance, in which a rotary motion of waves throughout a surface about a third of a mile in diameter could be distinctly seen, and large quantities of broken water were raised upward. As the motion increased, the agitated space became less, the spray denser, and in two or three minutes the base of the whirlpool was formed, gradually rising to a cone-topped misty shaft or column. During all this time the clouds above were projecting an inverted cone downward for a third of the distance, until suddenly the two united, the apparent rotary motion ceased, and for ten or twelve minutes the smooth column remained unchanged. Slowly the cloud drifted eastward, dragging the water-spout far out of the perpendicular. Gradually dividing in the middle, the top rose, the bottom sank, the rotary motion again became perceptible, the water was greatly disturbed, and finally normal conditions once more prevailed. The last water-spout but one appeared to take its start from the debris of the preceding. The original conditions necessary to produce this phenomenon may be stated in general as a massive cloud of large extent floating over warm ocean water in calm weather. In an appendix Mr. Russell gives a list of thirty-eight water-spouts recorded during ten years off the coast of New South Wales, and a series of remarkable plates illustrating the more unusual.

—Mr. Russell also sends out an abstract of a paper upon the source of the periodic waves recorded from time to time on the Sydney and Newcastle tide gauges. In 1868, records of such waves of unusual dimensions were made through four days, and were subsequently thought to be due to the great earthquake at Arica, in South America. Also in 1874 and 1877 similar waves are recorded, apparently traceable to earthquakes, although after many terrestrial upheavals there are no unusual waves noticed. An ingenious explanation from the records of currents, barometric pressure, shape of coast line, and areas of low depression travelling rapidly, is given as theory to account for these periodic waves.

—Thomas Bewick, the father of modern wood-engraving, passed to that art from an apprenticeship in cutting seals and general engraving on steel and copper. In this, it now appears, he typified the order of evolution of the two arts. Moreover, the woodcuts in the fable line which made his early fame were more or less influenced in their

design by their copper or type-metal predecessors. Here again he followed the order of three centuries before his time. Such is the conclusion to which Mr. Lionel Cust comes in the folio just issued by the Clarendon Press (New York: Henry Frowde), entitled "The Master E. S. and the 'Ars Moriendi': A Chapter in the History of Engraving during the Fifteenth Century." Whereas the history of printing alike and of engraving for impression has heretofore commonly begun with the block-book, Mr. Cust is able to show irrefutably that the rare block-book 'Ars Moriendi,' purchased by the British Museum in 1872 for about \$1,300, and whose date is conjectured to be 1440, has for illustrations enlarged copies, with some insignificant liberties, of the set of illustrations to the same work executed on copper by the Master E. S., of which the only complete series extant is at Oxford. Mr. Cust further shows corroboratively that there had been an earlier plagiarist on wood from these coppers, viz., the so-called Master of St. Erasmus, who copied them directly and also reversed them. That every reader of this discussion may be convinced, Mr. Cust prints facsimiles of E. S. and of the block-book, and these alone would be worth the price of the book, which is a matter of some sixty pages, the plates included. Mr. Cust expresses amply his indebtedness to the labors and counsel of Dr. Max Lehrs, the present Director of the Cabinet of Prints and Drawings in the Royal Museums at Dresden, the first living authority on the subject of the history of copper-engraving north of the Alps, soon to publish a work upon it. The entire originality of E. S., so far as is known from many examples, and the want of evidence that he himself might have engraved the block-book or even used the knife, lead Dr. Lehrs to believe that "the unique series of engravings in the Douce Collection at Oxford are the real *editio princeps* of the famous *Ars Moriendi*." In any event, the gage is here thrown down, and every library which cares for the fine arts, and every connoisseur, will need this handsome volume of Mr. Cust's.

SVEN HEDIN IN ASIA.

Through Asia. By Sven Hedin. With nearly 300 illustrations from sketches and photographs by the author. 2 vols. Harpers. 1899. Maps. 8vo.

For courage, endurance, devotion to science, keenness of observation, tactful dealing with men, and for the extent and importance of his explorations, Dr. Sven Hedin deserves a foremost place among travellers. A considerable faculty for simple but graphic description, also, makes the story of his three and a half years' wanderings a notable contribution to literature. The unusual variety of his experiences is due mainly to the nature of the country through which he travelled. In Central Asia alone are to be found in close proximity the characteristic features both of the polar regions and of the tropics. Here, as in Greenland, the traveller may wander for weeks and months at all seasons over vast expanses of snow and ice, encountering the fiercest storms with Arctic cold. Descending from these wintry heights, he passes amid fields of rice and cotton into a desert where, as in Africa or Australia, he may perish from the torrid heat, from thirst, or from the pitiless sand driven by winds violent enough to reverse the current of a

river. Here, too, can be seen the formative powers of nature in sublimest action; the ice, snow, rain, wind, and sands shaping deserts, changing the course of rivers, obliterating and making lakes, carving out the beds of streams, cutting down lofty plateaux—works suggestive of those geologic ages when the globe was being prepared for the abode of man. Then the fact that Asia is the cradle of our race gives a peculiar interest to the accounts of the primitive life of the Kirghis shepherds, and of the cities of unknown age and origin which the explorer found buried under the shifting sands. The personality of the young traveller—he was barely twenty-nine at the beginning of this journey—is strongly shown throughout his modest narrative. It is, as it were, the autobiography of a veritable hero of science—a man who fearlessly confronts any peril on glacier or desert to trace the course of a river or the depth and contour of a lake; who of two passes will promptly choose the one promising most of danger and hardship if by taking it he can add to our knowledge of a mountain-range.

It was not one continuous journey of which Dr. Hedin gives a report in this work, but of several, during which he explored a considerable part of the Pamirs, the great desert of East Turkestan, and a strip of Northern Tibet. The aggregate extent of his explorations was 6,520 miles, out of which 2,020 "were through regions which no European had ever before visited." King Oscar of Sweden, with other friends of science, bore the cost of the various expeditions. The noteworthy part of his journey began at Orenburg, whence he crossed the Kirghis steppes by tarantass to the foot of the Alai Mountains, a route now almost superseded by the Transcasian railway. Among the places through which he passed was Kokand, a true university city, having thirty-five Mohammedan colleges with 5,300 students, and eighty-one schools for boys and girls, with about 1,200 pupils. Thirty of these schools were founded with money left for the purpose, and are situated near the testators' graves.

A winter journey over the Pamirs, Hedin's first exploring work, was a task of great difficulty and danger, from the height of the mountain passes, the cold (the thermometer drops there to -45° Fahr.), and the frequent, almost daily blizzards. "These burans, or snow hurricanes, come on with startling suddenness. One minute the sky will be perfectly clear; scarcely one minute later, and down swoops the storm. In an instant the path is obliterated. The atmosphere grows dark with whirling snowflakes. It is impossible to see a yard before you. All you can do is to stand perfectly still, wrap your furs about you, and thank God if you escape with your life." Surmounting almost insuperable obstacles on the passes over the Alai and Trans-Alai Mountains, our explorer climbed to the "roof of the world," and crossed it to the Russian frontier post, Fort Pamir. From his observations made in this and other expeditions in this region, he divides the "gigantic quadrilateral" into an eastern half, which is principally a plateau land, and a western half, consisting of a system of latitudinal mountain-chains. "There can be no doubt," he says, "that at one period the entire region was strictly a plateau, and that it is being rapidly broken down by the agency of erosion."

The spring and summer of 1894 were

spent mainly in exploring the glaciers of Mus-tagh-ata, "the father of the ice-mountains," and, like all conspicuous peaks, invested with a halo of mystery by the Kirghis, and made the centre of fantastic legends. Four attempts were made to reach the summit, 25,590 feet; but though Dr. Hedin rode on a yak to a height of 19,750 feet, the wind, the cold, and the rarefaction of the air prevented his climbing even a thousand feet higher. The mountain is in Chinese territory, and the difficulty which he experienced in crossing the frontier, notwithstanding his passport, was a striking testimony to the watchfulness of the Chinese, and their jealous fear of their powerful neighbors. The mandarins have an extraordinary way of enumerating their forces. "They are not content with counting the soldiers only, but reckon in also their horses, rifles, shoes, breeches, and so forth," apparently on the supposition that the rifle is at least as valuable as the man, and that a man is of little use if he has to go about naked and afoot. The somewhat monotonous record of Dr. Hedin's daily experiences in this cheerless region, and his observations of the depths of lakes, the volume of rivers, and the progress of glaciers, is agreeably diversified by accounts of the garrison life at Fort Pamir and at Kashgar, where he recruited after these expeditions. Prominent among these episodes is the meeting with the Anglo-Russian boundary commission in the southern Pamirs. He was present when a telegram came announcing that the British Government accepted the frontier which the Russians proposed to them. This event, which "occasioned the greatest rejoicing in both camps," was celebrated by dinners given on successive days by the Russian and British commissioners. The festivities of the second day were closed by national dances around a huge bonfire, the material for which "had all been brought for the purpose from Kanjut, on the other side of the Hindu-Kush," more than a hundred miles distant.

To the east of the Pamirs stretches the Takla-makan desert, several hundred miles in width, uninhabited and untraversed save by a few adventurous natives searching for gold and hidden treasures. Prompted by the desire to explore the unknown, as well as in hopes of finding traces of ancient civilization, Dr. Hedin ventured into this wilderness in the spring of 1895. He had with him four natives and eight camels, besides dogs, sheep, and chickens, his aim being to reach a stream cutting the desert in halves some two hundred miles to the east. For the first thirteen days everything went well, and water was got every day by digging. On April 23 they camped by a small lake, and he ordered his men to put a ten days' supply in the iron water-tanks. The desert now resembled a petrified sea, with giant waves, sometimes from one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet high. Up the steep inclines of these sand-dunes the camels clambered with marvellous surety of foot, while the men slipped back at almost every step they took. After two days in this chaos of dunes, he discovered that, either by negligence or by treachery, only two days' supply of water remained. Misled by the false information of his guide, instead of turning back to the lake, he pressed on farther into the desert. Day after day passed without a sign of the stream of which they were in search. The strength of the camels began to fail, and one by one they were left behind. During one

whole march a suffocating hurricane blew, making midday dark as pitch. Every sense was alert to discover any trace of water, a tree or depression in the sands in which they might dig. At one despairing moment a buzzing gad-fly raised their hopes to fever point. "We believed we were nearing land." On April 30 the carefully husbanded water gave out, and the next day was spent in what Dr. Hedin fitly terms the "camp of death." All day long he lay in his tent wide awake, but tortured with delirious memories of streams and fountains. In the afternoon a cool breeze sprang up, and "something happened which I can only look upon as a miracle. As the sun drew nearer and nearer to the horizon, so did my strength gradually return; and by the time he rested like a glowing cannon-ball on the tops of the dunes in the west, I was completely recovered. My body had regained all its former elasticity. I felt as if I could walk for days and days. I burned with impatience to be up and doing. I *would* not die." With two of his followers he left the camp that night, and for five days he struggled on, leaving first one and then the other of the men. On the night of the 5th of May he reached the bed of the Khotan-daria—and it was empty. "The sand was as dry as the sand in the desert dunes." With unflinching courage, and resisting an overpowering desire to sleep, he kept on to the farther bank of the river-bed, and, when within a few yards of it, he says, "a wild duck, alarmed by my approach, flew up and away as swift as an arrow. I heard a splash, and in the next moment I stood on the brink of a little pool filled with fresh, cool water—beautiful water. Before drinking" (he ends a narrative which will doubtless become classic in the annals of travel), "I counted my pulse; it was forty-nine." Carrying water in his boots, he found one of his men, and eventually another rejoined him, having been rescued by a passing caravan. The two others probably perished.

Nothing daunted by his sufferings and his narrow escape from death, a few months later he ventured again into that part of the desert lying to the east of Khotan-daria, a part of the desert of Gobi. About midway through it he came to the remains of a half-buried city, covering an area from two to two and a half miles in diameter. "All the houses were built of wood (poplar); not a single trace of a stone or clay house was discernible." Sticking out from the sand were posts, six to ten feet high, cracked and hard, but brittle as glass. Some remnants of the plastered walls were discovered, decorated with painted images of Buddha and pictures of men and women. With some difficulty he reached the River Tarim, the northern boundary of the desert, and followed it to its outlet in Lake Lop-nor. A chapter is devoted to a discussion of the vexed Lop-nor problem, which the promised publication of his scientific observations may help to settle definitively. His conclusion is that Lop-nor is a wandering lake and is now moving westward. Two of the great forces of nature are to be seen in this region at the height of their power. The evaporation is so great that four large streams—one of which, "summer and winter, day and night alike, has a steady flow of 2,490 cubic feet in the second"—are not strong enough to maintain a permanent lake in the heart of the desert. Then, during one march, the wind blew from the east with such violence that the surface current of the Tarim was reversed and

the lake expanded to an appreciable extent.

Dr. Hedin's journey through northern Tibet and across the Tsaidam desert to China in 1896 does not call for special note. His route was a little to the north of that which the English explorer, Capt. Wellby, followed the same year. Their experiences were similar, only that, being accustomed to long journeys in uninhabited wastes, Dr. Hedin does not show that intense longing for signs of human life which characterized the other traveller's narrative. The sufferings of the caravan from cold and lack of food were great. Fortunately no lives were lost, though out of fifty-six camels, horses, and donkeys which started, all but seven had perished when, after two months in the mountain solitudes, the party came down to the first Mongolian shepherd's camp.

Dr. Hedin is a typical explorer. He never loses sight of the fact that the one object of all his travels is to gain knowledge. In every place through which he passed,

"I always asked," he says, "the same questions in the same order, namely, the population of the place, its products, saints' tombs, mosques, legends, whether spring or autumn sowing was customary, or both, whether the same ground was used twice in the same year for different kinds of cereals, or whether the ground produced only one crop in the season, or even in every second year; about trade and intercommunication, roads, the distance to the desert and to the mountains, the origin and volume of the water in the rivers, the time when they usually froze and when the ice began to melt, the system of irrigation and the local regulations connected with it, the wells, prevailing winds, frequency of burans, rainfall, snowfall, etc. One question paved the way for another, and the whole thing took me from two to three hours; after that everything was carefully written down."

Though science is the first thing from the beginning to the end of his travels, yet his narrative is constantly interspersed with bright descriptive touches, picturing his dogs and their ways, his companions, or some unusually interesting camp scene or incident. Not infrequently he shows considerable imaginative or poetical power, as in his description of moonlight on the Mus-tagh-ata.

The translation from the original Swedish, by Mr. J. T. Bealby, is admirably done. We have noted one or two pardonable errors in changing the readings of a centigrade thermometer to Fahrenheit, and we are inclined to see a mistranslation in the statement that "not quite one pint of [sesame] oil will sustain a camel for a month without food." The numerous illustrations add greatly to the charm of the volumes, especially the portrait sketches by Dr. Hedin himself, and the reproductions of his photographs. One of his prominent characteristics is his modesty, but he makes one statement in his preface of which the truth will be unquestioned by all who read his story: "Although fully conscious of the mistakes of my journey and of the shortcomings of this my book, . . . I believe I really did my best as far as lay in my power."

GEIKIE'S EARTH SCULPTURE.

Earth Sculpture; or, The Origin of Land Forms. By James Geikie. Putnams. 1898.

Modern physical geography is distinguished from that which prevailed a decade or two ago in that, while the latter contented itself with a simple description of the various forms of the earth's surface, the former

searches into the causes which have produced these forms, and thus encroaches somewhat upon the field of the cognate science of geology. In the earlier conceptions of geology it was assumed that mountains and similar features of the earth's surface were due to violent convulsions of nature which had long since ceased to exist—to a *Sturm und Drang* period of the earth's youth, which, in the present old age of our planet, had been succeeded by comparative lethargy and repose. Such conceptions are still prevalent to a greater or less degree among a large proportion of untechnical people. The miner, who has the greatest familiarity with the internal phenomena of mountains, finds it necessary to call upon violent catastrophes—"blowouts" he is apt to style them—to account for the wonders he observes. On the other hand, the tendency of scientific study has long been to find an explanation of these earlier phenomena in the processes that are going on at the present time. The action of air and water in their various forms, combined with diurnal changes of temperature, if allowed a sufficiently long time in which to act, are competent to produce most of the forms which we see in our mountains, valleys, and lake basins.

The Messrs. Putnam's new "Science Series" aims to give the important aspects of contemporary science by means of a set of essays by well-recognized specialists on the latest and most advanced views in the various departments and divisions of science, for the information not only of students in other branches, but of the educated classes in general. The list of subjects in this series, as far as made public, gives a prominent place to geography and geology, which, in the modern aspect of these sciences, are made much more interdependent than of old. Physiography, or the form of the land, has been very properly intrusted to Prof. W. M. Davis of Harvard, who has done more, perhaps, than any other single person to bring the science of which he is to treat to its present advanced and rational stage. 'Earth Sculpture,' the volume now before us, which treats more exclusively of the geological causes which have produced these forms, is from the pen of the eminent Scotch geologist, James Geikie, best known, perhaps, as the author of 'The Great Ice Age,' and brother of Sir Archibald Geikie, the present Director-General of the Geological Surveys of Great Britain.

Although belonging to what may now be considered the old school of geologists, Prof. Geikie is one who has always realized the importance of connecting deep-seated geological causes with surface phenomena, and is hence well fitted for the task he has undertaken. His first chapter is on the agents of denudation. In this we might perhaps have expected from him, as an inheritor of the traditions of the Huttonian school of geology, mention of the controversy which was so long waged among European geologists between the opponents of and believers in the efficiency of simple erosion by water to remove thousands of feet of rock masses from enormous areas of the earth's surface, and which his brother's visit to the United States, to see with his own eyes the proofs that had been recorded by American geologists, did so much to settle finally in favor of the latter. He next takes up the various causes of elevations of portions of the earth's crust which erosion has since carved into mountains and valleys: (1) The plications of

sedimentary strata into anticlinal and synclinal folds; (2) the great dislocations of these strata by faults, i. e., fracture planes along which the rock masses, on one side or the other, have been moved up or down, sometimes many thousand feet, and which are probably a manifestation of the same force that has produced the folding or plication; and (3) igneous eruptions, or intrusions from below into the crust of enormous masses of molten rock, some of which have reached the surface either through narrow channels, forming volcanoes, or through a series of fissures forming lava-covered plateaux, while others have congealed beneath the surface in laccoliths or stone cisterns, bowing up the superjacent strata into dome-shaped mountain masses.

Next follows the action of the various agents of denudation or erosion upon the elevations thus produced, such as glacial action, æolian action, and the action of underground waters. Probably the geologist will be most interested in learning the views of this experienced glacialist upon some of the mooted questions with regard to glacial erosion; and first, whether glaciers do actually abrade or exercise any considerable cutting or eroding action upon the rocks over which they pass. This question he answers decidedly in the affirmative, showing that not only do glaciers score by means of the rocks imbedded in their basal surface, but they actually break up and quarry the rocks in their beds which have already been cracked and loosened by the alternate action of melting and freezing.

As to the origin of the loess, the productive soil of the great grain fields of the world, while treating it in the chapter on æolian action, he considers it to be primarily a flood-loam of glacial times, generally rearranged and distributed by wind action, thus adopting in part each of the contending theories. With regard to lake basins, he confirms the views first advanced by Ramsay, but since disputed by some geologists, that many of the valley basins in elevated regions have been primarily excavated by glacial ice. He calls attention to the fact that cirque-basins or rock amphitheatres with nearly or entirely perpendicular upper walls, in Europe, are generally on northern and eastern slopes, where the snow lies longest as being most protected from the sun and the prevailing west wind. The same fact and the same explanation hold for the glaciated regions of the Rocky Mountains in temperate latitudes. He does not, however, ascribe sufficient importance to the action of frost in the formation of these basins. Where lakes are found in the bottom of cirque-basins, they have doubtless been excavated, as he says, by the action of glacial ice, but the main excavation of the cirque itself is produced by eating back along the face and base of the cliffs at the upper edge of the snow or névé, under the influence of great diurnal changes of temperature. During the day, when melting occurs, water fills the cracks and joints of the rocks, which, freezing during the night, by its expansion pries off fragments from the cliff face, thus undermining it. Hence its perpendicularity and the fact that the cirque is confined to moderately temperate latitudes, where the sun has power enough to melt the snow and ice during the day. With regard to fiords, Geikie adopts Richter's explanation, that they are merely the drowned valleys of severely glaciated mountain tracts.

While disclaiming any special treatment of modern geographical evolution, the latter part of the volume bears very directly upon it, and in his concluding chapter the author testifies to its importance in the following words:

"We do not doubt that when the history of the hydrographic systems of the continents has been better worked out, when the evolution of surface features has been more closely followed, our knowledge of land development will acquire a precision to which it cannot at present lay claim. Geologists will then also be better prepared to attack and perhaps to solve the largest problem of all—the origin of our continental areas and oceanic basins. Not that we can expect or desire that students should refrain from theorizing and speculating in that direction until the fuller knowledge we desiderate has been acquired."

To the general reader the book is a great relief after reading the work of modern geographers, in that the author has avoided the use of their abundant vocabulary of newly coined technical terms, and furthermore that he adds a glossary of the few exceptional words he does use. Further disregard of the more modern views in geology is found in the fact that in his table of geological systems he includes under the Palæozoic system all Pre-Cambrian or Archæan rocks.

Chandler's Encyclopedia; An Epitome of Universal Knowledge. New York: Peter Fenelon Collier. 1898.

Three fat quarto volumes, containing in all 1,716 pages, open and inviting columns in large type, a bewildering mass of cuts of every description, including portraits and representations of works of art, present at first sight the appearance of the perfect type of the genial family cyclopædia. This impression vanishes rapidly as we begin to examine the work more closely. We soon perceive that it is anything but a flimsy compilation. It is, indeed, a very serious production, a universal lexicon on a generous scale, executed with no little ability according to a skillfully contrived plan. A reference to the list of contributors strengthens our belief that a valuable accession has been made to the number of encyclopædic publications. The editor-in-chief is Prof. W. H. Chandler of Lehigh University. Among the specialists to whom the various departments have been assigned we may enumerate G. F. Barker (physics), M. Merriman (engineering), J. M. Baldwin and J. M. Cattell (both psychology), J. H. Hyslop (philosophy), J. O. Murray (European and American literature), C. L. Doolittle (astronomy and navigation), L. M. Norton (organic chemistry), F. M. Burdick (jurisprudence), F. R. Hutton (machines), Cleveland Abbe (meteorology), H. E. Krehbiel (music), Walter Camp (sports), W. H. Pettes (mineralogy and mining engineering), P. S. Michie (military science).

The editorial plan is to give something about every possible topic to which any questioner may have occasion to turn, and to omit as far as possible what is not essential to satisfying his curiosity. The work is as broad in its scope as it is condensed in its structure. According to a rough computation, there are no fewer than 50,000 separate notices (20,000 more than the ten volumes of Chambers's *Encyclopædia*), the articles occupying on an average but a few lines, and rarely exceeding a quarter of a page. One would naturally infer that this universal lexicon was a mere skeleton fabric, devoid of

flesh and substance; but such is far from being the case. What strikes the reader is not the absence of characterization, but rather the prominence of this feature. It is refreshing, for example, to turn to the literary biographies, brief as they are, which often display unusual ability in the crisp, telling, and epigrammatic manner in which the position and merits of writers are summed up—in sharp contrast with the lack of characterization in too many of the biographies of such an ambitious and excellent work as the *'American Cyclopædia.'* The plan has been to let the graver supplement the pen as far as possible, so that in its wealth of illustrations this work is quite unique. The cuts are of very unequal merit, not a few of them being below the standard which should prevail in a publication of this kind. Special stress, as we are informed in the preface, has been laid upon the scientific department, and the same thing is certainly true also of technology, which is unusually comprehensive. A general freshness and up-to-dateness characterizes the compilation. We find it to be especially full in contemporary biography, although, as is generally the case with cyclopædias, a number of the newest celebrities will have to wait for admission until another edition appears. There is a large array of such modern notabilities as Sir W. M. Conway of Himalayan fame, Roberts and Parker of the Canadian muse, Moszkowski, D'Albert, Humperdinck, Brüll, Mascagni, Hadley, Taussig, Brunettière, Lemaitre, Vogüé, Henley, Le Gallienne, Dagnan-Bouveret, MacMonnies, Maartens, Maeterlinck, Verlaine, Wildenbruch, Zangwill, and others whom one is likely to look for in vain even in the most recent cyclopædias. The second edition will no doubt recognize the claims of such *fin-de-siècle* worthies as Bliss Carman, Dörpfeld, William Ramsay, Behring and Roux of antitoxine fame, Johanna Ambrosius, Reinach, Édouard Rod, James Lane Allen, and Ludwig Fulda.

In such a vast accumulation of facts and statements as we have before us the critic expects to find numerous flaws of one kind or another. They are indeed sufficiently frequent, but, taking the work as a whole, and bearing in mind the sins of even the more esteemed publications of its class, we are not disposed, after a cursory examination, to assail its general soundness. In a great many cases the pruning away has been done recklessly, almost savagely, as, for example, in "Galila," "Boers," "Moravia," and "Copta." Under the heading "Gran," the main fact is omitted, that the town is the seat of the primate of Hungary. Under "Knights of St. John" no mention is made of the seizure of Malta by the English. One additional line accorded to John Morley would have permitted the insertion of his works on Voltaire, Rousseau, and Diderot. The condensing screws should not have applied so tightly under "Great Britain" as to exclude Manchester and Birmingham from the enumeration of the principal cities. The "save every line" policy has asserted itself too vigorously in the case of the more important geographico-historical notices, as the most generous allotment of space to that class of topics would not have swelled the bulk of the whole publication by more than a score of pages. The most condensed of condensed cyclopædias cannot afford to have an article on France without any allusion to the former

possession of Canada and Louisiana, or any mention of the division into departments.

We shall point out a few of the shortcomings which we have met with in our brief survey. The statements regarding the date of the erection of the Great Pyramid given under "Pyramid" and "Cheops" are entirely at variance, the chronology of Brugsch being followed in the former case, and that of other Egyptologists in the latter. E. E. Barnard figures without his discovery of the fifth satellite of Jupiter. Under "Hamilton" (Mount) there is no mention of the Lick Observatory, and, strange to say, there is no such caption as "Lick Observatory." We discover that this institution has been relegated to the article "Observatory," a very valuable and up-to-date contribution, containing brief accounts of the principal modern observatories. Saint Paul's Cathedral figures along with the other "Saints," but the caption "Saint Peter's" is strangely absent, it being left to the reader to guess that his curiosity will be satisfied by turning to "Peter's." Berkeley, the seat of the University of California, has been accidentally overlooked. The Earl of Aberdeen is left resting on his Irish laurels without a mention of Canada. There are four various articles on "Gauge," dealing with subjects other than those pertaining to railways, but it is leaving too much to the reader's imagination to omit under this head references to "Broad Gauge" and "Narrow Gauge." Under the head of "Power of a Locomotive" we are told that the pull required to draw 1,000 tons on a level railroad is about 30 tons. This is an error for 3 tons, the resistance being but 6 pounds to the ton. A great blemish which runs through these volumes is the faulty orthography of foreign names, especially in the matter of diacritical marks.

While this cyclopædia leaves much to be desired, both on the score of completeness and of accuracy, we are sure that it will prove a valuable addition to every library, and most persons already in possession of a voluminous cyclopædia will find in this work a very useful adjunct. In a manifold way it supplements all other publications of its class. Those in particular who happen to own the "Monumental Britannica," and who think they have done their share in the way of hunting for needles in haystacks, will appreciate the value of this three-volume epitome of universal knowledge.

Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran. By A. V. Williams Jackson, Professor of Indo-Iranian Languages in Columbia University. The Macmillan Co. 1899.

Zoroaster, or Zarathustra, in the original form, was born, according to Prof. Jackson, in western Iran about the middle of the seventh century B. C. The usual miracles took place on the birth of the founder of the new religion. He escaped death at the hands of demons and wizards, who foresaw his power and plotted against him in his youth. At the age of twenty he abandoned his father's house, and, retiring from the world, prepared himself for his ministry, which he entered upon ten years later.

On May 5, 630 B. C., an archangel revealed himself to Zoroaster, and carried him off to the presence of Ormazd, where he was instructed in religion by the Supreme Being himself. He then returned to earth and taught without success for ten years, during which time he enjoyed several visions, and

was gradually perfected in knowledge. He was then tempted by the powers of evil, who could not avail against his armor of righteousness. He now gained his first convert, but it was the only one in ten years, and the Prophet felt discouraged. The Deity comforted him, however, and inspired him to continue in the good work. Two years later the great King of Balikh became a convert. Then success followed. The true church, when supported by the state, became irresistible. The court followed the King. As for the common people, they were soon induced to become converts: "When King Vishtâsp accepted the faith, he compelled his people to do the same, and he killed a large number of them until they adopted it"—whether dead or alive, is not recorded.

In 601 B. C. Vishtâspa (that is, Hystaspes, in phonetic value, but he was not the father of Darius), as a zealous convert to a new religion, objected to continue the payment of tribute to a heretic; so he discontinued the practice, and refused the moneys due to Arjâsp, his suzerain, who lived beyond the Oxus. Hell took sides with Arjâsp, Heaven with Vishtâsp. Arjâsp was beaten, but renewed the attack in B. C. 583. In this year and conflict Zoroaster was slain. The great King Vishtâsp survived him, as did his chancellor, who had written down the 'Avesta,' or Parsee Bible, from the teaching of the Prophet.

Between history and tradition there is seldom a fixed line. In the most favorable circumstances the line of demarcation is drawn more or less subjectively; when dealing with the remote past, one must be content to admit that there is practically no boundary at all. History is immersed in tradition, transformed by it, made part of it, like salt in water, till in the end history becomes tradition, and tradition is made historical. Especially is this true of accounts handed down in regard to striking personalities, and the most complete fusion of that which actually was and that which is said to have been is perhaps to be found in the Orient. Here fact and fancy are often indistinguishable. There is a Buddha of history and one of tradition, but who can separate them? Very wisely, as it seems to us, Prof. Jackson, in recounting what may be called the personal history of Zoroaster, has let tradition declare history, and has not attempted to dogmatize in respect of the native annals. In this book he has sketched Zoroaster's life, the founding of the new church with the northern barbarians, letting tradition tell the tale unchecked, save for such critique as is needed to restrain hearsay within the bounds of probability, as those bounds must be set by a rational Occidental mind.

So clear and picturesque is the narrative that one regrets its sudden close. There was still much to write, and the history of the church to the time of the Sassanidæ would have made a fitting conclusion to the story of Zoroaster's first congregation. Prof. Jackson has preferred, however, to limit himself, as is implied by the title of his book, to Zoroaster's own time, and gives neither the history of the church, nor an account of Zoroaster's religion, the latter subject being reserved for another volume. As the traditional matter in regard to Zoroaster is somewhat meagre, there remains ample space, when the story is finished, to discuss in full the questions of date and geography

raised in the text, and to add sundry copious appendixes besides. These contain, for example, all known allusions to Zoroaster in Greek and Latin authors, and all references to him in Armenian, Chinese, Syriac, and even Icelandic literature. In preparing these, Prof. Jackson acknowledges gratefully the assistance of Prof. Gottheil and Dr. Gray of Columbia, and Dr. F. Williams of Yale.

There is one slight defect in this book, and we speak of it here that it may be corrected in another edition. The appendixes are evidently meant for specialists. But for whom is the body of the work intended? If for those who have to be told that *c. g.* means *cæmpli gratia* and that this means 'for example' (p. xxiii), then why head the chapters with untranslated sentences in Greek, Sanskrit, Avestan, Anglo-Saxon, and Latin? More seriously and more important: how is the average layman (for whom, as we opine, the work is written) to know the value of tradition as given by Nask and Yasht and Dinkart? Who are the Sassanidæ (p. 105), and when did they live? How old is Pahlavi literature? One finds by accident on p. 84 the date of one work, but nothing more. What is the connection between the early and later texts so often cited, and what is their relative value as historical material? Two or three pages would have been enough to answer sufficiently all these questions, which cannot fail to perplex the average reader. It is high praise to say that in arrangement this is the only point we have noticed obnoxious to adverse criticism.

Prof. Jackson practically ignores the extreme view of the late Prof. Darmesteter in regard to Zoroaster's date. This is well. The whole theory of Darmesteter that the 'Avesta' belongs to a period after the Achæmenidæ is so untenable that no scholar can accept it. Other scholars, however, are not inclined to put so much faith in the traditional date of Zoroaster's birth as does Prof. Jackson. Prof. Oldenberg thinks the ninth century more probable than the seventh, and Prof. Tiele, a high authority, ascribes parts of the 'Younger Avesta' to a time "not much later than B. C. 800." In one of his latest utterances on the subject ('Zur Frage nach dem Alter des Avesta,' in the last number of the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*) Prof. Tiele emphasizes, and it seems to us rightly, the fact that the recognized literary form of Ahuramazda differs from the inscriptional form, and that the older, Mazda Ahura, or Ahura Mazda (a somewhat later order; in either case two distinct words meaning Wise Spirit), is the Avestan form, while the Persian inscriptions not only have the later Ahura Mazda, but have the two words combined into one inseparable Ahuramazda, which gives Ἀορμᾶζδῆ, Ormazd. Now of the two the separated form, where each word is felt as an independent part, must be considerably more antique than the united Persian Ahuramazda. Hence the 'Avesta' represents a period which is at least older than that of the inscriptions of Darius, whereas Prof. Jackson would make Zoroaster himself live till the century of the Achæmenidæ. To this, Prof. Jackson can answer only that dialectical differences account for all changes. We cannot agree that dialect alone would explain the inversion and stereotyped combination here discussed. Again, a weighty argument against so late a date is the fact, also urged by Prof. Tiele, that

the 'Avesta' represents stage by stage a long religious development, in which everything is at last reduced to rule and ceremonial precision. On the other hand, the precision of native tradition is really based on no more substantial ground than dateless Persian records. There are other reasons which might be presented, but enough has been said to show that Prof. Jackson's date is still open to discussion. Of this he is himself fully aware, and, as he cheerily says "the earlier the better," he would probably not object to a satisfactory proof of the inadequacy of his own theory.

The book is written throughout in a spirit of perfect fairness and with cordial appreciation of the value of the work of others. If in some regards it is not definitive, it is because no book on the subject can be so. It is, however, authoritative in the statement of facts, careful and discriminating in the judgments rendered, and very clear in the presentation of the many theories discussed; the work of a sound scholar and a credit to Columbia. To say that the book is from the Macmillan press is to certify to its admirable appearance.

Quellen des weltlichen Dramas in England vor Shakespeare: Ein Ergänzungsband zu Dodsley's Old English Plays. Herausgegeben von Alois Brandl. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner. 1898. Pp. cxxvi + 667.

A supplement to Hazlitt's Dodsley has long been needed, and it is to the credit of Germany that one of her most distinguished scholars in the field of English studies has supplied a want which English and American scholars have neglected to fill. The period, moreover, in which the plays contained in this volume fall, is historically the most important and in many respects the least understood of all periods preliminary to Shakespeare. The morality plays have added little to the gaiety of nations, and the transitional dramas of the middle of the sixteenth century have as a rule but little literary merit; but Shakespeare and his group follow close upon their heels, and the thing yet to be explained is exactly how they led up to Shakespeare. For this purpose we need under our hands all the material still extant. Prof. Brandl's volume supplies most of the important pieces which till now had remained practically inaccessible. Twelve plays are printed, of which only six have been reprinted in recent times, and all of these (with the exception of "Mankind," recently printed in Manly's 'Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearean Drama') in very limited and generally inaccessible editions. Of the rest, two are from manuscript and appear in print for the first time. Three pieces of John Heywood's are given, completing the reprinting of that author's dramatic works. One novelty—the play of "Misogonus," given for the first time from the unique MS. in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire—for a certain crude *vis comica* it possesses and for certain suggested affiliations, seems to us of distinct historical importance, and worthy to compare with "Ralph Roister Doister" and "Gammer Gurton's Needle."

The dramas given represent certain groups suggested by the editor, who, on the basis of this grouping, discusses the plays in an admirably planned and generally learned and suggestive introduction. The result is, perhaps, rather materials to serve for a more

general history than a complete essay on the early drama in itself; that we shall doubtless have in the author's promised continuation of Ten Brink's 'History of English Literature,' to which readers will now look forward with heightened expectations. The first step, we take it, in the construction of a history of a drama like that of the transitional period before Shakspere, in which personal genius and idiosyncrasy had so little play, consists in the classification of the dramatic material of the age and in the tracing out of the affiliations of separate plays with one another and with their Continental sources and analogues. This introduction, utilizing to some extent contributions of previous workers in the field, makes a very considerable beginning in this task. The editor also discusses questions of language and versification; and questions relating to the stage representation of these early plays receive the due attention which the historians of the English drama have long neglected to give to them. The editor's conclusions here, however, seem to us fragmentary and uncertain. The subject in general evidently demands further study at the hands of those specially interested in the early history of our drama. In his study of the sources of these plays, Prof. Brandl seems to arrive at no results which at all tend to confirm the random conjectures of Mr. Churton Collins as to the preponderating influence of the Italian drama on the transitional English drama of the sixteenth century—although, perhaps, more remains to be discovered than is here suggested in the way

of some direct Italian source accounting for the Italian setting of "Misogonus." But did Mr. Collins, after all, discover a mare's nest? There is a touch of the traditional German *Gedächtnis*, with, perhaps, an echo of Kleist and Ulrich and Schlegel, in Prof. Brandl's characterization of the Vice of the older drama as the embodiment of "mocking chance—the way of the world with all its self-irony and its frequent contradiction of the heroic will of man." But in generalization Prof. Brandl is usually temperate and conservative, as well as illuminating, and often highly suggestive. We are not sure that all his points in regard to the affiliations of individual plays and groups of plays, and especially in regard to the influence of Bale and of Lyndsay, are altogether substantiated; and there are many other points of detail which we cannot accept without fuller discussion. The work as a whole, however, both introduction and texts, is a valuable contribution. The notes are distinctly inferior, showing a very imperfect knowledge of sixteenth-century English, and are unworthy of the editor's reputation.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 2, 1899.

The Week.

We are finding out at Manila what the English are finding out, not for the first time, in the Sudan, that savage warriors snap their fingers at the rules of the game of war. Lord Salisbury was hauled up in Parliament for saying that the English had "subjugated" the Sudan. "Oh, well," was his reply, "we have captured the capital and control the river, and that logically carries the whole." So it would in Europe. Napoleon in Vienna or Berlin, or Bismarck in Paris, had the enemy's country at his feet. But it does not work that way with savages—with Khalifas and Filipino chiefs. "You are conquered," says Gen. Kitchen-er to the Khalifa; "come in and surrender, and I will let you off with a hundred lashes with the koorbash, and a 'tax' of 2,000 cows." "You are conquered," says Gen. Otis to Aguinaldo; "quit your murderous shooting from the jungle and come and cast yourself on the mercy of the great McKinley, whose heart suffers a pang with every drop of blood you shed." But the ignorant and obstinate creatures, in the Sudan or in Luzon, don't even know that they are conquered. They shamelessly deny that they are conquered. As long as they are alive and can get ten men to follow them in bush or desert, they propose to fight. This is one of the beauties of conquest in savage lands which we know our Commissioners at Paris foresaw, for they keep telling us they foresaw and provided for everything. But we think they ought to leave off abusing Aguinaldo. It will make people suspect that he has given them a disagreeable surprise.

A democracy at war has always set military traditions at defiance; but we doubt if, since the First Republic of France, there has been seen quite so free-and-easy a way of carrying on a war as is now exhibited by our authorities. What with the desire to keep this war in the Philippines "close to the people," and the every-man-for-himself principle of action that animates our army officers, we are making a spectacle of ourselves. Gen. Lawton at Colombo, on his way to Manila, receives a dispatch from Gen. Otis saying that the situation in the Philippines is "critical." His first thought is, not to hurry up coaling and to get on, but to give the telegram to the press. He informed the reporters that he had an urgent dispatch also from the Adjutant-General at Washington. Secretary Alger, on being asked about this, said that no such message had gone to Lawton by his

order. So Adjutant-General Corbin must have sent it on his own hook, though we see he denies having done so. In any case, it is a beautiful example of military hugger-mugger. On top of all comes the blazing indiscretion of publishing Admiral Dewey's alarmist dispatch calling for the *Oregon*. It is explained that this was given to the press by an "oversight." It came in cipher, and apparently the translation clerk conceived it to be his first duty to show it to the reporters. Secretary Long could read it so much more easily out of a newspaper. The Department professes not to know what Dewey's "political reasons" mean. But what the country is more concerned to know is, what the Government means by trying to conduct a war by shouting all secrets from the housetops.

These revelations indicate a more serious state of affairs in the Philippines than the Government has been willing to acknowledge. But the true inwardness of the troubles at Manila is disclosed in a wonderful "special" to the *Herald*. From this it appears that the Filipinos fight only to hold up the hands of the anti-annexationists in this country. The proof of this was discovered in a letter "from an insurgent official" which was "found on a dead man." No wonder he died, for the letter was of a sort to have fatal consequences to any man having it in his pocket. It contained the horrid news that American anti-annexationists "meditated the assassination of McKinley." This filled the Filipinos with joy. All they had to do was to go on with their guerilla fighting until Senator Hoar had a chance to strike down Cæsar McKinley at the foot of Pompey's statue. Probably they think the deed has already been done, and is kept from their knowledge by the severe American censorship.

Senator Frye explicitly admitted in the Senate on Monday that the President did not at first expect or desire his Commissioners at Paris to demand the Philippines. He said in reply to a question of Senator Vest's, "The instructions of the President when we started out were to take Luzon." That is to say, the policy which the President now says would have been infamous, he was then proposing to adopt. He was proposing to restore all the islands but one to the wicked and cruel rule of Spain. As respects all those gems and glories of the tropic seas, as he now calls them, he was ready, in the case of every gem except Luzon, to follow the disgraceful plan of "scuttle." Talk about the cowardly "sail-away" policy, it was the Pre-

sident's own. He was going to leave Mindanao in the lurch. He was going to abandon Panay. He was going to turn Cebu over to the plundering Spaniard. If he had been permitted to do it, it would have been just as easy for him to say, and for the country to believe, that it was the hand of Providence that guided him in his decision as it has been to say it, and believe it, of the change of plan that was forced upon him. But what brought about the change? Why, the representations made to our Paris Commissioners. They were told that there would be terrible scenes in the Philippines if we allowed the Spaniards to stay there. The only way to keep the peace was for us to take the whole group. Some of Gen. Merritt's testimony at Paris reads queerly enough in the light of subsequent events. For example:

"Mr. Reid—Do you think any danger of conflict is now reasonably remote? Gen. Merritt—I think there is no danger of conflict as long as these people think the United States is going to take possession there. If they imagine, or hear from any source, that the Spaniards are to be reinstated there, I think they will be very violent."

The opponents of a large standing army won an important victory on Monday when the compromise army bill was finally passed by the Senate with the Gorman amendment attached, providing for the reduction of the forces on July 1, 1901, to the number allowed by law on March 31, 1898. Thus the burden of proving that the taxpayers of the United States should support a large army with which to "Christianize" the natives of far-distant islands, will rest upon the congressional expansionists at the long session of the approaching Congress. Their constituents will then have had time to think over the proposed departure from the republic's past policy in the light of considerable experience with the effects of Gatlings upon liberty-loving natives, and with the confusing excitement of the Spanish war well in the background. As for the bill as it now stands, it leaves the regular army, with the exception of the slight artillery increase, in practically the same condition as at present, with all the evils of the present staff organization unabated, even Senator Proctor having withheld his healing amendment until a future Congress and a more propitious time. As for the volunteer side of the bill, the provision which permits of the reenlistment of some of the regiments now in Manila may help the War Department out of a tight place, provided those organizations are willing to continue to kill those whose freedom they went to the Philippines to establish. For the rest, there will be plenty of places at the disposal of members of

Congress, and the authorization of three regiments of rough riders "to serve mounted or dismounted," if retained in the final bill, will provide the new volunteer army with picturesque features.

Secretary Alger's firm resolve not to resign "while under fire" is precisely what was to have been expected of a warrior of his invincible mettle. He is not the first statesman in difficulties who has made this resolution. In fact, it has been for many years the shadow of a great rock in a weary land to harassed office-holders. The moment that charges are made against them they are secure. "I might have retired," they say, "had I not been attacked; but now that I have been attacked I must hold on lest it be said that I retreated under fire." Alger goes even further, and says it has been his intention from the outset to serve out his term with this Administration, and he proposes to do so, fire or no fire. As he makes this statement just at the moment when the revelations about his beef supplies for the army are assuming a particularly unfavorable aspect, it may be taken as final notice that he will allow nothing to induce him to resign. A man of less "nerve" might say to the President: "I realize that the disclosures which are being made about my conduct of the war are in danger of injuring your administration and thus imperiling your prospects for a renomination. While I am fully conscious of my innocence, I am unwilling that you should suffer because of the odium attached to me, and I, therefore, place my resignation in your hands for action. If you wish me to retire temporarily from the War Department until the truth or falsity of these charges is established, I will do so, or I will retire permanently, just as you prefer." Would Alger do that? Oh, no. The President might take him at his word and let him go permanently.

The real reason why the President retains Alger was given in the House on Friday by Mr. Johnson of Indiana, in a very remarkable speech. Mr. Johnson is a Republican who differs from his party associates in the House only in his determination to speak the truth fearlessly, no matter if by so doing he reflects upon the party's President. In commenting upon the recent Boston banquet, at which the President spoke, Mr. Johnson said:

"The Secretary of War was in attendance, he whom the Boston populace had hissed upon the streets a few hours before, ere they turned to greet with rapturous applause the chief who had bestowed upon him his official character. We can hardly blame them, though, for this, Mr. Chairman, for they were only following the precedent set them by some of the leading Republican newspapers of the country, which for months past have been fiercely attacking the Secretary, and yet have lacked the courage to lay their axe to the root of the evil and censure the gentleman who, to reward him for his political services and disbursements in the

campaign of '96, appointed him to his present position and has maintained him there ever since, notwithstanding his incompetency, and against complaints that have been made against him."

That is a frank statement of what is universally known to be the truth. Secretary Alger cannot be got rid of simply because he bought his place with a heavy campaign contribution. He is a member of what is known in Washington as the McKinley Syndicate, which Mr. Johnson describes, also in very plain language, as the "gentlemen who furnished the money for his [McKinley's] nomination and election, and who, I doubt not, have pledged him a renomination and reelection." He might have said also that they paid his private debts before they nominated him, he being then a bankrupt. Everybody in Washington speaks of this syndicate as a perfectly well-known and recognized institution, but Mr. Johnson is the first Republican who has had the courage to lay before the country the facts about it, and to set forth its true relations to the President and his policy of imperialism.

Thursday's testimony before the military court of inquiry brought out two facts which everybody interested should paste in his hat. One was that the order for canned roast beef came originally from Gen. Eagan, him of the fragrant speech. Col. Weston was asked on whose order the roast beef had been sent to Tampa. His answer was: "The order came from here. It was given by Gen. Eagan." Eagan himself confirmed this in his own evidence. He had "considered" last May the question of supplying the troops, and had "concluded that tinned roast beef was the best substitute for fresh beef." Here, then, we have it settled who was the author of the innovation. Gen. Eagan was but defending his own when he used against Gen. Miles language as foul as the beef he had entered into contract to supply as an army ration for the first time in our military history. The other fact is that Gen. Eagan and Secretary Alger were responsible for a form of contract covering the delivery of refrigerated beef, which they now admit was grossly improper. It contained a clause calling for meat that should be good "twenty-four hours after delivery from the refrigerator on shore." That clause, says the cheerful Eagan, was "an error," he thought "a clerical error of some kind." It was supposed that the period specified was seventy-two hours. All the papers and proposals had been submitted by Eagan to the Secretary of War, but, strange to say, neither of these vigilant officials had noticed that clause. Yet it was worth thousands of dollars to the contractors. Unlucky "clerical error"! But lucky contractors!

It is evident that the session is to

expire without action on the bill to give Hawaii a territorial government. This is that "wisdom of Congress" to which both President Harrison and President McKinley were willing to leave all the "mere details" of a proper Hawaiian government. Congress says, in its wisdom, "Oh botheration!" and lets the poor Hawaiians make what shift they can. The need of action by Congress is crying. The Hawaiian Supreme Court has decided that the annexation resolutions of last July destroyed an important part of the jurisdiction of Hawaiian courts, and put nothing in its place. Yet Congress has shoved the whole thing aside. Its horizon has not been "broadened," as we were told it would be, by having distant possessions to legislate for. It still is absorbed in the duty which lies nearest at hand, which is to vote millions for the several "destricts." The only bit of Hawaiian legislation that has a ghost of a chance to get through is the bill to lay a cable to Honolulu. The vigilant Senate has added an amendment to the sundry civil bill to do that. A cable the Hawaiians (and the contractors) simply must have; they can get along well enough without courts.

Ostensibly, the Nicaragua Canal bill which the Senate attached on Friday as an amendment to the river and harbor bill is the same as the House bill, the so-called Hepburn bill. But in reality there is a vital difference between the two. The Hepburn bill swept away all the stock-jobbing speculators, and boldly provided that the President should acquire "territory" from Nicaragua and Costa Rica, and build the canal himself. The Senate slyly introduces after the word "territory" the words "or such rights, easements, or privileges." There creeps in the rotten Maritime Company, or its successors, ready to sell their "privileges" to their own Government at their own price. Only on these terms will the Senate consent to have any canal at all. If somebody's worthless stock is not to be made good by a Government guarantee, why move heaven and earth to get a bill through? Vice-President Hobart discreetly dodged ruling on the point of order that the Nicaragua amendment was not germane to the river and harbor bill. He probably knew that the Senate would not sustain an adverse decision. Anything with a job in it is always germane in the Senate. However, Senator Spooner secured the adoption of a clause authorizing the President to negotiate for the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. This is the orderly and decent way to go to work; so that even if the House accepts the Senate bill, the President can do little more than "negotiate" for some months to come. Not this year nor next will the canal be begun or bonds worth nothing be sold to the Government at par.

The scandalous abuses which attended the census of 1890 were among the influences that contributed to the "tidal wave" of that year, and buried under popular disapproval the Harrison Administration, which was responsible for that census. If similar scandals shall disfigure the census of 1900 through the surrender of that work to the spoilsmen by the McKinley Administration, the Republican party will again pay the penalty, and this time when the Presidency is at stake. It rests with the Republican Senators and with the Republican President to decide whether their party shall reap profit or loss from the next census. The bill which provides for taking it is now pending before the Senate. The House passed it with a section suspending the operation of the civil-service law in the Census Bureau, and thus authorizing another riot of spoils, like that of 1890. The Senate can amend the measure by requiring the application of the merit system. If it shall not so amend it, the responsibility will then rest upon the President, and the *Tribune* has pointed out his duty in the premises when it says:

"We are by no means certain that the President would not be justified in vetoing a census bill containing so inexcusable a violation of the promises under which he was elected. Unfortunate as any delay in taking the statistics beyond the regular time would be, he might reasonably expect that the people would stand behind him in emphatically reminding Congressmen that party pledges are not waste paper. They sometimes act as if they thought they were, and a sharp lesson on the subject must come some time."

The President has another responsibility, which cannot be shirked. It is for him to nominate the Director of the Census, and he need expect no opposition from the Senate. The greater the chance that Congress will muddle the bill, the more imperative that the head of the Census should be sound.

One of Shayne's or MacShayne's valuable suggestions for the solution of the custom-house difficulty is, that an officer should cross on each steamer and take the passengers' "declarations" about their baggage on the way. There are two objections to this scheme. One is that the women are apt to be sick at sea, and would find nothing more loathsome than writing out "declarations" about their clothes for custom-house officers in mid-ocean. Besides, there is no pretence, even on Shayne or MacShayne's part, that making the declaration would save them from the insult of the subsequent examination on shore. It is the double process which constitutes the offensiveness of the whole transaction, over and above the delay. The fact is, we believe, that our custom-house system was devised in the days of sailing-vessels, when about ten travellers a month went to Europe. The Treasury publicists have never been able to grasp the new situation, to understand that

tens of thousands of travellers in the nineteenth century cannot be treated like tens in the eighteenth. For the same reason, they have never been able to get into their heads the difference between a man or woman who lands in New York once in a year, or in two or three, with two or three trunks of personal clothing, and a man who has to import cases of foreign goods every week as part of his business for sale. Plenty of importers think that because they have to make out lists of their goods imported for sale, every lady or gentleman who comes back once a year from a summer trip ought to call the Creator to witness how many pairs of drawers and socks were bought in London and Paris. Why cannot our statesmen and officials grow up? Why have they no sense of proportion? Why do they not understand that the custom-house inspectors and the whole taxing apparatus are intended in civilized lands for the convenience of the citizen and not for his annoyance?

On Tuesday, February 7, there was an amusing allusion in the English House of Commons to the peregrinations of Lord Charles Beresford, towards whom the American continent and the Hon. Whitelaw Reid have, during the last week or two, been indulging in so much effusive hospitality. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman showed in the debate on the address what geese we have been making of ourselves in treating Lord Charles as in any sense an organ of English opinion or a good adviser of a peaceful, industrial people like ourselves. To the English Liberals he is a joke, and the Conservatives refuse to be responsible for him. So that he is really wandering around on his own hook, so to speak, advising us to fight in matters with which we have no concern. In fact, the only advice he has to give or ever gives anybody is to fight hard, and, to do him justice, whenever he gets a chance, he fights hard himself. To fight hard is, in the opinion of the military circle to which he belongs in England, the chief end of man. He belongs, in fact, to the same school of politicians to which Theodore Roosevelt belonged before he was elected Governor. If that school had its way, the world would bear a striking resemblance to the Scotch Highlands in the fifteenth century, or to Donnybrook Fair in later times—that is, fighting would be the chief occupation of the human race. Some would be always keeping "doors open" and others keeping them closed, but not with the view of keeping them permanently either one or the other. The delight of keeping them "open" would lie in the fact that some one was trying to close them by force, and the delight of trying to "close" them would lie in the fact that somebody was trying to keep them open. Negotiation would

rapidly become a lost art, and peace become a national calamity.

The attentions bestowed on Lord Charles, and the rapt attention with which he is listened to, are a somewhat sad sign of the change which has come over the spirit of our dream. We have completely changed the class of Englishmen as well as of native Americans from which we draw our advisers. It would be well, however, to wait the result of our first experiment in "imperialism" before we engage new counsellors and gush over every wandering swordsman. In another year we shall know a great deal more about "open doors" than we do now. Ought we not to wait and see how many Filipinos we shall have converted to the Gospel of Christ, and what kind of government we shall be carrying on in those distant parts—whether William McKinley will be ruling with stern severity over ten millions of barbarians, or shall have "returned to the practice of the law" in Canton, Ohio?

President Loubet's inaugural message was a quiet recital of the Executive's purpose to enforce the laws and make them respected, while endeavoring to unite all the elements of the nation's strength in loyal support of the republic which "has given France her free institutions." So strong and tranquil is the President's position that the agitators against him and his methods are already forced to betray their real animus, and to break up into mutually recriminating factions. Brunetière's fancy new League of the French Fatherland is rent in twain, he himself having been forced to renounce and denounce the action of its own officers. They are now openly for sedition and revolution, along with Déroulède and Beaurepaire, and Brunetière has thus to disown his own children. He now practically goes over to the very "intellectuals" whom he sneered at, and who had asserted that the only hope for France was in having justice done and the law made supreme over the army and terrorists of all kinds. In short, there are many signs that the French outlook is decidedly clearing. At any rate, the great experiment will have further trial. France has deliberately cast in her lot with the countries which choose freedom, despite its inconveniences. A law of *lèse-majesté* would come in very handy in Paris just now, to repress and punish outrageous attacks on the chief of state, but, on the whole, the free régime, the way of free speech and publicity, is justifying itself as well as absolutism is in Berlin. It might be said, in fact, that France's present troubles arose from her authorities going over temporarily to the methods of tyranny. Chief among these are secret trials, bewildering and mystifying the people.

A GREAT MORAL CATASTROPHE.

If, after the news of the battle of the Nile or of Trafalgar had reached England, the people through their leading organs, clergy, newspapers, legislators, politicians, had with practical unanimity determined to abandon the Protestant faith and to embrace that of Rome, as professed by most of the older nations of Europe, had begun to go to confession and to follow "processions of the cross" through the streets once more, would it not be treated by historians as one of the most astounding events of the modern world? It certainly would. And yet a revolution nearly as extraordinary has occurred among us as a consequence of the battle of Manila, or what is popularly known as "Dewey's victory." We admit there is more sign of motive in Dewey's victory for the change which has occurred here, than there would have been in the battle of Trafalgar for the change which we have imagined in England; but one would, in suddenness and unexpectedness, be the equal of the other. And the moral decadence exhibited by ours far surpasses that which would have been revealed by the English conversion, for we have, with a stronger faith than England's Protestantism, held during the whole period of our national existence, or for over one hundred years, the following creed of four articles:

(1.) That all just power is derived from the consent of the people who live under it.

(2.) That armed resistance is presumptive evidence that this consent has not been obtained.

(3.) That the people who offer this resistance are the supreme judges of its justifiability; that the morality of attempts at a revolution has to be determined by the event, and that the opinion of a conqueror, or would-be conqueror, thereon is worthless.

(4.) That fitness for self-government can be determined only by the people themselves, and that the first and surest evidence of this fitness is willingness to fight for independence; that no oral or written expression can be accepted in place of it, and that judgments as to their political capacity by foreigners who do not know the people, are absurd.

Under this creed we have lived from 1776 until 1898, and we have professed it with an enthusiasm often bordering on extravagance. In fact, "good Americans" have generally been supposed willing to die for it, after the manner of the early English heretics. Under it, too, we have as a nation, by every mode known to us except an appeal to arms, dealt with the following revolutions or attempts at revolution: the Greek revolution, all the Italian attempts at revolution, all Polish attempts at revolution, all the attempts at revolution in Spanish America and in Cuba, all Irish attempts at revolution, all Hungarian attempts. Such revolutions we have treated in va-

rious ways—some by armed aid, some by dispatches, and some by wildly enthusiastic popular receptions, like that which we gave to Kossuth. There never has been during the whole century, with its varying circumstances and numerous temptations, the slightest sign of weakness or of doubting on our part.

Our love of the creed and devotion to it, too, have been accompanied by constant hostility to its enemies, and it has had many, who would gladly have taken us up to exceeding high mountains, and have shown us all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them. The Greek rising in particular excited prodigious fervor among us. Our poets, our statesmen, and our orators were all pressed into its service. One American in particular, Dr. Howe, won undying fame by a display of readiness to fling away his life in battle with the Turk. No European diplomat was allowed to tell us whether the Greeks were fit for self-government. They were poor, they were ignorant, they were degraded by centuries of oppression. They did not carry on war according to Jomini or Napoleon, but used all sorts of weapons that would kill or disable an opponent. They cut waterpipes, they burned houses, they went naked, they starved, they did everything except make terms with the enemy; they showed no political quality except the courage never to submit or yield. And yet there were few American eyes which did not at that day grow wet over stories of the desperate valor of Bozzaris or the heroic resolution of the women of Missolonghi.

The French and English finally went to their assistance; but they did not kill them or issue lofty proclamations to them. It was the Turks they killed. They did not propose to Turkey to sell Greece to France or England, and say they meant to keep it for one of themselves, as the Greeks were not fit for self-government. Had they done so, there would have been a howl here in America which would have lifted the roof off the Capitol. It is true their standard of political capacity was not as high as ours. They had no McKinley nor Alger nor Corbin nor Egan nor the learned Day. In short, we became, in the first century of our existence as a nation, not only the professors of the creed we have described, but the apostles of it. We professed it with far more heat than the English nation professes Protestantism. Our temper about it far more nearly resembled that of the Mussulmans in the early years of the Prophet's propagandism. There were few European Powers which did not find reason to believe that we too had some of the "true believer's" devotion.

It must not be forgotten, moreover, that, as late as the Congress of Verona, the practice prevailed in the Old World of treating whole territories, with their population, as property which could, un-

der the law of nations, be rightfully conveyed to another ruler, by way either of gift, exchange, dowry, or money purchase. The instances of this in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries are too numerous to cite in a newspaper article. Under this rule or custom this Congress parcelled out Italy, and the Holy Alliance wanted to retain her American provinces in allegiance to Spain. The first formal recognition, if we remember rightly, of the right of a people to be consulted about its fate was the plébiscite taken in Savoy when it was transferred to France in 1859. We need not say that there was no article in the old political law and usage more abominated in America than this of the Congress of Verona. It was in every American house only one degree less odious than the custom of the small princes of Germany to hire out their troops to fight for somebody else, when they were hard up for money, like the Elector of Hesse. There were at that time no flags on the school-houses, but there was no American boy whose eyes you could not make blaze by telling a story of the purchase of 10,000,000 of people for \$20,000,000, and the slaughter of many thousands of them because they refused to be sold and resisted the landing of the conquerors' troops on their shores in order to consummate the purchase. "If I were an American as I am an Englishman," said Lord Chatham, "I would never lay down my arms while a foreign soldier was landed in my country." "Of course not," the American boy of 1860 would have said, as Chatham said—"Never, never, never."

Even the boy of that period would have been disgusted with the gossip of our generals, admirals, and fighting parsons about the unfitness of the Filipinos for self-government. What do they know about the matter? How many English generals and admirals and fighting parsons thought Americans fit for self-government in 1776? Did the Austrians think the Hungarians and Italians fit for self-government in 1848? Did the Turks think the Greeks fit for self-government in 1823? And yet the Austrians spoke Italian—often were Italians themselves and had lived long in Italy. Our mighty rulers of men are buying and selling countries which they have never seen, whose language they do not understand, and of whose existence they were hardly aware a year ago. A general who has spent a month in Manila, or an admiral who has fought a battle on the coast, is treated as a competent adviser about the fate of a people of whom we know little more than about the inhabitants of Mars. This is, in itself, proof, not only of our abandonment of our ancient faith, but of our ignorance about our new doctrines.

We hear a good deal about the incompetency of the Filipino masses to carry on a government. But in what

country that has achieved its independence since we achieved ours, were the masses fit to carry on a government? Greece, Hungary, Italy, the South American republics? Is it possible that even McKinley pundits do not know that, after a war of independence, it is always, as with us, a small body of leading men who construct government and set it going? It was so in all other Spanish-American states, and we have for seventy-five years agreed to consider them successful. It is we, and we only, who have set up the ridiculous pretence that it is for foreigners to decide whether a people is worthy to be free. Any people proves its fitness to be free, as we proved ours, by achieving its freedom. That is the only sure and legitimate way. The opinion of McKinley's office-holders on the matter is not worth a dozen cans of beef. We have no reason for concluding that the Filipinos cannot set up as good a government as any other revolted Spanish state, except our own greed, and our shameless abandonment of the noble faith under which we have lived for a century, and have achieved everything that has won for us the respect and confidence of mankind.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR AGUI- NALDO?

We are reading and hearing these days a great deal of solemn denunciation of the Philippine general, president, dictator, or whatever he is. Aguinaldo's crimes are many, but the sum of them is that he doesn't like us, and won't do what we want him to. The rest is mere subordinate and superfluous detail. That he is an unscrupulous politician, frankly "on the make"; that he is vain and silly; that he is treacherous and cruel—all this is mere rhetorical embroidery of the main charge, namely, that he is cutting up rough and making us no end of trouble, where we expected to have simply a grand triumphal march of civilization and religion; the religion being, of course, of the kind that is profitable for the life that now is as well as that which is to come.

Well, Aguinaldo may be a foolish and reckless adventurer—we think he is; but he did not get where he is and acquire the power to plague us as he is doing, without American assistance and responsibility. We accuse him of bad faith, but he flings back the charge, and, unluckily, he has an unpleasant amount of evidence to support him. In his counter-proclamations of January 5 and later he definitely asserted that "the American authorities" had taken him from Hong Kong to Manila with the distinct promise of giving "liberty and independence" to the Filipinos. He specifically mentions a promise of independence made to him by the American consul at Singapore, Mr. Pratt, and says that it was on the strength of that

that he went to Cavité to aid Admiral Dewey in forcing the Spanish to surrender. Of course, Aguinaldo had no business to trust the assurances of our consuls. They were not "the American authorities." Dewey and Merritt preserved a perfectly correct attitude, and avoided all entanglements with the natives. But how was the poor untutored Filipino to know that our precious consuls were acting without authority? The severe wiggling which each of them got from our State Department for their impertinent meddling was not known to Aguinaldo. For all he knew, they were directed and empowered to make him the promises they did. At any rate, his citation of these promises is a particularly awkward thing for us, especially as the proof that he is speaking but the truth is set forth at large in the very documents which the President sent to the Senate along with the peace treaty.

In those documents it clearly appears that Consul Williams of Manila, Consul Wildman of Hong Kong, and Consul Pratt of Singapore are the men who got their own Government into this scrape with Aguinaldo. They exceeded their authority, as well as, of course, all propriety, in making him pledges and holding out to him hopes which led him on little by little, organizing an army, setting up a government, until at last he found himself actually fighting the Americans, who, he bitterly asserts, lied to him and tricked him. And that is just what our consuls did. The *Singapore Free Press* of May 4, 1898, gives an account of the negotiations between Consul Pratt and Aguinaldo. One part of their agreement was that the United States would give to the Philippines the "same terms" as it intended to give to Cuba. In an official letter to Secretary Day, Consul Pratt admits that the facts in this newspaper report were "correctly given." The disclosure was "annoying," but the muddle-headed Consul concluded that "no harm" could come of it, and that "I suppose I should rather congratulate myself that the secret possessed by such a number was kept so long."

There are pages more of the wretched interfering and intriguing of our consuls. If Aguinaldo is an inflated fool, it was they who filled him with wind. It was Wildman of Hong Kong and Williams of Manila who gave him the idea that he was to be a great "figure in history," the "Washington of the Philippines," and so on. They are the men who did the mischief. They, not their silly dupe Aguinaldo, are the ones for our able editors to spend their time in holding up to scorn. How came it that we had such men in such offices? What sort of consul was it who had to be rapped over the knuckles by his chief, and reminded that "you are forbidden to make pledges or discuss policy"? Why, they were just the kind of happy-go-lucky political scrapings that we have been in the habit

of sending to represent our country in foreign parts. What difference did it make? They had nothing to do. Well, we see what a fist of it they made when they really had something to do. If they had not been such erratic and untrustworthy harum-scarums, we might have kept out of all this horrid mess with Aguinaldo. What a figure it is which Consul Williams cuts, appealing from the deck of a battle-ship in Manila bay for the "appointive favor" of Secretary Day, telling him, "I need your recognition," and "Could I be appointed general commissioner of customs of the Philippine Islands, lighthouse inspector, or general commissioner of agriculture, I should be honored and pleased!"

Honoring and pleasing ridiculous consuls have brought us what we see. To "expand" by means of such agents would be only to advertise our folly among nations as yet ignorant of it, and to seek new worlds, not to conquer, but for the purpose of writing ourselves down asses. President McKinley cannot be too quick with his message explaining to Congress his long-meditated plan for a purified foreign service. We know that he was just bursting with it last December, but it would not have been "good form" to tell Congress about it then. You see, the treaty was not then ratified, and the islands were not ours. Well, they are ours now, at least they are ours to fight for, and we think all questions of taste and nice propriety might now be waived, and the President begin telling us how we are to avoid having such blundering consuls in the future. He might explain, while about it, how he came to send an old political "rounder" to Singapore in succession to Consul Pratt. How does he know that his new appointee has not put on a jibbah and gone to preaching a jihad, or "holy war," against some nation with which we are at peace? In any case, the President, and Congress, and all the editors and Washington-Birthday orators had better leave off at once abusing Aguinaldo, and devote their attention strictly to our own incompetents and adventurers, who are really more responsible for our trouble than Aguinaldo is.

THE REAL CULPRITS.

There is nothing unusual about Croker's "strike" against the Manhattan Company except its publicity. Hitherto all transactions of this kind between him and the corporations have been conducted in private. He has made his demands and they have been complied with. Usage has so accustomed him to this exercise of governmental powers that he has come to regard it as his right. Then, too, reputable citizens, members of great and powerful corporations, who have paid him his blackmail, have treated him with respect after the transactions were closed. He has come

to look upon himself, therefore, as a real ruler. What could be more natural under these circumstances than that he should feel indignant when one of his hitherto docile subjects suddenly refused to yield to his commands? He goes about daily as a reputable, even eminent citizen. Men of character and standing in the community treat him with deference, and some of them, including Judges of the Supreme Court, consent to become members of his Club, after they have paid him cash in return for their nominations. If these treat him as a worthy companion for reputable men and recognize him as the ruler of the city, why should he not treat himself in the same way?

The whole truth in this matter was spoken by Mr. Wheeler H. Peckham in his address before the City Club on Friday evening. It is all contained in the following sentences which we select from his remarks:

"The men responsible for the present political corruption in this city should be in prison, and not hailed as they are as the great men of the community. There are corporations which contribute to the funds of both parties, so that the failure of one side will not leave them with the minority. These contributions are made for warding off attacks or for obtaining privileges that should never be granted. The corporations say, substantially, 'We will bribe this or that party to make it give what we want,' and the inherent selfishness and cowardice of the men who stand guard over these corporations are responsible for this giving and receiving. The organization now in control of this city is as absolute in its power as any dictator that ever ruled in this world. Within its own ranks are rules that no member dares disobey. 'Taxes upon taxes shall you pay,' it says to us. 'Loan upon loan shall be increased.' 'If there are two corporations holding street-car franchises, we will strike at the one of whose stock we are short for the benefit of the one of whose stock we are long.' But we let these men go about as our neighbors and shake hands with them in the most friendly manner, when every man of them should be in jail. You will never help this community so long as you recognize the successful rascal as entitled to your respect."

Whoever has given any attention to this subject knows that every word of the above is true. Heads of our great corporations admit that they pay blackmail regularly to both Croker and Platt. Yet both men move about, not like criminals and social outcasts, but as men who are entitled to respect and even honor. This great city, with its enormous wealth and its annual municipal budget of \$100,000,000, is the personal property of Croker to-day, solely because Platt handed it over to him by running Gen. Tracy for Mayor in 1897. A more open alliance between two political scoundrels for the looting of a great city was never formed, yet both Platt and Croker have been treated with no less consideration because of it. Eminent citizens do not hesitate to meet them at public or semi-public banquets, and on one of these occasions we witnessed the astonishing spectacle of President Low proposing three cheers for Gen. Tracy, the man who had allowed himself to be the medium through

which Platt turned the city over to Croker.

It is folly to blame Croker or Platt for anything either of them may do, so long as reputable men, the foremost citizens we have, consent to associate with them in any capacity, or to give social recognition either to them or to the so-called reputable men who are their allies and beneficiaries. It ought to be the social ruin of any man to be a member of Croker's Club or to buy public position of him. Yet this is far from being the case. How often have we heard it said that "you must not be too particular in these matters," that "Croker and Platt are the outcome of a system which is supported by the people," that "they are men of force and capacity, or else they could never hold such power," and that, all this being the case, "you only injure yourself by opposing them." How often, too, have we heard reputable men go further than this and say: "Well, what is the use of fighting a man like Croker? The people have put him where he is. He controls everything. If you fight him you only hurt yourself. Why not go in with him and get a 'piece of it'? So and so, reputable men, do this, and they are getting rich by it, and their social and business positions are not injured by it. Why should we not do the same?" This line of reasoning is especially prevalent among young men, and it is to-day the most demoralizing influence that is at work in this community.

Why should Croker "strike" the Elevated Railway Company so fiercely because of its refusal to allow him to put compressed-air pipes on its structure? That he did "strike" it is unquestioned. His denial of that or any other accusation has no weight. If he could hang the pipes of his concern upon the structure it would save him millions of dollars, for otherwise he would have to put them under ground at enormous expense. He and his friends are heavily loaded with the stock of this enterprise; they have been induced to invest in it by some persuasive friend or other, and they are anxious to have it put in operation in the most economical manner possible. He, looking upon himself as the ruler and owner of the city, decided that the Manhattan Company should do what he wished in the matter, should give him for \$10,000 what would otherwise cost him millions. The company's refusal aroused him to fury. The idea of daring to offend him! He would show 'em who owns the city. That is the case in a few words. He has come out into the open with his system of government. Will this community, which has submitted so meekly to this system when operated in private, submit to it with equal docility when its operation is fully disclosed? What would be the effect were other corporations to imitate the Manhattan Com-

pany, refuse to yield to future demands, and reveal the nature of them to the public? Would Mr. Croker go to Europe permanently or to jail? He certainly would not strut about the town as he does at present, delivering addresses to the people about the conduct of their affairs.

THE PRE-IMPERIAL JOSEPHINE.—II.

PARIS, February 8, 1899.

Josephine was at Fontainebleau, where she was spending the summer of 1791 with her young children in the house of the Marquis de Beauharnais and of Mms. Renaudin, when she heard that her husband had been elected President of the Constituent Assembly. M. de Beauharnais had already for some time played an important part; he was among the orators of the Assembly. He took his place at Versailles among the *forty-seven* of the nobility—with Castellane, Lafayette, D'Aiguillon, the Duke d'Orléans, Lameth, Lally-Tollendal, the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, his patron, etc. He joined the *Tiers*; on the famous night of the 4th of August, he renounced all feudal rights, he discussed the Declaration of Rights. By a curious coincidence, two days after occupying the Presidential chair, he had to announce to the Assembly the flight of the King to Varennes. The general who tried to help Louis XVI. was the Marquis de Bouillé, whom Beauharnais had known in the West Indies. He had asked to be Bouillé's aide-de-camp and had not been accepted; now he had become one of his judges, and had to proceed to the examination of the King and Queen, who had been brought back to Paris.

When Josephine returned to the city from Fontainebleau, she met her husband from time to time in various houses. "They put on a good face with each other," says M. Masson, "but there is no intimacy. Beauharnais can speak in high terms of virtue; but he does not include in that term conjugal fidelity." Josephine sees a rather mixed society; she has no choice, going where she is invited; with her small income, she has to live very simply. The Constituent Assembly was dissolved at the end of 1791, and soon afterwards Beauharnais, inscribed in the ranks of the general staff of the army, had to join the division to which he was attached. He was in the Third Corps commanded by Marshal Rochambeau, and was soon promoted to be colonel; he found time, during the operations of the campaign in the north of France, to write letters constantly to the Legislative Assembly, full of the most glowing patriotism. "On the 7th of September, while his patron, the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, is being murdered at Gisors, and in Paris the companion of his early studies, Charles de Rohan-Chabot, is killed, Alexander is promoted *maréchal de camp* and appointed chief of the staff of the army in process of formation at Strasbourg." Beauharnais was a very poor soldier, but he wrote proclamation after proclamation, which had sometimes the honor of being inserted in the official *Moniteur*; he spoke in the clubs, wrote pamphlets. He spent the whole of 1793 in Strasbourg; the year after, he took some part in the operations of the war; he had 60,000 men under his orders, but his absolute inertia caused the capitulation of Mayence. He retreated towards Wissem-

bourg, offered his resignation to the Convention, and left the army before it had been accepted in terms which were justly severe towards so incompetent a general.

During all this time, what had become of Josephine? She spent some time in the village of Croissy, near Paris, at the house of a creole friend. It was there that she made the acquaintance of Réal, the son of a gamekeeper of Chatou, who had become Procureur au Châtelet. Through him she made the acquaintance of Tallien; she already knew Barrère, whom she had seen at Madame de Genlis's. She had great fears for her children, on account of the perpetual agitation of Paris, and confided them for a time to the Princess Hohenzollern, her friend, who took them to a house belonging to a Prince of Salm. She intended to send them to England, but Alexander Beauharnais heard of it, and from Strasbourg sent instructions to place Eugene in a national *lycée*.

Josephine had no political opinions. She was almost intimate with some members of the Mountain; she maintained affectionate relations with Charlotte Robespierre. M. Masson cites a very humble letter of hers, addressed to the Girondist Lanjuinais, in which she praises his heroism, his principles, his sensibility. In September, 1793, she had to choose a residence in order to obtain a certificate of citizenship, and she elected Croissy as her legal residence. Eugene joined her there, and, in order to prove her citizenship, she apprenticed him to a joiner—Hortense was working as a seamstress. This did not prevent Josephine from paying visits in the neighborhood—to the Demoiselles de Vergennes, one of whom became Madame Rémusat, a *dame du palais*, and the other, Madame de Nansouty; to Réal, the future Councillor of State, and a few others.

As soon as she had her certificate of citizenship, she returned to Paris, and mixed with a number of people whom the Revolution had brought to the surface of society. She was obliging, and interposed for friends in danger; she used the new Revolutionary style. M. Masson gives the text of a petition which she addressed to Vadier, President of the Committee of General Safety. It is in the style of the period, and begins: "Salut, estime, confiance, fraternité." She recommends to the mercy of Vadier her sister-in-law, wife of the elder Beauharnais. "I put myself in your place; you doubt the patriotism of the *ci-devants*, but it is in the order of things that, among them, there are ardent friends of liberty and equality. Alexander has never deviated from these principles. . . . If he was not republican, he would have neither my esteem nor my friendship. . . . I write to you with frankness, *en sans culotte montagnarde*." She ends by saying: "Adieu, estimable citizen; you have my entire confidence." Vadier refused to see her, and she gained nothing by her epistolary eloquence.

On leaving Strasbourg, Alexander Beauharnais went straight to La Ferté and to Blois. An order of arrest was sent out for him, and the first name found on the order is that of Vadier, on whom Josephine counted so much. She was herself arrested a month afterwards at Croissy and sent to the Carmes, the prison which had been the principal theatre of the famous massacres of September. It was one of the most unhealthy in Paris. There were living there at the time when Josephine arrived the Prince of Salm-

Kyrbourg, M. de Rohan-Montbazon, the Duke de Béthune-Charost, the Abbé de Boullogne, Delphine de Custine (*née* Sabran), M. de Gouy d'Arcy, who had been one of the Constituents, Mme. de Lamech, Mlle. de Sourdeval and her two daughters, the Counts of Soyécourt and Champcenetz. Many other ladies and gentlemen were thrown among men of the people, belonging to all possible vocations; there were even boys of thirteen years old. "They were all there like people on a raft at sea, condemned, before dying, to live together. Before the promiscuity of the basket of the guillotine, there was an odious promiscuity in the rooms, the courts, at meals," etc.

Josephine met her husband at the Carmes. "It was only there," says M. Masson, "that they probably were frankly reconciled—and reconciled in the manner in which the marriage union was understood ten years before: entire liberty and good friendship." They wrote joint letters to their children, who were under the guard of a Citoyenne Lannoy; but Alexander did not conceal a violent passion for Delphine de Custine, while Josephine "established herself *en coquette* with Hoche, who had entered the prison at the same time with herself." Alexander Beauharnais left the Carmes on the 4th Thermidor (five days before the 9th Thermidor, which marked the fall of Robespierre), to go to the Conciergerie; he knew that the end had come. The Revolutionary tribunal condemned him, and he was guillotined on the 6th Thermidor. In his last letter to Josephine, written from the Conciergerie, he speaks of "the fraternal attachment" which binds him to her, of his affection for his children, and of his "regret at being separated from a country which he loves and for which he would have given a thousand lives." He is unhappy at the idea that the country might suppose he was a bad citizen, and recommends Josephine to try to rehabilitate his memory. But "this work must be deferred, for, in the revolutionary storm, a great people which struggles in order to break its chains ought to surround itself with a just distrust, and fear rather to forget the guilty than to smite the innocent."

Exit Alexander: Josephine is alive. Had she been forgotten? Did she owe her life to La Bussière, the actor, who had become clerk of the Revolutionary tribunal, and destroyed some of the papers which were to be submitted to the tribunal? (La Bussière is the hero of Sardou's "Ninth Thermidor.") Josephine certainly thought so, for on the 5th of April, 1803, she was present with the French Consul at an extraordinary representation given at the Porte Saint-Martin for the benefit of La Bussière, and sent 100 pistoles as the price of her box. The legend will have it that Josephine was to appear before the Revolutionary tribunal on the 10th Thermidor; that she had already cut her hair for the scaffold. What is certain is, that her life was a question of a few days, a few hours, almost. She was very pusillanimous, and did not attempt to appear heroic; she cried often, and tried with cards to divine what her fate would be. She was one of the first persons set free; she left the Carmes on the 19th Thermidor. When her name was called, all the prisoners applauded; she had made herself very popular while in prison.

Who were her protectors? Mme. de Fontenay, the future Mme. Tallien?—M. Masson does not so believe. He speaks of Hoche,

who left the Conciergerie on the 16th Thermidor, of Réal, of Barrère, of Tallien; they probably all had reasons for protecting Josephine. "It has been affirmed," says M. Masson, "that, on leaving the prison, she became the mistress of Hoche." Barras so stated, pretending that Josephine wanted Hoche to divorce in order to marry her, and that Hoche answered that it was all very well to take for a moment a *cotin* for a mistress, but that it was absurd to take her for a wife. He also puts in the mouth of Hoche this phrase: "It was natural in prison before the 9th Thermidor to have known her intimately. Once at liberty, it would not have been pardonable." The one thing certain is, that Hoche left the prison two days before Josephine, that twelve days afterwards he was made General-in-chief of the army of the coast at Cherbourg, that he took young Eugene on his staff.

Josephine remained alone with Hortense. She had no money, and could receive nothing from Martinique. She obtained some help from a M. Emmery, a banker of Boulogne, who had long been in relations with her family. At this period she became intimate with Madame Tallien, and through her with Barras. In August, 1795, she was able to take a little hôtel in the Rue Chauteraine; she was the mistress of Barras, who after the 9th Thermidor was the real master of the Republic, and would remain so till the 18th Brumaire. She belonged to the set which surrounded Barras at the Luxembourg, and was composed chiefly of ladies of the old régime. Barras had a country house at Chaillot, where Josephine did the honors. M. Masson gives the text of an invitation of "Citoyenne Beauharnais to Citoyen Réal," asking him to dine at Chaillot; "les Citoyens Barras et Tallien doivent aussi s'y trouver." It was in this milieu that Gen. Bonaparte found Josephine. Love is said to be blind; Bonaparte certainly was when he fell in love with Josephine—he received what the French call the *coup de foudre*; his passion was sudden, uncontrollable. She found him *drôle*, he amused and interested her; she thought she was conferring a favor on him when she consented to marry him. The last chapters of M. Masson's interesting volume tell the whole story of this extraordinary marriage. Once the wife of Bonaparte, Josephine enters into history.

Correspondence.

THE ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT AND THE HULL BILL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your recent denunciation of the so-called Hull Army Reorganization Bill you have fallen into several errors of fact which, to the minds of fair-minded persons, must, in a large degree, vitiate the conclusions you reach as regards the shortcomings of that measure. One of these errors, which occurs on page 1 of your last issue, is so glaring as to call for special remark. Speaking of the draftsmen of the bill—General Corbin and the officers of the Adjutant-General's Department—you say that nearly every one of them would obtain promotion under it. Nothing could be further from the truth. Not only would not "nearly every one" of the officers mentioned obtain promotions under it, but it is

an easily verifiable fact that *but one* would have been advanced in consequence of its provisions, had it become law. That one, Major Thomas H. Barry, now at Manila, the Adjutant-General of the Department of the Pacific, an officer who has been commended to the President for his meritorious conduct by both Gen. Otis and Admiral Dewey, had no hand in the framing of the bill.

The Adjutant-General's Department, having always been noted for championing the rights of all branches of the service, and especially those of the line, is naturally proud of its traditions. Hence it is a cruel thing to cast unjust aspersions upon the motives of its officers, all of whom were captains of the line with highly meritorious records when appointed to the Department.

Will you kindly give the requisite space to this note, and oblige one who has been a constant reader of the *Nation* for the past twenty-five years?—Yours faithfully,

THEO. SCHWAN.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., February 25, 1899.

[With no intention to misrepresent, we regret having given occasion for this reproof.—ED. NATION.]

TEMPORA MUTANTUR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I find on page 552 of the *Century* for August, 1889, in the "Life of Abraham Lincoln" for which Mr. Hay, our present Secretary of State, holds himself responsible, an illustration of what he calls "human stupidity." It is taken from the declaration of principles of the "Knights of the Golden Circle" of 1864. He quotes what he calls "the following muddled and brutal sentences":

"In the divine economy, no individual of the human race must be permitted to encumber the earth, to mar its aspects of transcendent beauty, nor to impede the progress of the physical or intellectual man, neither in himself nor in the race to which he belongs. Hence a people . . . whom neither the divinity within them nor the inspirations of divine and beautiful nature around them can impel to virtuous action and progress onward and upward, should be subjected to a just and humane servitude and tutelage to the superior race until they shall be able to appreciate the benefits and advantages of civilization."

This was in '89. It is now '99. I cannot help calling to mind what dear old Dr. Bartol of the West Church, Boston, said one Sunday at the close of his sermon: "And now, my brethren, this is what I think about this subject to-day. What I shall think about it next Sunday, the Lord only knows." G. R. W.

WISCONSIN, February 20, 1899.

[The passage quoted above will be found also on p. 3 of volume viii. of the *Life*.—ED. NATION.]

THE CONSUMER PAYING THE TAX.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: "The wayfaring man, though not a fool," has an excellent illustration of the practical working of the above theory, if he be fond of smoking a pipe. By the change in the tax, the revenue stamp heretofore attached to the four-ounce bale of tobacco is now used on a package weighing three and one-third ounces. As the retail price re-

mains the same, the buyer loses one-fifth the weight of his purchase—or twenty per cent. of the price paid is transferred from his pocket to the pocket of the manufacturer: quite a royal sum with which to meet the new tax on tobacco. CONSUMER.

BALTIMORE, February 23, 1899.

A RECTIFICATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The following note, which occurs on page 22 of my inaugural, delivered here (in Oxford) October 20, 1898, concerns a scrap of history which is by no means dead. The flat contradiction to my Preface (in the first volume of the 'Sacred Books of the East') survives, and is repeated to-day, in certain quarters, to my annoyance and discredit. If you will reprint it, I shall be obliged.

This is the first public rectification of this by no means trivial matter which has appeared; and I think that fair-minded people will say that it is by no means uncalled-for and is not ill-timed.—Yours truly,

L. H. MILLS,

Professor of Zend Philology in Oxford.

February 9, 1899.

"Yet there appeared so long afterward as 1895, actually in the *Annuaire* of the University of Paris, [and also in the *Revue Bleue*,] the extraordinary remark: 'Avec cet oubli de soi (!) qui caractérise le vrai mérite. . . il [Professor Darmesteter] céda à M. Mills l'honneur d'achever la publication,' and distinctly gave the impression in some other words that I suggested (!) the arrangement. The exclamation-points are my own. This very singular version of the facts lingers in Paris to contradict me till this day. The renderings afterwards published in my *Gāthas* (let me repeat once for all) were in Professor Darmesteter's possession in an unfinished condition, though provisionally printed, and he wrote pointedly asking me to repeat them in the book which he was urging me to write as his continuator: 'Vous n'avez qu'à détacher de votre travail [the *Gāthas*] la traduction rythmique avec quelques notes explicatives et le mot-à-mot [Latin] quand vous en écarterez trop. Cela vous prendrait infiniment peu de temps, puisque le travail est déjà fait. . . Dans l'espoir d'une réponse favorable' (November 5, 1883, some sixteen years ago)."

THE CASE OF THE CARPET-BAGGERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The new novel called 'Red Rock,' by Thomas Nelson Page, has again brought up the old question of Southern reconstruction and the Northern carpet-baggers. It shows how hard it is to write history that so able a man, and one who obviously wishes to be candid, should yet leave out of sight some of the essential points on which the whole matter turned. The author has the candor to make two of the worst men of his story, Still and McRaffe, Southerners, while one of the best is a Northern settler, Major Welch. This shows that he wished to be fair; and yet he absolutely overlooks two points which make the key to the whole situation.

The first of these points is the fact that negro suffrage was absolutely the only method by which the negroes, who had proved almost the sole Southern friends of the Union, could be protected in their most ordinary rights from those who had tried to destroy it. Anything less would have been an act of desertion on the part of the nation which would have disgraced it for ever. The fact of this necessity will be clear to

any one who will read the reports of the conventions called in 1865 by President Andrew Johnson to repeal the secession ordinances and reorganize the Southern States. A good abstract of these conventions will be found in a book called 'The South Since the War,' by Sidney Andrews, a newspaper correspondent of the highest character (Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1866). He shows conclusively that the apparent object of all these conventions was to keep the negroes in a condition just as near slavery as possible; to limit their right of contract, their right of locomotion, and their range of labor; to have, in short, a separate negro code. It was even proposed in the South Carolina Convention that, "The Legislature shall have power to make laws applicable to colored persons alone, and shall enact such laws as are needful to prevent negroes and persons of color from engaging in any business or pursuit but such as involves manual labor, mining, road-making, agriculture, and the production of naval stores" (Andrews, p. 60). This was not passed, but the general tone of all the legislation was in the direction of "some system of peonage or apprenticeship" (p. 178). The conclusion of Mr. Andrews, who was anything but an extreme abolitionist, was as follows: "If the nation allows the whites to work out the problem of the future in their own way, the negro's condition in three years will be as bad as it was before the war" (p. 225). This he writes after attending the conventions in three Southern States in the very year (1865) in which the scene of 'Red Rock' is laid. In view of these facts, the enfranchisement of the blacks was a simple necessity. It followed logically from the attitude of these Southern conventions.

Again, it is equally unquestionable that the persons mainly responsible for the misdeeds of the so-called "carpet-baggers" were the people of the South themselves. There never was a Western State which received into itself a better class of immigrants than those who entered the South after the civil war. In both cases there was, of course, a mixture of good and poor elements; but from the beginning, in the Western States, this material was sifted by natural processes and the fittest survived. In the Southern States, on the other hand, the immigration was equally sifted, but in the reverse direction, by the bitter hostility of the former slaveholders, who were equally intolerant to the best and the worst. I myself was at the South on military duty, from 1862 to 1864, and saw the beginning of the whole process. I knew, then and afterwards, repeated instances of men of the highest character who came in good faith to bring their capital and energy to South Carolina or Georgia, but who were simply frozen out by the bitter hostility of those among whom they purposed to live. Instead of being welcomed and encouraged, such men found themselves received with suspicion and aversion; and it was a common thing for well-dressed women to hold away their skirts from touching them as they passed in the street. The very people who came to them to borrow money would ostentatiously exclude them from their own doors. Under these circumstances, no man of self-respect could think of bringing his wife and children to such an atmosphere; and the men of the better class who would have been useful citizens more commonly sold out their purchases at a sacrifice and went North again.

The cheats and bullies, on the other hand, were less scrupulous, and stayed to revenge themselves amply on their persecutors. It must, therefore, always be borne in mind—though it seems to be easily forgotten—that the typical carpet-bagger, of evil reputation, was simply the man who was left behind to do mischief after the better class of immigrants had been driven out.

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

[We review this novel on another page. Mr. Higginson, we should say, expects too much accuracy from a writer of fiction. To wish to be candid and to give a general impression of candor is as much as should be demanded. In the novel it makes no difference whether the carpet-bagger was a pioneer or the "man who was left behind to do mischief." Mr. Page's Leech seems to be an excellent example of the "typical carpet-bagger of evil reputation." It is not the novelist's business to discuss points. Mr. Page does not argue about the imperative necessity of granting negro suffrage; he just shows by illustration how impossible it was at that time for the remnant of the old South to endure negro supremacy. The intolerance of Southerners for Northerners, and the incivility of the Southern women, are duly noted by Mr. Page and used in several scenes.—ED. NATION.]

THE LIMITS OF OUR KNOWLEDGE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your classical readers may recall Blass's witty use (Kühner, *Græch. Gramm.*, II., p. xii.) of the fact that the Greek plus-perfect has changed its forms, so to speak, since our school-days. We discovered within ten years how Demosthenes said, "We had seen." Are there similar gaps in our Ciceronian phrase-book?

On my table lie harmoniously three large grammars, each written by an American scholar of European reputation, each apparently just perfected with the aid of competent younger eyes. One at least claims to be "complete." Let us raise, for instance, the question, how to express, "The general says the rebels will be easily conquered," or "He says I shall be heard." Lane (p. 127) provides the desired infinitive, (*Dicit me*) *audire* *iri*, and explains it clearly (section 2278). But on p. 123 the same form from *monere* is starred, and noted, "not used." So, too, with *laudo*, *rego*, etc. Several hundred pages later we find, in fine print (section 2283), that *fore ut moneretur* is the proper form, if *monere* had no supine. And had it? Presumably not; yet who knows? And what of *amo*, or any verb not here displayed in full? We find no hint.

Harkness (p. 89) gives *monitum iri*, etc., unstarred, and later (633.3) emphasizes the regularity of the form. Yet the very next section warns us that "supines in -um" are "not very common," and cites Dräger for the fact that, in all extant Latin texts, only fifty-seven verbs form this infinitive. At 619.3 we hear that the alternative, *fore ut moneretur*, etc., is itself "somewhat rare." So we must choose between two forms, one rare, the other limited to a few verbs; and we

must make the choice by a shibboleth to which we ourselves cannot reply, viz.: "Did you, oh verb, have a supine?" It is more than doubtful if it could be worked any way, since not one verb in three, known to have a supine, makes this infinitive with it.

The Gildersleeve-Lodge proves no Oedipus. These grammarians cling to the "supine system" (though incidentally mentioning that there is no such thing). To them *monitum iri* and *audire* *iri* are alike regular. They say, however (section 248), that *fore ut moneretur*, etc., is "more common." This grammar apparently omits—probably by accident—to mention that for most verbs no supine has ever been found. It does make, however, the important remark that *fore ut*, etc., does not occur at all in "early Latin" (248 N. 1.)—that is, our chief masses of colloquial Latin, in Plautus and Terence, never use the idiom once! This, with Lane's "not used" affixed to the supines of our commonest verbs, actually bars both doors.

Dräger says that 179 verbs form supines. But that simply means that in all ages and authors only so many have been discovered. Whether *amatum*, *monitum*, *rectum*, would have been intelligible, familiar, acceptable, to Cicero's or Quintilian's ear, I suppose no one knows. Nor do we know how they would have formed the future infinitive passive of the commonest Latin verbs. It is my impression that no one ever will know.

Such accidental limitations we may strike in any direction. In German, French, Italian, we can refer to living usage, or, if no suitable form exists, it may even now be possible to develop one. In both these respects Latin is, by comparison, *dead*. A form that does not chance to occur in extant ancient authors is lost for us. If a word, a construction, an idiom, is lacking to express our thought, there is no one to supply it from his living knowledge, or to create it. Suppose that, upon some well-fought athletic field, I wish to confide to my Latin colleague the traitorous doubt, "I think our boys will be beaten." Nothing could be simpler; but who can be sure that any Roman would say either *Credo nostris victum iri*, or *Credo fore ut nostri vincantur*. "Free composition" in Ciceronian Latin is good mental gymnastics, perhaps, like trying to talk wholly in words of one syllable, or in words not containing the vowel *a*; but the truth should be frankly faced, that at every turn we may come to things that cannot be expressed at all, and we never know that any idiom or combination, not actually used in Cicero's writings, would be approved by him.

WILLIAM C. LAWTON.

ADELPHI, February 20, 1899.

Notes.

'America in the Far East' is the title of a work in preparation for A. S. Barnes & Co. by the Rev. William Elliot Griffis.

A new novel by Beatrice Harraden, to be published in this country by Dodd, Mead & Co., will be called 'The Fowler,' upon reconsideration of the author's first intention to call it 'I, too, have passed through Wintry Terrors.'

Henry Holt & Co. will publish immediately Lavignac's 'Music and Musicians,' translated by William Marchant, with numerous illustrations; and 'The Rapin,' a Parisian novel, by Henry de Vere Stacpoole.

'Strong Hearts,' three novelettes by George

W. Cable; Hilaire Belloc's 'Life of Danton'; 'How to Know the Ferns,' by Mrs. Frances T. Parsons; 'On the South-African Frontier,' by William Harvey Brown; 'A Texas Ranger,' of the old days, by N. A. Jennings; and 'Mezzotints in Modern Music,' by James Huneker, are in the press of Charles Scribner's Sons.

Macmillan Co. will soon have ready 'The Distribution of Wealth,' by Prof. John B. Clark of Columbia University.

The New Amsterdam Book Co. announce 'The British Empire,' by Sir Charles Dilke; 'Animals of To-day,' by A. J. Cornish; and Poe's 'A. Gordon Pym,' illustrated by A. D. McCormack, to be followed by others of his prose tales similarly treated.

Little, Brown & Co., Boston, and Groscup & Sterling Co., New York, announce an edition in English of the works of Alphonse Daudet, to embrace all the novels, romances, and literary reminiscences. Among the translators is Katharine Prescott Wormeley, who will do the Tartarin series and several of the other volumes. The general introduction will be written by Brander Matthews. Full-page photogravures by Goupil, from new pictures by French artists, will embellish the series.

Miss Ellen Larned, the well-known historian of Windham County, Conn., will, if sufficient support be assured, issue 'Historic Gleanings,' in the same county. Subscriptions may be sent to Preston & Rounds Co., Providence, R. I.

Julius F. Sachse, No. 4428 Pine Street, Philadelphia, solicits subscriptions for a work of his now in press, entitled 'The German Secretaries of Pennsylvania, 1720-1800: A Critical and Legendary History of the Ephrata Cloister and the Dunkers.' Facsimiles of all title-pages emanating from the "Ephrata (Kloster) Press," together with initial letters and head and tail-pieces after drawings made and used at the Cloister prior to 1750, and music scores written there, portraits, etc., will quaintly embellish the work, which is a continuation (in two volumes) of the same author's 'German Pietists of Pennsylvania.'

The Century Co. has published in book form an account of the destruction of the U. S. S. *Maine*, given in the form of a narrative by her late commanding officer, Captain C. D. Sigbee. The material composing this book has already been published in the *Century Magazine*, and offers practically nothing new or much above the commonplace. The destruction of the *Maine* will in time become one of the footnotes of history. Although, properly speaking, not one of the causes of the late war, it so accentuated the situation as to make war more probable. Captain Sigbee's celebrity arose partly from the great misfortune with which he was so prominently identified, and partly from the admirable way in which he met the disaster in his communications to the Navy Department.

Volume 4 of the Groton (Mass.) Historical Series is just completed by the issue of No. 6, which announces the discontinuance of the publication, and is accompanied by an admirable index to the four volumes, covering sixty closely printed pages. It is a fit occasion to call attention to the remarkable example of devotion to the spirit of local historical research furnished by Dr. Samuel Abbott Green, a native of Groton, and now Librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in the editing and publishing of this series. The four volumes contain almost exactly 2,000 large octavo handsomely printed

pages, filled with all manner of historical and descriptive detail. In the table of contents of volume iv. we note such items as: Groton church records; mocking-birds in Groton; a wild deer in Groton; the old stage-coaches; the Groton post-office, etc. There have also been published by Dr. Green, and edited with the scrupulous fidelity characteristic of the man, at least four volumes: 'Groton Records, 1662-78' (and later edition, 1662-1707); 'Groton during the Indian Wars'; 'Groton Epitaphs'; 'Boundary Line of Groton,' and a large number of pamphlets not included in the Historical Series, most important of which are Dr. Green's historical addresses on several occasions, notably at the "Centennial" celebration July 4, 1876. It appears that Dr. Green has thus edited and published since 1875 considerably more than 3,000 pages of local history. When it is considered that his town is not, like Lexington or Concord, prominent in the history of the State or of the nation, and that its population at present is only about 2,000, it appears doubtful whether any other town of equal size and relative importance has ever witnessed such filial devotion. A very few sets of the Groton Historical Series remain unsold, and are in the hands of Mr. George E. Littlefield, No. 67 Cornhill, Boston.

It was a beneficent thought on the part of Prof. Albert H. Smyth to rescue his paper on the Apollonius story from the literary isolation of the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, and reprint it in book form, under the title, 'Shakspeare's Pericles and Apollonius of Tyre: A Study in Comparative Literature' (Philadelphia: MacCalla & Co.). In this volume of 112 pages the curious reader will find all that he is likely to learn upon the origin of the story, its ramifications in mediæval literature, especially in the literature of England, its adaptation in the semi-Shaksperian drama of "Pericles." To quote the author's words, "For ten years I have followed the story through the libraries of Europe, collecting MSS. and examining incunabula from Copenhagen to Constantinople." His study is thus straight from the sources. It is an admirably clear and exhaustive treatment of a complex subject. After a pretty searching inspection, we are satisfied that the author has left no line of investigation unpursued. His work is indeed a study in comparative literature: patient, painstaking, free from bias, with a distinctive gift of literary appreciation which raises it above the usual German monograph—for example, Singer's on the same subject. It is readable and stimulating; whereas Singer's lucubrations are labored and at times perplexing. Prof. Smyth's investigations and conclusions are, we happen to know personally, quite independent of Singer's. His work is all his own. We greet it as a fresh evidence of American capacity for original research.

A monograph entitled 'Théophile et Paul de Viau: Étude historique et littéraire,' by M. Charles Garrisson (Paris: Picard), presents in complete, though somewhat dislocated, form the leading events which marked the dramatic lives of the two brothers. The author, while making no attempt to mask his religious convictions, deserves commendation for the objective way in which he discusses the burning question that disturbed France in the early years of the seventeenth century; in this he succeeds so well that the total impression of the work is colorless. Its chief interest lies in the re-

vival and elaborate examination of an hypothesis suggested so long ago as 1839 by the late Philartète Charles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. According to this, the imprisonment of Théophile de Viau in the Conclergerie "dans le cachot du récidive Ravallac" (1623-1625), was not occasioned solely by the shamefulness of his contributions to the 'Parnasse Satyrique' nor, again, by the malignancy of the Jesuit order, whose members the poet had handled without measure. M. Garrisson, after careful investigation of external, but shadowy, contemporary evidence which seems to agree both with the poet's covert admissions in his famous "Épître d'Actéon à Diane," and with his subsequent professions of regret where it was due, arrives at the conclusion that Théophile fell a victim to the notorious jealousy of Louis XIII. by expressing a too undisguised devotion to Anne of Austria. Although M. Garrisson's arguments appear plausible enough, he would have given stronger support to his thesis by attempting to explain why the persecution of the poet lasted only two years. As the case stands, we are offered nothing more than the conjecture that the royal anger waned in that time, and the statement that before his early death Théophile de Viau was permitted to attend the *coucher du Roy*.

Among interesting smaller publications which have lately come to our notice from abroad is one from Germany on "The Language of the Soldier" (*Die Deutsche Soldatensprache*). It is by Dr. Paul Horn of the University of Strassburg. Dr. Horn is a distinguished Persian scholar and philologist; but he serves every year, for a time, as an officer in the Kaiser's army, and he has made a very interesting collection of the phrases, terms, jargon, and dialectic usages that are peculiar to the German soldier from the cannon's mouth to the darts of Cupid's quiver. The book is useful and instructive, and it is written in an entertaining style.

The historic publishing-house of Cotta, in Stuttgart, issues each year, under the title 'Musen-Almanach,' a collection of new poems from the best modern writers in the Fatherland. The annual for 1899 has been edited by Otto Braun, and between its covers are contained specimens from most of the leading living poets, especially epic and lyrical. Among these writers are found Felix Dahn, Max Haushofer, Hans Hoffmann, Hermann Lingg, Wilhelm Jensen, and perhaps a dozen others. In addition, the volume contains two prose contributions, one by Stern and the other by Aarhus. The book is brought out in splendid shape, and is one of the very best annuals of the many published in Germany.

The special features of the February Bulletin of the Boston Public Library are lists of recent additions to the statistical department—a term apparently of very wide application; works in the Polish language; and titles of books, addresses, and articles in current magazines and newspapers on the policy of territorial expansion. The expediency of printing a page and a half of titles of newspaper clippings is very questionable, when a single entry would have given all necessary information.

Bulletin No. 19, vol. iv., of the New York State Museum at Albany is a guide to the geological collections, based upon Lincklaen's 'Guide' of 1861, but in a large measure new. It is accompanied by a colored relief map of the State, showing the boundaries of the geological systems, but its character as a gene-

ral introduction to geology is greatly enhanced by a series of admirable photographs illustrating the text. These are scenically interesting, while portraying faithfully plain and mountain; glacial phenomena; rock strata, dikes, and folds; shores, gorges, falls, markings on sandstone, etc.

The Cyclopean ruins in the Caroline Islands are described by F. W. Christian in the February *Geographical Journal*. The most important of these are the remains of a "Micronesian Venice" in the lagoon of Ponape, consisting of fifty or sixty islets, "mainly artificial in formation," and occupying an area of about nine square miles. They are defended from the sea by a massive breakwater. The material used is basalt, which was brought a distance of twenty or thirty miles in immense masses—one piece has been found weighing three and a quarter tons. On one island a great wall, thirty feet high by ten feet thick, "formed of basaltic prisms laid alternately lengthwise and crosswise," encloses an oblong space strewn with fragments of fallen pillars and containing a "great central vault or treasure-chamber, said to be the grave of an ancient monarch, who bore the dynastic title of Chau-te-Leur." Some excavations were made, but the only finds of importance were "ten or twelve ancient axes, three of them about a yard in length, rubbed down from the central shaft of the *Tridacna gigas*, or giant clam." On Ponape itself was discovered an ancient cemetery in which were nine graves, "little vaults not exceeding four or four and a half feet in length within—roofed in with massive slabs of basalt," the graves of dwarf negritos, a race probably anterior to the builders of the giant masonry. Useful tables are given by Mr. J. Milne, F.R.S., showing the differences between the time used in various parts of the world and Greenwich mean time. We notice that he incorrectly puts Georgia and Florida in Eastern time. Mr. G. P. Winship of Providence contributes a note upon the evidences that Sebastian Cabot "visited the ice-bound seas in the years 1508-1509."

Miss Flora L. Shaw, the *Times* special correspondent, in a paper read before the Royal Colonial Institute of London, describing her trip to the Klondike, bears emphatic testimony to the remarkable honesty and uniform courtesy of the gold-seekers, of whom more than 27,000 crossed the passes last year. Though travelling quite alone, "I had not been three days in the country before I realized that a revolver was about as likely to be useful as it would be in Piccadilly." The great need of the country is the presence of woman as a home-maker. "The absence of homes," she says in a striking passage, "in such a place as Dawson explains to a great extent the existence of anloons; and in noting the contrast between the splendid qualities exercised in the effort to acquire gold and the utter folly displayed in the spending of it, it was impossible to avoid the reflection that, in the expansion of the Empire, as in other movements, man wins the battle, but woman holds the field." In closing she referred to the fact that, notwithstanding almost overwhelming difficulties, not the least of which were "unfortunate mining regulations and other conditions of a generally stultifying description," the average gain of the 4,000 actual workers during the past season was about \$3,000.

The publishers of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of Munich have at last consented to receive

separate subscriptions for the famous literary and scientific supplement to that influential journal. This *Beilage* holds a unique position as the depository of much of the leading literary researches and discussions in Germany. As a scholarly journal for the educated world at large, it is the only specimen of its kind in existence. A large number of the best university men and other specialists contribute to its pages. It was in this *Beilage* that Döllinger published the famous "Janus Letters" during the Vatican Council of 1870. The subscription price for Germany is 4.50 marks, and for foreigners 7 marks per quarter year.

The year just past, aside from other astronomical curiosities, surpassed the record in cometary astronomy, no less than ten comets having been observed. Three of them were returning periodic comets, but seven were new, and two were discovered by photography. It is no new thing for a year to have as many as seven comets, but 1858 is the only previous year that has had so many as eight. The present year will perhaps afford us a great and conspicuous comet, none having appeared for already seventeen years, and the previous half-century having been favored with one very remarkable comet, on the average, every ten years. At least four comets of lesser importance, and of the periodic type, are expected in 1899, three of them in the coming summer. The first is the one originally discovered in 1858 by Mr. H. P. Tuttle, with a period nearly fourteen years, and the next is the second periodic comet first seen by Herr Tempel, while at the Brera Observatory in Milan in 1873, its period being five years and three months. The third is a faint and much extended comet discovered by Mr. Holmes in 1892, which will be remembered as puzzling the astronomers for many weeks by seemingly remaining stationary among the stars, thus giving the impression of coming straight towards the earth. Its orbit finally turned out to be remarkable as the closest approach to a circle of all known cometary orbits. The fourth expected comet of 1899 is due in the late autumn, and is the one first discovered at the Cape of Good Hope by Dr. Gill's first assistant, Mr. Finlay, in 1886, and this will be its second reappearance. All these comets belong to the Jupiter family, this giant planet having been concerned in their capture and permanent retention in the solar system.

An eclipse committee, with Prof. Newcomb as chairman, is gathering information regarding intended observations of the total eclipse of the sun which will occur on May 28, 1900, along a line reaching northeastward from New Orleans to Norfolk, and thence across the Atlantic, Spain, and Algeria. Totality is but brief in duration; still, it is expected that many observers will take part, although less can be done than if a longer duration were available. Observers will probably prefer stations east of the Alleghenies, as to the west of those mountains the duration will range from 1 minute 30 seconds near the mountains, to 1 minute 13 seconds near New Orleans, where the sun will be much nearer the eastern horizon. The circular of the committee invites the co-operation of astronomers generally as to measures to be taken to secure observations of the eclipse on a well-concerted plan, the classes of observation to be considered most important, and the best means of making them, together with information as to parties

expecting to coöperate in the work, and how the necessary funds for prosecuting it are to be raised. Similar problems confronted American astronomers in face of the previous eclipses of August 7, 1869, and July 29, 1878, on both of which occasions fine series of observations were secured, as also during the California eclipse of January 1, 1889. Cloud conditions, as already investigated, are, however, by no means so favorable as at those dates.

The Baltimore Association for the Promotion of the University Education of Women, whose purpose is "to secure for properly qualified women opportunities for advanced study," offers a foreign fellowship of the value of \$500 for the year 1899-1900. Preference will be given in the award of this fellowship to Maryland women, or women who have identified themselves with educational work in Maryland. Candidates must present the same evidences of ability and fitness as are required from applicants for the fellowships offered by the Association of Collegiate Alumnae. The committee on award for the Baltimore association are Mrs. Fabian Franklin, No. 1507 Park Avenue; Miss Edith Hamilton, Bryn Mawr School; Mrs. John Helmsley Johnson, No. 1031 North Charles Street; Dr. Mary Sherwood, "The Arundel"; Dr. Lillian Welsh, the Woman's College. Applications should be presented before March 25.

The Association for Maintaining the American Women's Table at the Zoölogical Station at Naples offers a scholarship to such as wish to study there, and will furnish the necessary information through the Secretary, Miss Ida H. Hyde, No. 1 Berkeley Street, Cambridge, Mass. "Well-qualified women will be appointed in preference; but if no suitable women present themselves, men will be eligible in their stead." The only other American tables are the Smithsonian and the University.

An excellent photographic likeness of that fine old actor, the late Charles W. Coudock, has been issued by F. Gutekunst of Philadelphia, in his imperial panel series of public characters. The expression of the face is eminently characteristic, and the peculiarity in the setting of the eyes most artfully concealed, without any sacrifice of truth.

The death at the age of seventy-seven, in Tokio, January 19, of Katsu Awa, removes the ninth and last of that brilliant band of men who stood in the forefront of the nation's history in 1868, at the fall of the Shogunate and the resumption, after nearly seven centuries of abdication, of imperial executive powers. Katsu's great-grandfather began life with a handful of "cash"—fractions of a cent—and ended it as a millionaire, able to lend to the daimio of Mito a sum representing \$5,000,000 of our current money. When, in 1854, Commodore Perry's marines and sailors landed from the fleet on the strand at Yokohama, Katsu, a soldier on the hill, as we have heard him tell the story, was then and there converted into a modern Japanese. He made up his mind that the men who could build and equip such ships and make locomotives and telegraphs could not be "barbarians." Studying gunnery and navigation under the Dutch at Nagasaki, he commanded and successfully navigated across the Pacific the first Japanese steamer, *Kowrin*, bearing the embassy sent by the Premier Ii, who was promptly assassinated for his action in signing the treaties. As the Shogun's and the

Mikado's Secretary of the Navy, Katsu was largely instrumental in making Japan's modern marine. In 1868 he saved the city of Yedo from the war-torch, and prevented a bloody conflict between the Shogun's retainers and the southerners led by Saigo. He was among the first to send a son to this country for education, and the youth studied at Rutgers College and the Naval Academy. Katsu wrote an outline of the modern intercourse of his country with other nations and a history of the navy of Japan, besides other works which showed the polished scholar. He resigned twenty-five years ago from active administrative office, but has since been one of the most valued private counsellors of the Emperor.

—Very amusing is the amount of argument as to when the twentieth century properly begins. Not only is space in the periodical press of this country and Europe given up to surmises, with adduced proofs for one or the other year of beginning, but verbal demands to settle the question at once, and finally, greet the astronomer at every turn, while bets among the rustic youth of hill-towns flourish gayly. In the current number of the *London Observatory* reference is made to an interview recently granted by the Astronomer Royal on this absorbing subject, and its subsequent burlesque in *Punch*. It seems that village wagers have an honorable precedent in the bet between two eminent Scotch lawyers as to the century to which the year 1800 belonged. They referred it for arbitration to the Lord Dean of Guild, and in 1870 gave a merry dinner at Glasgow, where evidence was taken and a decision reached. A pamphlet printed the same year for private distribution gives a humorous account of the occasion. The outcome, easy to foresee, was that 1800 belonged to the eighteenth century, one of the proofs adduced being the dictum of Sir John Herschel, that there never was a year 0, but that A. D. 1 followed immediately B. C. 1; and another the astronomical announcement that Ceres—first found of the now multitudinous family of small planets—was discovered on the first day of the new century, January 1, 1801. Of course the other side brought forth arguments, but, as their sponsors thought more upon the subject, some were afterwards withdrawn. Besides this amusing little pamphlet, the proper arrival of the nineteenth century was of such interest in Germany that a bright play upon the subject was written by Kotzebue. And that the beginning of the twentieth century differs in no wise from its predecessors, is maintained by the Astronomer Royal, who gives his evidence for January 1, 1901, as the first day of that rapidly approaching era.

—A careful reading of Mr. Henry Jones Ford's 'Rise and Growth of American Politics' (Macmillan) leaves us somewhat in doubt as to the precise object the author has had in view, and the class of persons for whom he has written. Neither a constitutional history nor a narrative of events, the book is a brief examination of some of the political notions prevalent in the colonies, and the changes which they underwent in the early years of the constitutional period; with the aim, apparently, of explaining the origin and growth of certain political principles and their resulting methods. The earlier chapters, tracing the development of political ideas from their colonial origins to the establishment of the conven-

tion system, are written in a style at once serious and epigrammatic, and throw light into a number of obscure corners. Particularly interesting are the comments on the political relations between aristocracy and democracy, and the nationalizing influence of party. The later chapters on Congress and the Executive are mainly descriptive accounts of slight importance, though enlivened by a number of fresh illustrations drawn from recent events. At the end we have three chapters of speculation as to our political future. The present divided responsibility for legislation and administration, and the popular hope for a strong Executive to hold Congress in check, will, Mr. Ford thinks, tend ultimately to centralize authority in the legislative department of the Government, and give us, in place of our present organization, a system of ministerial responsibility similar to that which prevails in England. To employ a much overworked term, Mr. Ford's book is suggestive rather than informing, and the net impression it leaves is unsatisfactory; still, it will prove not unprofitable reading to any one whose knowledge of American history is fairly extensive.

—Mr. H. Gee's 'Elizabethan Clergy and the Settlement of Religion' (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde) is a minute and painstaking study of ecclesiastical history between 1558-1564, which was instituted with a special view to ascertaining the number of deprivations which occurred during those years. The figures ordinarily accepted by Protestant historians vary from 189 to 400, while Romanists adhere to Rish-ton's statement that "the better part of the clergy followed in the footsteps of their prelates; very many of them, high dignitaries in the church, were either thrown into prison or banished the realm." Mr. Gee's range is wider, and his scrutiny of the evidence more careful, than that of any predecessor. He has searched all extant Episcopal registers, the Domestic State Papers, the Patent Rolls, the Exchequer Records, and other documents which might illustrate the Visitation of 1559, the work of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and the operation of the penal laws. His main conclusion is that during the first eight years of Elizabeth's reign the number of deprivations could not have risen far above 200. According to Camden's 'Annals,' there were at this time 9,400 ecclesiastical dignitaries in the realm, and so it follows, if we accept Mr. Gee's figures, that for every clergyman removed 46 went unmolested. To a public which is familiar with "practical" civil-service methods, this proportion will hardly appear excessive, even if the stress of Reformation politics be not allowed a place among the extraordinary considerations. Numerous lists of removals, more or less detailed, have been drawn up from time to time, since the Elizabethan age, but Mr. Gee finds that they are vitiated by dependence on Nicholas Sanders. His computation is contained in the seventh book of the 'De Visibili Monarchia' (Louvain, 1571), and it is obviously to be accepted with extreme caution. According to Mr. Gee, Sanders, in an "inaccurate and exaggerated way, gave the names of all he knew or had heard of amongst the clergy and laity who had got into difficulties with the ecclesiastical authorities during those years [1558-1564]." This latest actuary of the early Elizabethan deprivations rejects all previous statements, and reaches his own result by using as data the contemporary documents for that period which still remain.

Within a small margin of error, his estimate is probably correct.

—At last, after an interval of three years, the second and concluding volume of the new edition (the third) of Wright's 'Arabic Grammar' (Cambridge, Eng.: University Press; New York: Macmillan) has appeared. There is little need to speak in praise or blame, as the Arabs would say, of such a book as this. It is the best single Arabic grammar extant in any language, and, without doubt, it will be very long before any other takes its place. De Sacy's monumental work, when combined with the commentary of Fleischer, may in some respects be a fuller thesaurus of facts and opinions, but, for all practical purposes, the student of Arabic will need to use Wright. That being the case, the only pity is that the revisers, Robertson Smith for the first eighty-six pages of volume I., and the great Leyden Arabist, De Goeje, for the remainder, did not allow themselves wider liberty in their changes. When Wright remodelled his first edition into his second, the first volume alone received an addition of almost 100 pages; in this third edition there is a reduction (aided greatly, it is true, by compression in printing) of more than thirty. It can hardly be doubted that Wright, if he had lived, would have carried the revision very much further. The additions would have been greater, and the whole would have been recast, probably on the lines indicated by August Müller in his review of the second edition. Thus, as only one example, we have a right to expect some adequate and separate statement of the laws and transformations of Arabic sounds. In Nöldeke's 'Syrische Grammatik' the *Louilehre* fills nearly a tenth of the whole book; in Stade's 'Lehrbuch der hebräischen Grammatik' it fills considerably more than a tenth; in this grammar there is simply none. The book, therefore, must be regarded as a disappointment, in spite of its intrinsic value and of the great improvement which it shows over the earlier editions. It is very good, but it should have been much better. The get-up is excellent and in every way worthy of the press from which it issues; the Arabic type is from the very clear font which was cut for Lane's use in his Lexicon.

—Lord Curzon's first public duty on his arrival in Bombay as Viceroy-elect was to receive a deputation of the provisional committee of the Imperial University, or Research Institute, which it is proposed to establish in India. Mr. Jamsetjee N. Tata offers a capital of thirty lacs of rupees (say one million dollars), yielding an annual income of some forty-odd thousand dollars, as a nucleus for the funds of the institution; and the committee appeal to Government to second their efforts. The annual charge on the several departments, when once fairly equipped, is estimated at about \$500,000. The scheme divides the studies into three groups—scientific and technical, medical and sanitary, and educational and philosophical. Bacteriological research figures largely in the plan, and ought certainly to make a powerful appeal, not only to Government, but to the native princes as well, especially now, while the plague is still raging. No better argument could be given for the utility of the scheme than the marvellous story of the wonders achieved by medical science at Anzop, a little village of less than six hundred inhabitants, in the Turkestan highlands, some two hundred miles from

Samarkand. Anzop lies in a hollow in the mountains at a level of more than fourteen thousand feet above the sea, and so walled in by other surrounding heights that better isolation from infectious diseases could not well be conceived. The plague had nevertheless been introduced there by a "holy person" who had brought back from a long pilgrimage a lot of coverings of tombs of the saints in Afghanistan. These a widow in Anzop had cut into small pieces and made into amulets for "the faithful" to wear on their breasts. It was no great matter for them to remain "faithful unto death," for 381 of the villagers were promptly stricken with plague, and all but three of these were claimed by the Grim Releaser. Dr. Lieven inoculated with Dr. Haffkine's prophylactic every one of the survivors, about a hundred and twenty in all, and then the awful pest was stayed, the last death occurring four days after Dr. Lieven's arrival with his phials of vaccine from a Bombay laboratory. It reads like a miracle even to us; but to the people of this mountain hamlet in Central Asia it must have seemed more than that, and they will doubtless for decades to come worship the St. Petersburg doctor as a god.

RECENT NOVELS.

The Open Question: A Tale of Two Temperaments. By Elizabeth Robins (C. E. Raimond). Harper & Bros.

Red Rock: A Chronicle of Reconstruction. By Thomas Nelson Page. Charles Scribner's Sons.

A Son of Perdition. By W. A. Hammond, M.D. Herbert Stone & Co.

A Sister to Evangeline. By C. G. D. Roberts. Lamson, Wolfe & Co.

The Forest of Bourg-Marie. By S. F. Harrison (Seranus). London: Edward Arnold.

'The Open Question' is a belated specimen of the novel which discusses social problems both disagreeable and dismal. Though the author enters the vineyard at the eleventh hour, she has not been standing idle in the marketplace, but has been scanning and criticising the work of the earlier laborers until she felt competent to scoop all their problems and clear up confused notions about consanguinity, heredity, negro slavery, political corruption, suicide, free will, and doom. She has appreciated the magnitude of her task, and taken plenty of room for argument and for illustration of her views in a summarized history of three generations of a Southern family named Gano, and a particular account of the fourth and last. The summary is not always cheerful reading, but is less distressing than the particular account, because it deals with the Ganos of a pre-scientific age, who recklessly intermarried and died young, ignorant of cause and effect. It is, besides, good narrative—concise, vigorous, and showing a perception of the comic side of human tragedies nice enough to enliven without danger of wounding the tenderest sensibilities. This ability to tell things directly and to characterize persons and scenes reappears in the later chapters at intervals, and sometimes lures us to forget that our duty here is to consider awful questions of race-degeneracy, disease, and death. We elude them with ease in the adventures of Mrs. Gano (the grandmother) among the Boston abolitionists; in some passages of the girlhood of the first Valeria Gano and the childhood of

the second; in one or two scenes of Ethan Gano's youth in Paris, and in those sketches of crude Western society which intrude on the open question in its most poignant phase.

Where so many questions are opened and not one of them closed (for both in argument and illustration the author cautiously avoids finality), one hesitates to assign pre-eminence. The question of the desirability of suicide receives great attention. An Australian lady, pursuing art in Paris, argues fiercely in favor of self-destruction, as if it were a luxury wantonly denied the masses by kings or capitalists. Her audience appears to have little to detain it in this world except instinctive love of life, a dumb force opposing itself resolutely to argument, and not much thought of by the author. She has a far higher opinion of the indifference to life shown by a few Roman citizens who were also philosophers, or disappointed warriors, or disgraced politicians. Like most persons who eulogize the readiness of a few pagans to go out the open door, she seems to suppose that the Roman Empire may have perished through the universal custom of suicide, and she certainly forgets that this example can have no force worth speaking of for the inheritors of two centuries of Christian tradition. Persons of low vitality like Ethan Gano shrink from the responsibilities of life, and to believe themselves capable of seeking death in "high Roman fashion" is to invest themselves with heroic attributes, and so excuse their incapacity for living in any fashion.

Ethan Gano's temperament was the best sort of soil for John Gano's fierce and shallow doctrines of heredity to flourish in. Ethan saw himself doomed to physical disease and mental ineffectiveness by the thoughtless Ganos' habit of intermarrying, and he fled from his cousin Valeria, for he had yielded to this family habit and wished to marry her. Many an ignorant Gano had committed an error which for him, with his new knowledge, would be a crime. His later subjection by the rather intemperate passion of Valeria is not surprising, but what becomes of the doctrine of heredity when a descendant of fervidly religious Southerners and rigidly religious Puritans enters without moral revolt into the compact proposed by Valeria—the compact that involves the question which is supposed to be particularly open? The compact is repulsive, and the question is not open any more than is the question of the assassin's right to stab in the dark or the anarchist's right to throw a bomb. Women who propose to live with a man until a child is about to be born, and then to get up a family holocaust, are quite out of the question. For Valeria Gano the salvation is that, from previous knowledge, no one will believe she ever did it. With her self-will and temper and intense love of life she had no need to resort to ghastly, theatrical tricks to persuade Ethan to marry her; even to persist in letting him see that she wanted him so much would have done it. From the moment that she suggests her inhuman compact, she ceases to be only a self-centred, restless American girl, warranted to turn out all right, and becomes that sort of female horror which has been copyrighted by Ibsen. Miss Robins has been so closely identified with the representation of Ibsen's heroines that they have infected her mind and perverted a naturally clear and sane vision of life. Still, Norwegian

pessimism has not devoured her, or she could not have written one-half of the book (the half which is worth reading and excuses extended notice of the whole); nor could she have drawn so effectively the grandmother of the last of the Ganos. This remarkable old lady is the great figure of the novel. By faith in God and a will to live, in spite of the Gano hereditary disabilities, she managed both to exist and rule for eighty years. Unfortunately for Valeria, she died without having heard a whisper about the compact.

It is to be hoped that Miss Robins may care to shake off the influence of Hedda Gabler & Co. They are not good society, and they and their problems have no profound significance in any country, except, perhaps, in Norway, where the weather is always cold, where people are always poor, and half the year is dark. It will be a thousand pities if these wretched Norwegian women prevail to spoil the makings of an exceptionally entertaining novelist.

The day has already arrived when a novel founded on the civil war has that rather chilling remoteness from contemporary interest which in some degree marks all historical fiction. The passions of those who suffered most have cooled, and the memories of loss and wrong are dim; so the power of vivid emotional presentation which fervid personal feeling gave to certain Southern writers has worn weaker, and they have accepted the judgment of time, which admits two sides to every case. This is a gain for purposes of enlightenment, but a serious loss to a creative art which does not make its first appeal to reason, nor its strongest impression by fair play. Mr. Page's earlier impassioned tales of the war are, therefore, more memorable contributions to fiction than is his well-considered and interesting 'Chronicle of Reconstruction.' Once or twice bygone passion dominates maturer judgment, but that is in the earlier chapters just when the storm is breaking, and before he settles down to his fair-minded chronicle. His account of the state of things at "Red Rock" may stand as an impartial picture of what was going on all over the South for several years after the war. Leech, the carpet-bagger, is a probable portrait of the sort of person who in great numbers abused his authority and brought his official superiors to shame. On the other hand, Middleton and Welch represent those men who, inferior in numbers, and perhaps in force (for the good are notoriously feebler than the wicked), loathed heaping humiliation upon a prostrate enemy and wished only to help in wiping out old scores. Dr. Cary is a fine type of the Southern gentleman who stood for the Union until he was forced by ties of affection and long comradeship to go with his State, and who accepted defeat with dignity and courage. It is a little difficult to believe that he could have been hopelessly crushed by the treacherous and malignant overseer, Hiram Still. Still's machinations for the destruction of his betters make the plot—a very complicated and melodramatic and futile sort of a plot. If many overseers succeeded in routing their masters by similar transparent infamies, that is the saddest testimony to the exhaustion of the old South in both courage and capacity. The attempts at the suppression of base-born ruffians were singularly trivial and ineffective. The Ku-Klux offered the only concerted resistance,

and the conception of that organization appears to have been childish, while its performance was farcical as well as terrible. Resort to the law-courts was, of course, worse than useless if the scenes described by Mr. Page were possible. Such scenes may be among those things in life which are stranger than fiction, but we are not convinced that they are anything better than expedients for winding up a tale. Mr. Page's fiction is not strengthened by their use, and they might even serve to discredit the general veracity of his chronicle.

Dr. Hammond's novel, 'The Son of Perdition,' is a remarkable product of profane imagination applied to the elaboration of some picturesque characters conspicuous in sacred history. Novelists choosing to embroider the plain Gospel narrative of the life of Jesus Christ have hitherto been handicapped by conscience or by tradition, or even by conventional respect for names of persons not in themselves impeccably respectable. Long before beginning this novel, Dr. Hammond must have got rid of sentimental impediments to free interpretation, and reached a point of view which has the possibly doubtful merit of being exclusively his own. The persons about whom his fancy plays most surprisingly are those of whom our knowledge is slight and not wholly creditable—Judas Iscariot, Mary Magdalene, and Sapphira. These three he involves in a wild and not finically decent romance, and for each constructs a character without authority and without aid of any faculty except imagination. But imagination keeps up at high pressure, and so, in spite of a fundamental offence against good taste and in spite of a careless, loquacious style, the book can hold the attention of those whose prejudices in favor of reverence may survive the first shock.

Mr. Charles Roberts, the Canadian poet, is a better writer of descriptive verse than of prose romance. He knows and feels more about the marshes and forests and streams of Nova Scotia than about the human beings who inhabited that province, called by another name—Acadia. In 'A Sister to Evangeline,' the climax is the deportation of the Acadians, a moment so dramatic and emotional that any hack might contrive to convey something of its imperishable pathos. Mr. Roberts has managed to miss it with astonishing completeness. He has no faculty for characterization, apparently no intuitions about human nature. His people are ineffective and superficial in ordinary life, and more markedly so in crises. He has at his command no clever mechanical devices by which a more serious deficiency might be concealed. His plot and paragraphs are as unsubstantial as his characters. His English is not the natural English of any period—closer, perhaps, to seventeenth-century Puritan phrase than any other; a form which does not go trippingly on the tongue of his eighteenth-century Frenchmen. The burden of the drama is borne by a purely artificial and incomparably dull pair, Gról, the Idiot, and La Garne, the Black Abbé. Mr. Roberts appears to be fond of them, for this is the second tale in which they appear. They are perfect bogies, and unless he can shake off their fascination, it will prove fatal to his aspirations as a novelist.

As 'A Sister to Evangeline' does not quicken curiosity about the prose work of Canadian poets, one turns to 'The Forest of Bourg-Marie,' by Mrs. Harrison (Seranus),

with that languid interest that accompanies a foregone conclusion. When, on the very first page, the Yamachiche is associated with Lethe, with spirits that stalk in Plutonian shades, and with an imaginative peasantry, interest sinks to zero. No better compliment can be paid to the author than to say at once that recovery from the depression caused by her preliminary rhetorical flourish is speedy, and that very soon we recognize work done from the life by a keen, truthful observer with a hand surprisingly bold, yet sincerely sympathetic. The plot is romantic, and hinges on the return to his native wilds of Magloire Caron, translated during several years of exile in Milwaukee into a person who hands his grandfather a printed card bearing the inscription, "Mr. Murray Carson, expert in horseflesh." This Magloire is a type of the Americanized Canuck, and is drawn to the life with a frankness no more cruel than he deserves. He is vulgar, vain, shallow, immoral, and saved only by a childlike naïveté from being intolerably offensive. The situation between him and his grandfather (the impoverished but not degenerate descendant of a noble house) is admirably taken, and if the older man appears less vivid and real than the younger, it is because his type is rarer, not because it has never actually existed. Besides the Carons, there are half-a-dozen types vigorously sketched without exaggeration or sentimentality, and with no notion of working them up to an utterly false conception of a picturesqueness inherent in their race and condition. The picturesqueness of the *Canadiens* is largely imaginary, but nobody who meets a humble *habitant* bearing the name of a seventeenth-century gentleman of France can help surrounding him with the atmosphere of romance. In the old trapper, Mikel Caron, Mrs. Harrison gives its full value to this sort of picturesqueness, while of the un-American, pictorial quality of Canadian villages there is a good illustration in the picture of the curé leaning on his garden-gate suavely inviting the great Magloire to enter and view his unworthy hollyhocks. In the make-up of her novel, Mrs. Harrison betrays inexperience. The passages of the Caron family history are cold interpolations; some of the conversations wander unduly, and the catastrophe at the Manoir is too full of sound and confusion. But these defects should be easily overcome by a writer who can give us a book so very much alive.

TWO DANTE BOOKS.

Essays on Dante. By Dr. Karl Witte. (Being selections from the two volumes of 'Dante-Forschungen.') Selected, translated, and edited, with introduction, notes, and appendices, by C. Mabel Lawrence, B.A., and Philip H. Wicksteed, M.A. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1898. 8vo, pp. xxii, 448, 1 plan.

Dante's Ten Heavens: A Study of the Paradiso. By Edmund G. Gardner, M.A. London: Constable & Co. 1898. 8vo, pp. xii, 310.

That the study of law fosters literary ambition and smooths the way to distinction in letters, is a proposition which might be plausibly supported by many extraordinary examples. The history of literature furnishes many instances of those who began their literary careers with Justinian or Blackstone. It is rare, however, to find a man of letters continuing to pursue legal

science as his life's work, as did Karl Witte, the most distinguished, perhaps, of modern Dante scholars. Prof. Witte's life was remarkable in more than one respect. Born near Halle in the year 1800, he was educated by his father until, at the tender age of nine and a half years, he matriculated in the University of Leipzig. Before he was fourteen, he took his doctor's degree, presenting a thesis upon the Conchoid of Nicomedes, a curve of the fourth degree. He then went to Italy to study law. He soon became interested in Dante, and almost immediately reached the conclusion that the criticism then current of the 'Divine Comedy' was hopelessly perverse and fatuous. A vigorous essay on "The Art of Misunderstanding Dante," which he completed in 1823, opened his career as a critic and contained the programme of his life work. In the same year he was appointed extraordinary professor of law at Breslau; six years later he was promoted to a full professorship, and in 1834 he was transferred to the University of Halle, where he taught law and wrote works on jurisprudence for nearly fifty years.

Dr. Witte is probably best known in Germany for his translation of the 'Comedy,' the first edition of which appeared in 1865; he is esteemed by the special student of Dante for his collation of manuscripts and textual criticism; the intelligent public, however, outside of Germany, is likely to rely on his collected essays, 'Dante-Forschungen,' for its knowledge of the spirit and results of his years of research. The volume before us contains what is best and of most permanent interest in the two volumes of the original collection. The editor estimates his work with such justness and with such a conciliating sense of humor that we cannot do better than repeat his words:

"Some passages are so technical that they will doubtless be skipped by all but a few experts, and some so popular that all except beginners will desire fuller details and ampler references; but there is no essay which, taken as a whole, has not such general interest as appears to justify its inclusion in a volume intended for the general reader; and in the more technical or erudite portions of the essays I have endeavored to give (in the notes and appendices) such information as will enable the unlearned reader to follow the argument and understand the references. Indeed, the information contained in some of these notes is of a very elementary character; but it is just what every one is supposed to know that no one is ever told; and the student is often left to a long, uncertain, and painful course of inference with respect to the very foundations of some portions at least of his subject."

What to do about controversial matters upon which the editor—himself no mean Dante scholar—differs from Dr. Witte, was a puzzling question.

"The editor," Mr. Wicksteed pertinently urges, "who never dares to trust his author and his reader together for fear they should hatch mischief against *Mm*, who nervously directs where they are to join and where part hands; who is perpetually thrusting obtrusive suggestions between them, and fluttering and clucking to his chicks at every second line, is a person who ought to be suppressed by an inviolable conspiracy of inattention."

The translators have taken their task very seriously, perhaps a bit too seriously for the general reader. The book falls into "brevier" pretty often and looks unreadable. As one reads Mr. Wicksteed's admirable appendices—all too short as they are, and tucked away in a corner—one wishes that he

had given us an original treatment, instead of reproducing Dr. Witte's somewhat antiquated work. The preparation of a series of essays of his own could hardly have taken so much time as the careful translation, with the hours spent in painfully verifying, in the British Museum Library, all of Witte's citations. The present volume is, of course, the pious tribute of an enthusiastic admirer and disciple to his revered master's memory. The demands of *Pietät* might, however, have been satisfied by an appreciative estimate of Dr. Witte's important work, accompanied by Mr. Wicksteed's own independent studies of certain phases of Dante's writings and spiritual experiences. In such a volume all the drawbacks of the present plan would have been obviated. The general reader would have learned more, and the student would naturally have turned, as he still must do, to the German or Italian originals of Dr. Witte's technical contributions.

The first three essays in the volume before us set forth Dr. Witte's general conception of the poet and the proper way of approaching his works. He himself believed that the kernel of all his later studies lay in the very earliest of them (number two of the present collection), that published in 1824, in his first youthful enthusiasm. "My other labors in this field," he says, "strike me as subsidiary to the root-idea there developed, calculated to strengthen its foundations rather than lead to anything fresh." The essay on Dante's Trilogy, with Mr. Wicksteed's admirable appendix, will prove the most instructive, perhaps, of all the chapters to the average reader. It discusses the relation of the 'Vita Nuova,' 'Convito,' and 'Comedy' respectively to their author's spiritual development. Mr. Wicksteed takes courteous exception to Dr. Witte's view of the middle period of supposed apostasy. As he forcibly argues, there seems to be no inclination in the 'Convito' presumptuously to place philosophy on the same plane with theology. It was not an alienation from religion and theology which Dante laments as his great sin. He begins the 'Convito' "with the twofold purpose of glorifying his present mistress (Philosophy), and of explaining away such part of his own reputation as seems inconsistent with the high missionary purpose he now entertains. He will allegorize all his Canzoni addressed to mortal women, other than Beatrice," whose rivals are not philosophy but only the world and the flesh. He finds the task difficult, even dishonest, and his conscience revolts from it. Such things in his past life as part him from Beatrice are not to be explained away but repented. Philosophy, however, has not stood between him and Beatrice, but leads him back to her. "The *Convito* is cast aside, superseded in its mechanism, and damned by its taint of disingenuousness. His studies in Philosophy (always guided by Theology, as the *Convito* clearly enough shows) have deepened and purified his life, till at last, in spite of himself, they have brought him back, in an agony of shame, to Beatrice, now glorified into the symbol of Theology herself—and the *Comedy* is born."

The second group of essays (iv.-viii.) prepare the reader to understand the 'Comedy' by explaining "Dante's Cosmography," "The Ethical Systems of the Inferno and Purgatorio," "The Topography of Florence about the Year 1300," "Dante and the Conti Guidi," and the significance of the poet's letters. There is a chapter on the good wife, Gemma.

some discussion follows, a part of it decidedly technical, of the earliest commentaries upon the 'Comedy' and Dante's life, and the volume closes with a paper on "Dante and United Italy." The translation is excellent throughout, in spite of the difficulties which the original presents.

Of Mr. Gardner's 'Dante's Ten Heavens' we may safely say that it is the most careful and extensive study of the "Paradiso" in English, probably in any language. The difficulties and obscurities of the third part of the 'Comedy' are well known; they may, indeed, attract rather than repel the true Dante enthusiast, but "the incredible excess of unsensed sweet" will never be other than an esoteric theme. Mr. Gardner's book is not, then, a hand-book for ladies' literary clubs, but, as might be expected, is for the delectation of the earnest student, who brings with him keen historic insight, as well as a deep sense of poetic beauty and some sympathy for metaphysics. The work serves as a valuable supplement to the notes which Lubin, Dean Plumptre, Scartazzini, Witte, Longfellow, and others have added to well-known editions of the 'Comedy.' It suggests in some ways Vernon's 'Readings on the Inferno,' but resembles more closely in arrangement and spirit Prof. Hettinger's chapter on the "Paradiso" in his scholarly study of the poem.

It is to be regretted that the author, who should have realized that he could hope to reach only the earnest scholar, did not treat somewhat more fully than he has done the questions which his little audience would most gladly hear discussed. For example, the close relation of Dante's theories of the heavenly polity to those of the Pseudo-Dionysius and of Saint Bernard is referred to in too general a fashion to be more than suggestive and tantalizing. Mr. Gardner, like so many of his scholarly countrymen, is, we must assume, ignorant of German. He makes no allusion to Dr. Witte and the abundant literature of his subject to be found only in German, and uses the abridged English version of Hettinger.

Angels' Wings: A Series of Essays on Art and its Relation to Life. By Edward Carpenter. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: Macmillan.

The keynote of this infelicitously named volume is to be found in the opening sentence: "There is a strong impression that the democratic idea, as it grows and spreads, will have a profound influence on Art and artistic methods; and that Art, in its relation to life generally, is in these days passing into new phases of development." Mr. Carpenter is, in fact, a bit of a Tolstoyan, though he differs much from Tolstoy in details, and though one of his gods is Tolstoy's pet aversion, Richard Wagner. Like Tolstoy, his effort is to make out a democratic doctrine of art, and to show that art, like government, should be "of the people, by the people, and for the people." He is rather clever and more or less plausible, and covers a deal of ground somewhat thinly, discoursing of painting and sculpture, literature and music, mythology and folk-lore, and, finally, of "The Art of Life," not quite convincing one that his competence is equal to his pretension.

The first essay of the book is on the somewhat oddly consorted trio, "Wagner, Millet, and Whitman," who are treated as embodi-

ments of democratic art, and on the second page we are confronted with the statement that "all three men were revolutionaries, in more than one sense of the word. Wagner was arrested in the streets of Dresden for complicity in the riots of '48; Millet was nicknamed the 'Wild Man of the Woods' by his fellow-students, and accused of being a 'Socialist' by his critics; Whitman was ejected from his clerkship in the Treasury at Washington on account of the wickedness of his poems." Now why should Millet be called a "revolutionary" because "his critics" accused him of what he always denied? And though Wagner was a bit of a republican in politics, does it follow that that most elaborate and expensive of all forms of art, the music-drama, is democratic? Millet was by instinct a conservative and the lover of what was old, and his artistic admiration was for Poussin; and while few of us will agree with Tolstoy in his dictum that Wagner's art is no art at all, most of us will agree that it is a highly artificial, romantic, and aristocratic art, which makes as little appeal as possible to the universal feelings of humanity. As to Whitman, we might perhaps give him over to Mr. Carpenter. It is chiefly in London that the art of Whitman has as yet been taken very seriously.

The second essay, which gives its title to the volume, is nominally on the tendency of art, as it grows more mature, to reject, on anatomical grounds, the symbolical use of wings, so common in early art, and to represent even flying figures as wingless. The moral of this is supposed to be that "anything that conflicts very hopelessly and fundamentally with the reasoning faculty cannot be very permanently successful in its influence on the mind." One shudders to think where this would leave the fairy stories of the Nibelung tetralogy if the doctrine were made out, but it is not. Mr. Carpenter appeals to the Greeks as the people whose "instinct of proportion and fitness, in Art and life, exceeded that of any other people we know"; and, because they represented winged figures only occasionally, thinks they showed a tendency to reject "anything which cannot be fairly distinctly thought out." But the Greeks habitually represented certain figures as winged—e. g., Victory, Eros, Iris; and they were fond of representing other imaginary creatures—griffins, chimeras, fauns, and, above all, the centaur—which it is quite impossible to think out. Again, are Michelangelo's hugely muscled colossi, supported in midair without even a wing to aid them, more thinkable than the demure and devout angels of Giotto and Angelico? It may be said that none of these things have proved "permanently successful," and that they have lost their influence on the human mind; but at least the example of the Greeks goes by the board. The rule would seem to be that, in the highest forms of art, things must be so imagined as at least to seem possible for the time being. In lower forms of art, such as decoration, it is enough if they are pleasing.

The question of "realism" having thus been brought up, it is further considered in the following essays. The material of art is considered as derived from three sources, nature, "the Physiological basis of emotion in the human body," and conventional symbols and associations; and each of these is considered in a separate essay. In the essay on

"Nature and Realism in Art," the argument is that, of the two tendencies of modern realism, that towards mere photography and useless detail is, "obviously, an error," while that towards the treatment of "those aspects of Nature—the ugly, the obscene, the criminal, and so forth—which are generally ignored" is useful in "the unearthing of a vast amount of material which, in the hands of future masters, may be available for the most searching effects." Zola is condemned for lack of artistic treatment—for not having made "the discords lead to their proper resolutions"; but we are said to "owe him much in this way." Finally, we are referred, for a "perfect example of Realism in its best form," to the frieze of the Parthenon, which is considered as "a simple transcript of actual facts." One is led to wonder if Mr. Chamberlain really believes that all Greeks of the Periclean age were as beautiful as these figures. The few portraits that remain to us prove the contrary, if proof were needed.

In "The Human Body in its Relations to Art," Mr. Carpenter deals with what Mr. Whistler thinks is all of art, what Mr. Berenson considers the most vital and artistic part of art, and what Tolstoy hardly considers art at all, viz.: the direct physiologic effect of tones, lines, colors, etc., upon the human brain and body; and also with the representation of that body in art. Here our author takes direct issue with Tolstoy, and blames him for being "so completely dominated by the fear of the senses that he cannot see the blasphemy there is in denying and crippling the human body," and, while agreeing that most modern treatment of the nude is bad in art and in morals, concludes that, "in the free, sane acceptance of the human Body, in all its faculties, lies the Master-key to the Art of the future." In "Tradition, Convention, and the Gods," we get deep into totemism and the origin of religion, but the outcome of it all is that art progresses only by overthrowing conventions and by the familiar return to nature. "To be absolutely one's self" is the true aim of the artist. Finally, we get back to pure Tolstoyism in the essay on "The Individual Impression," and are shown how the results of modern realism and modern individualism are to be reconciled and harmonized into one whole by the infusion of a new ideal, the "advent of a new Religion":

"The Religion of the future must come from the bosom itself of the modern peoples; it must be the recognition by Humanity as a whole of that Common Life which has really underlain all the various religions of the past; it must be the certainty of the organic unity of mankind, of the brotherhood of all sentient creatures, freeing itself from all local doctrine and prejudice, and expressing itself in any and every available form. The seal and sanction of the Art of the future will be its dedication to the service of this Religion."

And so, amid a profusion of capitals, the part of the book which concerns us comes to an end; for with the two analytical essays on the music of Beethoven, and with the concluding essay and various addenda on "The Art of Life," the present writer will not meddle. The work is interesting, if not conclusive, and its perusal may be enjoyed even if one rejects its doctrine.

Actors of the Century: A Play-Lover's Gleanings from Theatrical Annals. By Frederic Whyte. London: George Bell & Sons; New York: Macmillan. 1898.

Mr. Frederic Whyte, the compiler (for he

can scarcely be called the author) of 'Actors of the Century,' is the capable translator of Mr. Augustin Filon's critical review of 'The English Stage,' and it was in the accomplishment of that task, apparently, that he found inspiration for this pretentious, but not particularly instructive, volume. At all events he admits, with refreshing if superfluous frankness, that his knowledge of theatrical history and personages is of very recent date, and, arguing from his own condition, he concludes that there must be a vast number of persons just as ignorant as he used to be of the entertainment to be found in books of dramatic commentary and biography. To enlighten these unfortunates, he has made very copious clippings from the works of such familiar authorities as Charles Lamb, Leigh Hunt, William Hazlitt, George Henry Lewes, Henry Morley, William Robson, Dutton Cook, and many others of lesser weight, and has connected them by means of a running review of his own, so as to make something like a continuous narrative.

He gossips pleasantly enough, and, as a rule, so far as the first half of the century is concerned, uses his scissors with discretion, but, of course, he has nothing new to tell, while his own reflections are not very precious. With Lamb, Hunt, and Hazlitt he could not go very far wrong. It is when he comes to deal with recent and contemporaneous events, and ventures upon the expression of personal opinions, that his deficiencies in knowledge and in judgment are revealed. For instance, in speaking of comedians who attained great heights in tragedy, he groups together Robson, Coquelin, and Nellie Farren. A more grotesque comparison it would be difficult to conceive. The most conspicuous example of tragic force in a comedian, in recent times, was furnished by Samuel Phelps, whom Mr. Whyte seems to know chiefly as a tragedian. He does, indeed, quote a eulogy of this actor's performance of *Bottom*, but never heard, apparently, of his equally notable *Christopher Sly* or his *Falstaff*. Phelps was the most versatile actor, probably, of the century. He was the best *Sir Peter Teazle* of his day (except, perhaps, Chippendale), and the best *Sir Anthony Absolute* in England. His *Sir Pertinax Macmuffin* was a masterpiece, and he was inimitable in such character parts as *Baile Nicol Jarvie*. The diversity of his parts was amazing, and his excellence in all of them and his eminence in most of them undisputed, yet Mr. Whyte makes no record of these achievements. In one place he commits himself to the astonishing assertion that Charlotte Cushman was the counterpart in form and feature of Macready, as well as in histrionic gifts and characteristics—one assertion being almost as far from the truth as the other. His enumeration of modern actors of distinction is quite worthless, many good performers being overlooked altogether, while players of fifth-rate importance, or no importance at all, are set down among the leaders. Walter Montgomery, Creswick, Miss Marriott, Miss Glyn (the best *Cleopatra* of her time), Henry Marston, Chippendale, Kate Bateman, and Charles Coghlan are some of the obvious omissions, and, doubtless, there are many others. The name of Mrs. Warner is mentioned once, casually. As to the extent of Mr. Whyte's critical judgment, that may be guessed from his remark that Mr. Beerbohm Tree is the arch-type of the all-round actor, which proves that he is unable to distinguish

between mere ingenuity in the arts of external disguise and genuine artistic versatility.

The book is printed very handsomely, and contains a large number of portraits, upon which the author sets great store. Most of these have long been common in all theatrical collections, but a few of them are more rare. The portraits of Adelaide Neilson convey no hint of the extraordinary personal fascination of that meteoric actress.

Sketches of the History of Georgian Literature. Parts I. and II. (Ocherki po storii Gruzinskoi Slovesnosti.) By A. S. Khakhanoff. Moscow: University Press.

Prof. Khakhanoff of the Lazarevski Institute of Moscow devotes a certain part of his book to the mass of legendary tales and folk-literature to be found in the language of the beautiful Eastern land of Georgia. There are a great number of curious apocryphs on sacred subjects which claim the attention of the scholar now that this kind of literature has come so much to the front. The Georgians use two alphabets, the ecclesiastical and the civil. The latter is the one now most often employed. The oldest monument of Georgian literature belongs to the sixth century. First we get versions of portions of the Bible, and afterwards translations of the Greek classic authors, such as Plato and Aristotle. There is a complete manuscript of the Bible dating from the tenth century which is preserved in the library on Mount Athos. Prof. Tsagarelli of the University of St. Petersburg has taken the trouble to make an exhaustive catalogue of all known MSS., which number considerably more than a thousand. In our own time the Georgian press is very active at Tiflis. There exists in that city a society devoted to the diffusion of education among the Georgians. In this way many useful modern works and many of the old classics are rendered accessible. We remember seeing at Tiflis the interesting collection of manuscripts belonging to this society. The great period, however, of the development of Georgian literature was during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This is rightly styled by Prof. Khakhanoff their golden age, and it is with the close of this period that the two present instalments of his work end. At a subsequent date he proposes to treat of the long but inactive time supervening, which lasted from the thirteenth to the close of the eighteenth century. The concluding volume is to tell of the renaissance of Georgian literature under the rule of the Russians.

The thirteenth century includes the age of Queen Tamara, the great sovereign of Georgia, in whose time the country reached its highest pitch of prosperity. That she was a remarkable woman there can be no doubt, but her name is absolutely encrusted with legend. All the wonderful things in the country are assigned to her—and her portrait has come down to us (if we can rely upon it) in many ancient frescoes. To her reign belongs the poet Shota Rustaveli, the author of the strange romantic epic in quatrains 'The Man in the Panther's Skin' (*Vepkhris-tkaosani*). Much has been written about this author, whose work is certainly full of color and like the production of some Eastern troubadour. Mr. Khakhanoff gives an excellent analysis of it, and therefore it is in a way accessible to a person who cannot read Georgian. It is a

strange Oriental love-poem, the origin of which has been much disputed. Prof. Khakhanoff, as in duty bound, takes a hand in this discussion. Some people think the poem must have had a Persian origin, though there has never been found anything like it in Persian. The manners described in the epic are free from Mohammedan influences. On the other hand, there is nothing distinctly Christian about it, and so much was this felt that the clergy put the poem more or less under a ban. It had become a favorite production with the people. Indeed, the lines are on the lips of the Georgians as veritable household words. King Vakhtang VI., having established a printing press at Tiflis in 1709, set about printing 'The Man in the Panther's Skin,' just as Caxton soon tried his hand on an edition of Chaucer. To stop all scandals and prevent the clerical ban, the pious King furnished the poem with a religious commentary in which he made all the love-passages to be mystic, as has been done in other instances. As regards Rustaveli, he is said to have died at Jerusalem as a monk in 1215. His portrait is there shown in a fresco. Whether he cherished a hapless passion for the imperial Tamara we cannot say for certainty. It is so stated in Georgian writings, and if he did so he would only be like his brother troubadours in the West, who always nourished a hopeless passion for some exalted dame. Little has been done as yet to make this poem known to Western readers. A few years ago Mr. Arthur Leist published a very condensed version, substituting the heroic metre in the style of Pope's 'Iliad.' The quatrains would certainly prove very heavy ballast. We believe a much more minute version in prose may soon be expected from the pen of a young English lady who has shown considerable knowledge of these difficult languages in her 'Mingrelian Folk-Tales.'

We have no space for the strange romances of the same period. The glories of Georgia and of the Kartveli, as the people style themselves, were to undergo a rapid decline. This Christian nest, with its traditional glories of St. Nina, was surrounded with Moslem foes. It was harried by Mongols, Tatars, Persians, and Turks. In 1793 Tiflis was burned to the ground by the Persians. We cannot but feel that if the Russians had not stepped in, the Georgians would have had the fate of the Armenians, or would have been forcibly converted *en masse*.

Prof. Khakhanoff not only, as a native Georgian, is well acquainted with his subject, but understands how to write about it in a very readable way.

Camping and Tramping in Malaya: Fifteen Years' Pioneering in the Native States of the Malay Peninsula. By Ambrose B. Rathborne. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: Macmillan. 1898. Map. Illustrations. Pp. xi, 339. 8vo.

Twenty years ago the small native states on the southwestern coast of the Malay Peninsula had but recently come under British protection. The land was undeveloped, covered with forest and jungle, roadless, and sparsely inhabited by semi-savages, pirates, and slave-dealers. A few Englishmen were among them, some restraining and guiding the native rajahs, administering justice,

maintaining the peace, and putting down crime and misrule. Under the direction of others the natives were clearing the jungle for plantations, learning the best methods of agriculture and mining, and making roads from the coast to the interior. Among these "pioneers of progress" was the author of this book.

His first undertaking, a coffee-plantation, failed from lack of skilled labor, and the greater part of the time from 1880 to 1895 was spent in exploring, surveying, and road-making. These duties carried him into every part of the country, and his narrative gives a striking picture of its condition in its wild state. He has few exciting adventures to relate, but many interesting descriptions of life in the forest and villages, together with accounts of the native industries. Stories of personal encounters with wild animals are numerous, especially with tigers, which seemed to haunt every path, and invaded camps and even houses for their human prey. The primitive condition of those days is shown by the following incident: Into a hospital just opened there came one evening "that shy and exclusive animal the rhinoceros, which, entering at one end, walked calmly through one of the wards, passing between the beds of the astonished patients, and departed through the opposite doorway without harming any one or doing any damage." Mr. Rathborne visited a village whose inhabitants kept many "slave monkeys" chained near their houses to gather their fruit for them.

"When a coconut was wanted, a man or boy would fetch a light rattan reel, on which was coiled a long cord. The chain would be detached from the monkey's collar, and the string fastened to it instead, and he would then be led towards some tree where there appeared to be a ripe nut or two, and told to ascend it, which he would do in a somewhat sulky and protesting manner, stopping half-way up, until a sharp tug of the cord and an expostulatory remark from his master compelled him to continue; for in this respect the monkey is very human in his dislike of being made to do what he is told, if it is at all distasteful to him. On reaching the cluster of nuts near the top, several tugs of the cord would be necessary to assist him to make up his mind which was the ripest and easiest to detach, and to throw down the one required. Finding a suitable foothold, he would twist the nut round and round until it broke off and fell down—none too easy a task to accomplish, as its fibrous stem is tough and difficult to break. If another nut was wanted, a look of wearied disgust would overspread his face as he slowly proceeded to do as he was bid. The order to descend was obeyed with more alacrity, and, the string being rewound, he would be led back and chained up, and left to take his exercise, walking to and fro as far as his tether would permit."

This record of one Englishman's part in the development of a tropical country is full of lessons for us, now that we have assumed the sovereignty over islands similar in climate, natural features, and people to Malaya. It was not an easy task to teach these Malays the art of coffee cultivation, nor to search out in forests and swamps the best routes between the coast and the interior, and then to build the roads essential to the prosperity of the land. It was a life of constant toil and privation, of long periods of isolation from all companionship save that of natives, of dangers innumerable from man and beast, to which one must show apparent indifference if he is to gain the respect of his men. "I never, during all my travels," says our author, "carried a weapon of any sort other than a chopper-knife." He refers often, also, to the British magistrates

scattered here and there, describing their comfortless homes with the repulsive or unhealthy surroundings of a native village; pictures them listening patiently to grievances, settling disputes, quelling peaceably, with the aid of a few Sikh policemen, a riot in a Chinese mining-camp, sustained in their work by the hope of rescuing these childlike people from the rapacity of their native rulers, and enabling them to enjoy the fruits of their industry, more abundant as their labor is more intelligently directed. And the cost at which Great Britain does this civilizing work is not hidden. Writing of the sudden deaths of several of these men and of the self-sacrificing devotion to duty which characterized them, he says:

"I have often heard a beardless youth, still in the enjoyment of every boyish pastime, and with all his life before him, say to a friend (quartered in some more salubrious district, with whom he was on a visit to recruit his health), 'I must go back; I have my work to do.' An unanswerable argument; and the lad has returned perhaps only to succumb to his illness, with no witnesses to mark or appreciate his heroic disregard of all else but his sense of duty."

And the reward? Throughout his book, but especially in the last chapter, Mr. Rathborne gives some of the results of these fifteen years of British rule. Where he cut his way with severest toil through the virgin forest, forded torrents, and waded waist deep in pestilential swamps, there are now railways, macadamized and metalled roads. Bamboo villages have become well-built towns; the jungle is rapidly giving place to plantations of coffee and spices; tin-mining has been revolutionized by the introduction of machinery. Since 1880 the population has trebled, the revenue has increased from less than a million to more than eight million dollars, the foreign commerce from six to fifty-three millions, and railway receipts from nothing to more than a million and a quarter.

It only remains to add that the attractiveness of this interesting and suggestive volume is increased by some excellent reproductions of photographs of characteristic scenes.

Ignaz von Döllinger: Sein Leben auf Grund seines schriftlichen Nachlasses dargestellt von J. Friedrich. Erster Theil: von der Geburt bis zum Ministerium Abel 1799-1837. Munich: Beck. 1899. Pp. x, 506.

Döllinger's remote ancestors seem to have been officials in the service of spiritual or secular potentates, although at least as far back as two generations he might justly claim to have been what Oliver Wendell Holmes was wont to call "a descendant of the Academic Races." His grandfather was physician in ordinary to the prince-bishop and professor in the medical faculty of the University of Bamberg, of which he was the chief organizer. This institution was abolished on the secularization of the prelate principality and its incorporation into Bavaria in 1802. His father followed the same profession, and was one of the most distinguished anatomists and physiologists of his time. Agassiz, who studied embryology under his direction at Munich, praises him as a keen observer and deep thinker, and confesses that he first learned from him to "value accuracy in scientific research." The boy Ignatius inherited the same spirit, and was led to choose the clerical profession not so much from strongly religious feelings, as

from intense love of learning and the desire to fathom mysteries. He was fond of plying his father with all sorts of questions, to which he received ready and satisfactory answers; only when they touched the province of theology the reply was apt to be evasive, and to take the form of, "That I don't know," or, "No one can tell." These responses produced an effect which was quite peculiar and unexpected. Instead of inferring from his father's ignorance of these things that they could not be known, and thus ceasing to think about them, he had his curiosity stimulated, and came to the conclusion that by studying theology he should be able to understand what would otherwise remain a mystery. This notion was encouraged by his pious mother; and although the father did what he could to counteract this purpose by directing the lad's thoughts to other subjects, he did not directly oppose it, on the general principle of permitting every mind to follow its own bent. He deeply regretted that his son should become a priest, and decidedly disapproved of celibacy on physiological grounds, to say nothing of moral and social considerations.

Ignatius was remarkably precocious, although the statement that he could speak Latin at five and read Greek at seven may be rejected, on his own authority, as fictitious. It is certain, however, that he acquired a knowledge of several languages and their literatures in early youth. At ten he had read the works of Cornille and Molière, and knew the poems of Schiller by heart. A little later he learned Italian and English, and afterwards added Spanish and Portuguese to the list. Indeed, at sixteen, he was far more familiar with French than with German books, and this fact is mentioned as exceedingly characteristic of German culture, indicating an utter lack of national spirit.

In Prof. Friedrich's biography of his illustrious friend and academic colleague, considerable space is devoted to descriptions of the lives and times of the father and grandfather, thus giving the reader a clear conception of the environment in which the young man grew up, and furnishing also a valuable contribution to the intellectual history of Germany at the beginning of the present century. He draws a melancholy picture of the University of Würzburg under ecclesiastical domination and the bureaucratic sway of the bigoted and despotic Hapsburg dukes, when all scientific publications were subjected to a rigid censorship, and eminence in any department of research caused a professor to be an object of suspicion. It is a significant coincidence that this state of things should have led the elder Döllinger nearly a century ago to raise the question of the intellectual inferiority of Catholicism to Protestantism recently agitated by Prof. Hermann Schell of the same university. It is also a striking proof of his psychological insight and acumen that he explained the miraculous cures said to have been wrought by Prince Alexander von Hohenlohe at Bamberg in 1820 on the same principle of suggestion adduced by Prof. Charcot, Dr. Forel, and other neuropathologists in explanation of the wonderful healings performed by the waters of Lourdes and the holy coat of Trier. He did not deny their reality, but stripped them of their supposed supernatural character. It was also due to his influence that his son

was not carried away by the excitement among theologians, but took a sober and scientific view of the alleged wonder-workings.

Young Döllinger attended courses of lectures on philosophy, philology, anthropology, history, mathematics, aesthetics, physics, natural science, and law, and thus laid the foundations of a broad and general culture before entering upon the study of theology. He was fond of botany and entomology, in which he made as a student some original investigations recognized by no less an authority than Rees von Esenbeck. Still stronger was his predilection for philology and history, which unfortunately were then treated in the University of Würzburg as ancillary to theology; had a proper place been assigned to them as independent disciplines, it is highly probable that he might have chosen one of them as his specialty. The extent and accuracy of his bibliographical knowledge caused him to be selected to prepare a catalogue of the University Library when he was only eighteen years of age. Indeed, the versatility of his talents seemed to render it difficult to determine in what field of knowledge they might be most fitly employed, and it was the prominence assigned to theology at Würzburg that probably turned the scale and determined his final decision, since it tended to confirm his early conviction that this science alone can furnish a solution of the deepest problems of human life. In this connection he quotes the words of Proudhon: "Il est étonnant qu'au fond de toutes les choses nous retrouvons la théologie"; and adds: "Dans ce fait il n'y a rien d'étonnant que l'étonnement de M. Proudhon."

Especially interesting and important for a correct knowledge of Döllinger's early academic career is the account of his relations to Lamennais, Baader, and Görres in Munich, where he was appointed to a professorship of ecclesiastical history and canon law in 1826 and became a frequent contributor to the journal *Eos*, the organ of the "Görres-Verein." Among other papers, he wrote sharp criticisms of Heinrich Heine, who avenged himself in some coarse but witty verses, which are still quoted by Döllinger's foes, although the purely personal origin of the feud has been long forgotten.

The present volume closes with the publication of Döllinger's *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte* in 1836, and its translation into English, French, and Italian soon afterwards. A second edition appeared in 1843, but when the publisher wished to issue a third the author refused, on the ground that, owing to the great change in his views, the whole would have to undergo a thorough revision. The work was very highly appreciated by his co-religionists in England, where he was offered a professorship in St. Cuthbert's College at Ushaw, near Durham, which he declined. This refusal did not cause any diminution in the cordiality and frequency of his intercourse with his English friends, and in Munich his house was for a long time the headquarters of the "English colony." Prof. Friedrich's biography will be completed in three volumes. It is the result of careful researches, is written in an attractive style and admirable spirit, and will correct many false notions by giving a faithful record of the life and aims of a remarkable man.

The Companions of Pickle: Being a sequel to 'Pickle the Spy.' By Andrew Lang.

With four illustrations. Longmans, Green & Co. 1898. Pp. xii, 308.

We recently reviewed 'Pickle the Spy,' Mr. Andrew Lang's elaborate demonstration of his firm but sad conviction that one "Pickle," whose name appears frequently in the records of the Secretary of State's office as an indefatigable spy and informer of all the proceedings of Charles Edwards's followers, was really Alexander Macdonell, the "Young Glengarry," and ultimately the head of his celebrated clan. For this exposure of a Highland chief Mr. Lang has been most bitterly assailed by the worshippers of all that is Celtic. It was bad enough that, a century and a half ago, Simon Lord Lovat, "McShimel," the Chief of the Clan Fraser, was convicted of the basest treachery; Highlanders cannot bear to have a brother chief stand in a symmetrical pillory on the other side of the porch of history. But Mr. Lang, who is conscious of no motive but a love of truth, has returned to the charge, multiplying and classifying his proofs of "Pickle's" identity with young Glengarry. To this he has added eight or ten papers dealing with other characters in the Stuart interest. The most amiable of these is George Keith, Earl Marischal, the friend of Frederick the Great, Voltaire, and Rousseau, who undoubtedly was a sensible, high-minded man, but hardly that epitome of all the virtues that Mr. Lang makes him. Of most of his other personages there is little good to be said, and indeed little, good or bad, to be said at all. Every additional scrap of contemporary information printed about the later Stuarts and their friends tends to show that they richly deserved to fall; princes and nobles alike were an effete race, living in a kind of dream-land, incapable of sound deliberation or prompt action, thinking when they should have struck, and striking when they should have thought, and always suspicious and irritable among themselves whether their sky was clear or clouded.

One of the most interesting chapters is a description of the state of the Highlands in the days before the '45, bearing out in all points Bailie Nicol Jarvie's account of their poverty and misery, and amply vindicating Macaulay's uninviting picture on which so much censure has been cast.

Mr. Lang's book is sumptuously printed and illustrated, but it takes more than mechanical beauty and literary skill to make the Stuart partisans anything but a "feeble folk."

Historic Homes of the South-West Mountains, Virginia. By Edward C. Mead. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1899.

Between the Rappahannock and the James, and between the tide-water region and the Blue Ridge, lies a picturesque range of highlands, something more than hills and less than mountains, which bear the name of the South-West Mountains. Before the middle of the last century, pioneers who had left the thickly settled eastern country for the uplands were attracted by the beautiful scenery, pure air, fertile soil, and abundance of water, and fixed their homes here, to be soon followed by others. These families, enlarging their possessions, and knitting themselves together by intermarriage, became in some sense a peculiar people. The climate was less enervating than that of the lowlands, and the conditions of life less rugged

than those of the mountaineers in the west; and while the settlers shared the energy and thrift of the one, they also enjoyed the culture and refinement of the other.

Among them were the Jeffersons, Randolphs, Lewises, Pages, and others whose names have become historic. The ancient log-houses gave way to more pretentious erections, sometimes—like Monticello, which was thirty years a-building—adorned with a classical portico and tympanum; but more often of that nondescript but delightful style now called "colonial," which subordinated all rules of architecture to the comfort and convenience of the inhabitants. The ancient homes are now in part occupied by the descendants of the builders, while some have passed into the hands of aliens, who still cherish the traditions which cling about them.

Mr. Mead has here given accounts, descriptive, historic, and anecdotal, of nearly thirty of these ancient and beautiful homes, illustrated by photographs; and while the book, of course, possesses a more special interest for Virginians, others will read it with pleasure as giving glimpses of a state of society which the world never saw before, which lasted for about a hundred years, and will never be seen again—the life of the Virginia upland planter.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

All, Amer. A Short History of the Saracens. Macmillan. \$3.
Aston, W. G. A History of Japanese Literature. Appleton. \$1.50.
Barrows, Rev. J. H. The Christian Conquest of Asia. Scribner. \$1.50.
Boniface, J. X. Piccola. Boston: Ginn & Co.
Bonney, Prof. T. G. Volcanoes, their Structure and Significance. London: Murray; New York: Putnam. \$2.
Burnham, Clara L. A West Point Wooling, and Other Stories. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.25.
College Requirements in English for Careful Study. For the Years 1900, 1901, 1902. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
Davis, M. M. The Wire Cutters. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.50.
Fiske, Amos K. The West Indies. Putnam. \$1.50.
Harper, W. R., and Gallup, Prof. F. A. Ten Orations of Cicero. American Book Co. \$1.30.
Hastings, C. S., and Beach, F. E. A Text-Book of General Physics. Boston: Ginn & Co. \$2.00.
Hobson, R. P. The Sinking of the "Merrimac." Century Co.
Howells, W. D. Ragged Lady. Harpers. \$1.75.
Hunt, Prof. T. W. English Meditative Lyrics. Eaton & Mains. \$1.
Johnson, Clifton. Don Quixote. For School and Home Reading. Macmillan. 75c.
Kropotkin, P. Fields, Factories, and Workshops. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$3.
Lemmon, G. T. The Eternal Building; or, The Making of Manhood. Eaton & Mains. \$1.50.
Melville, Velma C. White Dandy. J. S. Ogilvie Publishing Co. 25c.
Meyerfeld, Max. Robert Burns. Studien zu seiner dichterischen Entwicklung. Berlin: Mayer & Müller.
Millard, Bailey. She of the West. Continental Publishing Co. \$1.
Molenaar, S. P. Li Livres du Gouvernement des Rois. A Thirtieth Century French Version of Egidio Colonna's Treatise. Macmillan. \$3.
Murray, J. A. H. A New English Dictionary. Heel-Hod. (Vol. V.) Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde.
Myrick, Herbert. The American Sugar Industry. Orange Judd Co. \$1.50.
North, Sir Thomas. Plutarch's Lives. Vols. I. and II. (Temp. Classics.) London: Dent; New York: Macmillan. Each 50c.
Pinero, A. W. Trelawny of the Wells. A Comedietta in Four Acts. R. H. Russell.
Poincard, Léon. Vers la Ruine. Paris: A. L. Charles.
Realf, Richard. Poems. Funk & Wagnalls Co. \$2.50.
Richmond, Mary E. Friendly Visiting among the Poor. Macmillan. \$1.
Rider, Rev. W. H. The Loom of Life. Cleveland: Burrows Bros. Co.
Robertson, Harrison. "If I Were a Man." The Story of a New-Southerner. Scribner. 75c.
Semon, Richard. In the Australian Bush. Macmillan. \$0.50.
Sheldon, Ruth L. Flexible Morals. New York: H. I. Kimball.
Stearns, W. N. A Manual of Patrology. Scribner. \$1.50.
Taylor, Una. Early Italian Love Stories. Longmans, Green & Co.
Tenney, A. W. The Young Man of Yesterday. F. H. Revell Co. 30c.
The Encyclopedia of Sport. Vol. II. Li-Z. Putnam. \$10.
Trublood, B. F. The Federation of the World. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.
Wheeler, Stephen. Letters of Walter Savage Landor, Private and Public. London: Duckworth & Co.; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 9, 1899.

The Week.

The expiration of another Congress has occurred under the discreditable conditions which always characterize the end of the "short session," intensified by the unusual demands of the past winter for legislation of the first importance, which needed to be perfected with care and deliberation. There has been for the past fortnight a mad rush to get through, in some shape, one makeshift after another, which would serve to tide over the emergency and prevent the necessity of an extra session. In this way Congress has passed a bill for the reorganization of the army, which is so crude, ill-considered, and haphazard a measure that nearly all the Representatives who finally supported the compromise declared their disgust at the hateful necessity of voting for it.

The lawyers of the War Department are cutting their way through the tangle little by little. They have got as far as discovering that the President for the present can appoint only two major-generals, instead of eight as was supposed; and Gen. Otis and Gen. Shafter have been chosen for the places, on grounds both of seniority and special services. But though it is doubtful how many appointments the President has it in his power to make at once, it is certain that there are ten or twenty candidates for each "place." The White House is thronged with clamorous Congressmen as it has not been since the inauguration. Even those who most vehemently and on the highest patriotic grounds opposed the increase of the army, are hot after appointments in it for themselves or their friends. If a large standing army is going to break down the liberties of the people, they at least want to help do the breaking. But the muddles in the army bill seem to be as thick as the jobs in the river and harbor bill. "Is there a mess here?" inquired Gen. Wilson when, after the relief of Lucknow, he arrived half-mad with hunger at Cawnpore. "Yes, everything is a mess here," was the reply he got. That is what the distraught officials say who are trying to find out what the army bill means.

Speaker Reed never won a greater triumph than the one he scored in the Nicaragua Canal matter. He succeeded in heading off a piece of rash and confused and suspicious legislation, and in substituting for it a rational measure, without the smell of jobbery upon it.

In place of the \$5,000,000 which the Maritime Company was to get as a pure gratuity, under the Morgan act, that persistent beggar has to put up with an item of \$15,000 in the general deficiency bill, to reimburse it for expenses incurred in aid of the Ludlow Commission two years ago. Instead of a hasty appropriation of \$115,000,000 to build a canal which it was not yet known whether it would be possible to build at all, or, at any rate, for twice the money, the compromise provides only for a thorough inquiry, by competent engineers, into the comparative advantages and the cost of all competing routes and plans, and a report to Congress. This is surely but common sense. That the canal should be built is plainly the desire and determination of the country. It is a commercial necessity, and the military argument for it has some weight. But it is certain that if the country wants a canal across the Isthmus, it also wants it wisely and honestly constructed. This has now been made possible, and we owe it to Speaker Reed, whose firm and skilful opposition to a band of desperate speculators has not been displayed in the eye of the public, but has been deserving of the highest praise.

The apathy of the Senate was at last so far overcome that several Senators, including one member of the library committee, publicly announced on Saturday their opinion that the head of the Congressional Library should be a trained librarian of demonstrated capacity. This outcome of the discreditable self-pushing upon the part of several incompetent aspirants for that responsible position is something to be grateful for. It is hardly probable, after this pronounced stand by the Senate, that the President will appoint any but a trained librarian, especially as he has shown a readiness to secure such an official by tendering the place some weeks ago to Mr. Herbert Putnam. Mr. Putnam withdrew his acceptance under an unfortunate misconception of certain circumstances, but has since indicated his willingness to serve. His conduct of the Boston Public Library has been marked by success, and the same is true of his presidency of the American Library Association. Mr. Putnam would undoubtedly be the unanimous choice of the library profession, and there would seem to be no reason why the President should not promptly make him a recess appointment. In another column we call attention to some of the serious problems that would confront any appointee.

A glance at the General Orders which have been issued in Porto Rico by Gen.

Henry since December 28, shows what extraordinary duties and responsibilities are laid upon that officer. From all the accounts we get, we judge that Gen. Henry has shown great energy and intelligence as Military Governor, and has given general satisfaction; but what a thing it is to plunge a soldier into all the intricate details of civil administration! Thus, on December 28, we find Gen. Henry appointing a Board of Health at San Juan, and arranging for similar boards throughout the island, whose powers he defined. Two days later he was issuing a comprehensive order regulating taxation. Postal regulations and obligatory vaccination occupied his attention on January 3. Later in the month we find him promulgating orders designed "to remedy the evils due to unjust apportionments"; reducing notarial fees; abolishing the Insular Cabinet; regulating the use of cemeteries; suspending the foreclosure of mortgages; suppressing a municipal council, on the ground that the councilmen "quarrel with one another, that they refuse to act in the interests of the people, and that money is corruptly used" (oh that we had a Gen. Henry to deal with our Municipal Assembly!); revising the poor and marriage laws, etc., etc. Gen. Henry, in short, appears to be just the man we have heard people long for as the ideal ruler—a benevolent tyrant. He has practically absolute power, and he uses it like another Haroun al-Rashid. It is novel business for an American soldier.

There have been conferences in the Philippines between an Aguinaldo committee and an Otis committee, and the Aguinaldo committee have been making impossible demands, and are not enlightened men; but we are only finding these things out after having slaughtered some thousands of their constituents. The *Evening Post's* correspondent's opinion is that the Filipinos are too wild and heterogeneous to be bound by any one agreement or authority, and "that the people of the United States must make up their minds either to fight for these islands or to give them up." What a prospect fighting for them is, we learn from Gen. Otis's own dispatches. With forty thousand men, which is all we can now spare him, he hopes to drive the natives far enough from Manila to make them stop their skirmishing attacks on the city and suburbs, before the rainy season begins; but to do this he will have to penetrate the jungle. In other words, the most he hopes for this year is to drive the enemy back a little way from one city on the coast of one of the twelve hundred islands, before the hot weather begins. But the hot weather

has begun, and, although our military opinion is worth nothing, our opinion of the effect of military operations in a jungle in the wet weather, on Caucasian troops, as ascertained from the experience of other nations, is, that forty thousand men a year is about what we shall require for the subjugation of the islands, and for several years. The truth is, that those McKinleyites who are waiting to begin "developing" the islands will do well to remember that their "developments" in the interior will have to be protected by the United States troops, and that the American people, who often somewhat change their mind, may get tired of protecting capital in distant places, and become unpleasant to capital. Will not the McKinley band become a little reflective, and reason with Destiny and get her to "let up" a little on Duty?

A learned professor writes in the *Independent* of "Bible Versions which the Philippines Will Need." He specifies ten leading languages or dialects, and shows what the Spaniards have done to reduce these languages to writing, and what translations of what parts of the Bible have already been made in the different vernaculars. But our missionary societies must first determine what kind of Bible, and how interpreted, they mean to give the Philippines. How would the Beatitudes read just now in Tagalog? And suppose the Visayans said they preferred the Imprecatory Psalms? A careful selection of texts might be thrown into the native churches along with the shells from our batteries—such as those about not resisting evil, and turning the other cheek; but it would be just like the obstinate natives to return the compliment with the address of Nathan to David, done in choice Pangasinan, or a Zambal version of swearing to your own hurt and changing not. But the whole subject is one filled with difficulties, and we must respectfully turn it over to the Methodist bishops in whose dioceses Canton, Ohio, and Washington, D. C., are situated. Apparently there will be needed a new Bible Revision for use in the Philippines. Where the old rendering was "Heal the sick and say unto them, The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you," we shall have to read, "Mow down the natives like grass and say unto them, The Syndicate has arrived."

A new circuit judgeship has recently been created by Congress in the third circuit, which comprises the States of New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, and the place has been offered by President McKinley to Senator Gray of Delaware, who has accepted it. There are various aspects of this incident. On general principles, it is most commendable that a Republican President should

give representation on the bench to the Democracy, at a time when the overwhelming majority of the Federal judges belong to the dominant party. The most creditable action of Benjamin Harrison, bitter partisan that he was, during his Presidential administration, was his giving three of the nine circuit judgeships at his disposition eight years ago to Democrats, and his appointment of a Southern Democrat to the Supreme bench. Mr. McKinley has been slow to imitate this excellent example. Indeed, only a few days ago, he refused to appoint a Democrat to another circuit judgeship when every argument of propriety demanded it—we mean the fifth circuit, comprising the States of Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas; all of which are overwhelmingly Democratic.

If a Democrat were to be appointed by a Republican President in this Northern circuit, it was essential that he should be a man rightly within the range of choice for a high judicial position. Mr. Gray is a lawyer of ability, whose training has been such as to qualify him for good service on the bench. A graduate of Princeton and a student at the Harvard Law School, he was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-three, and made such progress that by thirty-nine he was the efficient Attorney-General of his State. Upon Mr. Bayard's transference to President Cleveland's cabinet in 1885, Mr. Gray succeeded him in the Senate, where he has served ever since. During the greater part of this period he maintained worthily the traditions of his little commonwealth for eminent service in that body, and a year ago his appointment to the bench would have commanded unqualified approval. We regret being compelled to add that such praise cannot now be bestowed upon the selection. Since Mr. Gray was threatened with an early end of his public life through the Republican conquest of Delaware in 1896, his course has been that of a politician seeking personal advantage rather than that of a statesman who would hold high the standards of public and private duty. His course as a member of the Peace Commission, and still more his extraordinary attempts at defending conduct which had surprised his admirers, startled those who had thought most highly of him; while his astonishing action during the last few days in endorsing that notorious corruptionist Quay, even while the latter is awaiting trial on a criminal charge, as a worthy colleague for honest Senators, has caused a most painful shock.

Editors continue to demand offices, and Governors and President continue to yield to their demands. The Philadelphia *Inquirer* is the chief Quay organ in Pennsylvania, and Quay's Governor

has just appointed the *Inquirer's* editor Health Officer of Philadelphia. The Chicago *Times-Herald* is owned by Mr. H. H. Kohlsaat, who organized the movement to pay off Mr. McKinley's debts a few years ago, and claims that his paper is the special organ of the President. The President has just given the United States district judgeship in Chicago to Mr. Kohlsaat's brother—a man who would never have been thought of for the place if the owner of the *Times-Herald* had not insisted upon his having it. The surprising thing about such performances as these is not the action of the Governor or the President, who shrinks from repulsing a man in control of such a weapon as a daily newspaper, especially when he is under personal obligations to this man; but the state of mind of the editor who is capable of making such a demand, for either himself or one of his family. Nothing could render more ridiculous the conventional boasts about the independence and high-mindedness manifested in "the profession of journalism."

The mystery as to the postponement of Quay's trial, upon the request of the prosecuting authorities, is not as yet cleared up; but some things have leaked out which throw light upon the probable cause. An analysis of the jury panel developed the curious fact that an unusually large proportion of the number came from the Quay wards of Philadelphia. Investigation has shown that a number of personal and political friends of the accused were on the list. One of the panel was a former school-mate of the Senator's son, Dick Quay; a second, a clerk under Collector Thomas; and a third, a member of the Penrose Club, named after Quay's colleague in the Senate. One juror tells a story of having been approached by a politician in the interest of Quay, while another reports that the writ-server who served the summons for jury service on him, deliberately, directly, and distinctly stated to him that "he would be in a position to help Quay and to make a good thing for himself." The significant fact is also noted that, when the District Attorney announced that he had determined to postpone the trial for reasons which he deemed sufficient and which the presiding judge approved, none of the counsel for the defence pressed him to give those reasons or showed the least curiosity concerning them. Altogether it seems reasonably clear that the prosecution had good grounds for apprehension that the work of "jury-fixers" would have rendered conviction impossible if the trial had been opened on Monday last.

Quay has now played his last card in the game. From the first he has relied upon the help of Democratic legislators when success without them should have

been proved impossible. The great obstacle has been the fact that any Democratic member who should vote for Quay would be suspected of having been bribed. To relieve his Democratic allies from this suspicion, it was essential that good reasons for their action should be furnished by respectable men. This has now been done. Ex-Congressman Sibley, one of the leading Pennsylvania Democrats, who has been steadily working in Quay's interest, has induced a number of Democratic Senators and Representatives in Congress to write letters saying that, if no Democrat can be elected, the best course for Democratic legislators is to help Quay to another term. Most of these letters are of the sort that was to be expected. Senator Daniel of Virginia, for example, lauds Quay's "spirit of broad Americanism"—was there ever a political rascal who was not "a good American"? Senator Jones of Arkansas says that Quay "in great struggles stood for the best principles of government," which means that he helped the Democrats in pushing their silver schemes and defeating force-bill legislation. Senators Vest of Missouri and Mitchell of Wisconsin favor Quay's election as the best way of demoralizing the Republican party, believing that, as the latter says, it would "drive a wedge into the Republican party, splitting them wide open."

In the matter of bad legislation, Governor Roosevelt has his opponents in the Legislature surely on the hip. He can not only defeat all their measures, but he can block every one of their raids on the State Treasury through his power to veto separate items of the appropriation bills. It may be that they are foolish enough to think that he will consent to favor some of their jobs if they will promise to let the bills he favors become law; but if so, they do not know their man. He is determined to put a stop to the reckless extravagance which went on during the Black administration, and to prevent, by rigid economy, an increase in the burden of the taxpayers. If he can get good men into the State service—and all of his appointments have been of that character—can stop bad legislation, can detect and punish thieves and rascals, and can put a check to extravagant use of the public money, he can rest secure. Those achievements alone will send us a long distance ahead on the road to good government. As for the more important of the measures which the opposition is holding up—the civil-service, biennial-session, and police bills—we can get on another year or two without these. So far as the first is concerned, the recent decision of the Court of Appeals, placing the Tammany Municipal Commission under the jurisdiction of the State Commission, makes that far less necessary than it was before. It is only desirable now as the formal repeal of the Black

"starchless" law. As for the removed starch, the State Commission is putting that back in a way which leaves little to be desired. The police bill is not a pressing reform measure, and even the biennial-sessions resolution can wait.

There are unmistakable signs of business improvement throughout the country. The cotton manufacturers in city after city of New England are restoring wages to the point from which they were reduced a year ago. A new scale has just gone into effect in the coal mines of the Birmingham (Ala.) district, which gives a decided advance in pay to about 10,000 men. An increase of 10 per cent. in wages for 6,000 employees of the Pennsylvania Steel Company was announced last week, and the Maryland Steel Company made a similar advance, while notices of the same sort come from the West. The action of the cotton manufacturers is based upon improvement in the market for cotton goods, and the other advances of pay upon the higher price of iron. There are no better tests of the purchasing power of the country than the markets for cotton goods and iron, and an improvement in both at the same time is a development of the first importance.

Mr. Kipling's recovery brings relief as general as the anxiety with which his acute illness has been followed by the English-speaking world. No author of his years ever received such a tribute—a tribute, not so much to his achievement as to his promise. Great as the powers have been which he has displayed, and the delight which he has spread in widest commonalty, his most attentive readers have felt that he was only at the beginning of his career. He flashed brilliantly upon the horizon as a new light in the literary heavens. It has been his distinction to appear to be one of those happy writers who, by dint of a fresh handling of the old material, by walking among the oldest and mouldiest literary conventions with a native vigor, succeed in recreating for the world from time to time the vital charm of literature. And there has been no apparent exhaustion of Mr. Kipling's original force. He has held himself well in hand. Money bribes have not tempted him to write himself to the dregs. Such accounts as we have had of the severe conscientiousness with which he does his work, have encouraged us to hope that with him the best was yet to be, "the last of life for which the first was made."

The accession of Silvela to the head of the Government in Spain promises nothing, we fear, but a new shuffle of politicians. Bitter complaints are heard from Spanish business men that the Cortes wastes time in political squabbles, while measures of economy and reor-

ganization, so imperatively needed, are neglected. The Associated Chambers of Commerce of Spain have put forth an address in which they say, "If public opinion in this country were treated with the respect it deserves, our task would already be done; but this is not the case." They go on to say that, instead of retrenchment, they see an actual increase in the budget, and that the Cortes has not passed a single law calculated to "restore to the country the tranquillity it has lost." These Spanish business men protest against the continuance of "the complete severance between rulers and ruled, governors and subjects," and call for an agitation which will impress upon the authorities the necessity of listening to the intelligent and propertied classes. This commercial movement is a novel thing in Spain, and it is daily growing in power. Successful meetings are held in the principal cities, new organizations are formed in different sections of the country, and there is a rising indignation against the political class which so coolly tells the merchants not to meddle with politics, but to leave all that to the professional politicians.

The threatening announcement addressed by Lord Salisbury to the London County Council before the last municipal election which resulted so disastrously for the Conservatives, produced no results at the last session, but has at last taken shape in a bill introduced by Mr. Balfour. It is, however, something much milder than was expected. Lord Salisbury's speech led people to look for a total dissolution of the County Council and the substitution of a set of small municipalities. The Council had been guilty of "too much politics," which really meant that it had been guilty of sacrificing the West End too much to the East End, in its improvements. The improvements it proposed, or began, might be good things, but it was the East End which most needed them, while it was the West End which had to pay for them, the Council being rather radically disposed. Under Mr. Balfour's bill the Council is left standing, with paramount authority, but—as well as we can understand it, on his statement merely—it is to rule now over thirteen municipalities, to which the Council is to assign powers, and which are to execute any work that the Council says must be done in that particular locality. The city of London proper, the old city, he does not touch. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, the new Liberal leader, had not much to say against the bill, as described in this introductory statement, except to indulge in a slight fling at the great descent it made from Lord Salisbury's original threat. But this is not by any means the first time in which Lord Salisbury's subordinates have had to tell the world that his "bark was worse than his bite."

DESTINY'S LITTLE BILL.

"While our Destiny higher an' higher kep' mountin' (Though I guess folks 'll stare wen she bends her account in)."

This extract from the "Remarks of Increase D. O'Phace, Esquire, Reported by Mr. H. Biglow," should have been printed on Monday over the statement of the appropriations made by the Fifty-fifth Congress; for the grand total, \$1,566,890,16, includes the first payment on account in the settlement of a bill which reads:

"Uncle Sam to Manifest Destiny. Dr.
To one year of Glory.....\$500,000,000."

About \$500,000,000 is the amount fairly chargeable, Chairman Cannon and Mr. Dockery agree, to the Spanish war, but, of course, that account is by no means closed. It is, in fact, only just opened. It is the real "open door," through which an army of 100,000 men will march and a navy doubled in size will sail, and a colonial service will make its entrance—all the logical and inevitable result of the war, all very glorious, but all presenting with distressing regularity their little bill for services. We shall speedily have to reckon in also items which, by the desperate exertions and skilful tactics of Speaker Reed and his lieutenants in the House, were kept out of the account which Destiny handed in during the last session. They succeeded in staving off the Nicaragua Canal bill with its \$115,000,000 (easily expandible into \$200,000,000), the Hawaiian-cable scheme, with its \$2,500,000, and the precious ship-subsidy scheme of the disinterested Hanna, with its \$50,000,000 to \$100,000,000. But we shall hear from them all again in the next Congress; and with no "short session" to block the passage, it will go hard but they too will make their way through the open door of the Treasury.

Even in this Congress, with the Speaker using every atom of his autocratic power to repel the raiders on the Treasury, the amount of incidental extravagance has been scandalously large. It is a curious fact that the only way to defeat a huge steal is to let a number of little steals go through. To prevent grand larceny we have to wink at sneak-thieving. Senator Morgan bitterly reproached Speaker Reed for having consolidated a secure opposition to the Nicaragua Canal bill by allowing a great number of public-building bills and river-and-harbor items of a doubtful nature to slip by him. The charge seems to be well founded. At any rate, a surprising number of Representatives seemed to develop Roman firmness in opposition to squandering public money on the Nicaragua Canal, just in proportion to their being permitted to squander a good bit of it in a new post-office building for Squeedunk. The general result was, naturally, an increase in the ordinary expenses of the Government, as well as in the extraordinary expenses growing out of the war. The Fifty-

fourth Congress was not regarded exactly as an economical Congress, but the present one exceeded its swollen appropriations by no less than \$40,000,000, quite exclusive of the outlay made necessary by the war. It has been a session when "omnibus bills" were successful as never before. An omnibus bill, we may explain for the benefit of the inexpert, is a bill in which some honest item, like the French claims, carefully passed upon by the courts, is made a sort of carryall for every sort of claim that can possibly be loaded upon it. The result is an "omnibus" in which one respectable passenger sits surrounded by thieves.

Well, what is the outlook for the Treasury? What is the prospect for the taxpayer? Mr. Dockery of the appropriations committee goes into the subject more fully than Chairman Cannon does, though his figures do not differ widely from those presented by the latter in his speech in the House a couple of weeks ago. The Treasury deficit at the end of the current fiscal year will be hard upon \$160,000,000. For the fiscal year 1899-1900 it will be not less than \$100,000,000. The upshot will be that the Treasury will be compelled, a year hence, to look about for new revenue. The \$460,000,000 of money put into it by the sale of bonds during the last five years will have been exhausted. There will then be just three courses open—another issue of bonds, an issue of exchequer bills, which the Secretary is now authorized to make to the amount of \$100,000,000, or new taxes. We say nothing of possible retrenchment, for that is morally impossible for years to come. By 1901, then, the taxpayers of the country will begin to perceive more clearly than they do now what the white man's burden is when translated into terms of cold cash.

It is an essential part of the Imperialistic gospel that salvation for subject races comes high for those who do the saving. The English Imperialists are beginning to worry about this. They find their expenses for the Empire growing uncomfortably large. This year, for the first time in history, the expenses of the English army on a peace footing exceed \$100,000,000. We can give our cousins odds in this game and beat them hollow, as our army appropriations, including pensions, will easily be upwards of \$200,000,000. In England, however, they are nervous over the smaller sum. One troubled member of the Government said the other day, in a speech to a Tory club, that they ought to go about among the people explaining that "Imperialism could not be run on the cheap." But, as Mr. Morley retorted, this is entirely unnecessary, as "the tax-collector is a more telling missionary of that gospel." He is, and he will be busily preaching it throughout this fair land for many years to come.

SHADOWS OF ENGLISH IMPERIALISM.

The colonial Empire of Great Britain undoubtedly represents, on the whole, a great triumph of civilization and philanthropy. Looking back to what India was, what Egypt was, what Cyprus was, before they came under English rule, and comparing their state then with what it is now, no one can think of the transformation as other than beneficent. The waste places of the earth, the habitations of cruelty, which England has seized and into which she has introduced law and industry and the arts of commerce, were taken over by her not primarily in a spirit of benevolence, but in obedience to the expansive push of a highly specialized industrial nation demanding new markets abroad. Yet a higher morality and justice and charity have gone with the trade. Still, the picture is not without its shadows. Current discussions in the English press and in Parliament have clearly brought out facts which show what appear to be the inevitable incidental evils of government forcibly imposed by a superior race upon an inferior one.

The operations of the English army in the Sudan have, in a way, brought as much shame and compunction to philanthropic people in England as the exploits of our soldiers in the Philippines have caused Americans. After the sifting of all the evidence, it is clear that many of the wounded Dervishes were unnecessarily killed. Gen. Gatacre, who was at Omdurman, says that "the composition of the army was such as to demand a close watchfulness being kept over it," and admits that "the Jaalin friendlies had good reason to hate the Dervishes, and I have no doubt that when they got a chance on the sly of knocking a wounded Baggara on the head, they would do so." Still graver is the admission by Gen. Gatacre that British machine-guns swept the crowds of fugitives pressing out of Omdurman, among whom were many women and children. He acknowledges that it was an awful thing to do, killing women and children so as not to allow the Dervishes along with them to "escape unmolested," but justifies it as "one of those necessary consequences which have to be accepted in war." But it has made thousands of Englishmen wince.

Still more disquieting has been the effect of the official admissions respecting the treatment of the remains of the Mahdi. The Government acknowledged in the House of Commons that the Mahdi's body had been dragged from its grave and thrown into the Nile. The Government did not say, but it is asserted by the *Morning Post*, that the Mahdi's skull and some of his bones are "in possession of officers who took part in the campaign." In any case, the rifling of a venerated tomb would, in the course of war with a civilized Power, have been

regarded as a gross and disgraceful outrage. It seems hardly a good way to begin civilizing the Sudanese. The act has been defended as a necessity, in order to show that the Mahdi had not, as the Dervishes are said to have asserted, really gone bodily to Paradise, but that he was just an ordinary mortal and impostor, whose tomb it would be absurd to convert into a second Mecca. But even Tory papers protest that the end did not justify the means, and that it would have been better and, in the long run, wiser to refrain from a deed alien to the spirit of civilization. Characteristically enough, it is the Irish who have made the biggest row about the affair in Parliament, and who threaten to vote against the grant to the Sirdar in consequence.

Even in India, which is the finest example of English government of subject races, the story has its dark side. The natives have been immensely bettered, yet they are discontented—more so just now, it appears, than at any time since the Mutiny. The murder of English officials at Poona a year ago was a startling reminder of the passions that were astir among the people; and now comes the news that the witnesses whose testimony convicted the murderers have themselves been murdered. There is a growing popular agitation on the basis of "India for the Indians," and it is buttressed by such facts as that out of 39,000 officials in the Indian service, 28,000 are English, to 11,000 natives, the latter drawing salaries to the amount of \$15,000,000 a year, while the English salaries amount to \$75,000,000. "In reality," asserts Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M. P., "there are two Indias—the prosperous India of the British and other foreigners, and the poverty-stricken India of the Indians."

English Imperialism has also a way, like our own, of proving costly beyond all estimates. The Sudan expedition was undertaken on the solemn assurance of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that it was not to cost the British taxpayer one penny. It has, however, already cost him rather more than \$10,000,000; and an item of £215,000 for the Sudan is in the budget now before the Commons. Similarly of other colonial adventures in Africa. Supplementary estimates have an unpleasant way of turning up. For Uganda, for example, the estimate of last March was \$720,000. This, it was explained at the time, was unusually large, as a "mutiny" was in progress. Two weeks ago, nevertheless, an estimate of \$1,690,000 for Uganda was laid before Parliament. No wonder Mr. Morley asks where this thing is going to end.

THE CENSUS SETTLEMENT.

The *Congressional Record* of March 1 contains a report of the proceedings in the House by which the bill for taking

the next census was disposed of. There had been controversies between the two branches of Congress on certain points, which had been referred to a conference committee. Mr. Hopkins of Illinois was the ranking member of the House conferees, and in that capacity explained the settlement which had been reached.

The original House bill had provided for the establishment of a separate Bureau of the Census. The Senate insisted upon making it a branch of the Interior Department, so that the Secretary of that department would be its chief officer. But the change really amounts to nothing, as the Director of the Census is to have full control of the Bureau, and it will be practically a separate establishment.

The really vital questions at issue were as to the disposition of the spoils. These were the only questions in which Representatives had any concern, and their concern in these was very lively. The first issue was as to the supervisors, of whom there are to be 300. It had been proposed at first that these officials should be appointed by the President absolutely. The Senate demanded that the advice and consent of that body should be required. The House conferees yielded to this demand. But the question was at once raised whether under this system the Senators would not seize more than their fair share of these 300 offices. "Does not the gentleman think," asked a colleague of Mr. Hopkins, "that under that proviso of the agreement that gives the Senate the right of confirmation as to supervisors, the chances are that the Senate will have the advantage as to that particular class of appointees over the House of Representatives?" The Illinois Representative was hopeful that this deplorable result would not follow. "I think not," he said, and added: "We found on examination that all of the previous census bills had provided for confirmation of supervisors by the Senate, and, it being an unbroken practice, they were unwilling to yield, and we felt that in the interest of the public service we had better agree to the Senate amendment in that respect."

Much more important was the question as to the thousands of appointments that are to be made in the Washington office. This is the provision of the bill:

"That the chief clerk and the chief statisticians provided for in section 4 of this act, and all other employees authorized by this act below the Assistant Director of the Census, shall be appointed by the Director of the Census, subject to such examination as said Director may prescribe: Provided, That no examination shall be required in the case of enumerators or special agents, nor of employees below the grade of skilled laborers at \$600 per annum."

It was this section of the bill which chiefly interested the members, and Mr. Hopkins was pressed for a full explanation as to whether the places were to be "under the civil service"—that being the almost invariable Congressional method of expressing the idea that of-

fices are under the competitive system established through the operation of the civil-service law. This was the way the discussion on the point began:

"Mr. Dockery—What provision is made as to the appointments? Are they under the civil service?"

"Mr. Hopkins—The appointments are not under the civil service, but it is provided that, aside from the enumerators and special agents, the appointments must be made on merit, and that the appointees must first pass an examination provided for by the Director of the Census."

But Representatives could not afford to have the slightest doubt left on this point, and so one after another pushed the inquiry in this fashion:

"Mr. Brosius—The examinations are under the control of the Director?"

"Mr. Hopkins—They are under the control of the Director. The language is substantially the language of the House bill."

"Mr. Brosius—Such examinations as he shall direct?"

"Mr. Hopkins—Yes."

"Mr. Handy—These examinations are entirely noncompetitive, are they not?"

"Mr. Hopkins—They are supposed to be noncompetitive, but will be of a character that will insure the highest degree of merit and efficiency."

The conclusion of the whole matter was expressed in a graphic phrase which Gov. Black of New York has made well understood throughout the country:

"Mr. Handy—The starch is all washed out of the civil-service provision, is it not?"

"Mr. Steele—I hope so."

"Mr. Hopkins—Well, I do not know about the starch."

Such was the low plane upon which the House of Representatives treated the arrangements for a great national enterprise, which is to reflect credit or disgrace upon the United States, not only in 1900, but whenever in the future the census volumes shall be consulted, at home or abroad. The only questions in which Congressmen are interested are whether the census places are to be made spoils, and whether Representatives are to stand as good a chance at the spoils as Senators. In short, Congress has done all that it could to eliminate expert ability from the Census Bureau and to wreck this great work.

The sole hope of avoiding this wreck rested with the President. The right sort of Director might still save the census. The law provides that appointments shall be made "subject to such examination as said Director may prescribe." Under this provision he can prescribe a standard which will rule out the whole gang of worthless protégés of the spoilsmen whom Senators and Representatives expect to unload upon him. Mr. McKinley might have secured for the position an almost ideal man in the person of Carroll D. Wright, who stands at the head of our statisticians, who has shown himself a first-class executive, and who has had the experience so desirable for the work in 1900 through his completion of the last census after Mr. Porter's withdrawal. That "Destiny" in whose hands Mr. McKinley says we are helpless, would appear to have made it inevitable that the President should

nominate him for Director, simply because "Providence" had trained him to do the work in the best possible manner. But "Destiny" and "Providence" seem in this instance to have been worsted by the demands of a persistent office-seeker, who insisted upon a reward for services to the President in securing his nomination and election for the present term, and whose coöperation is desirable in the political work that must be done with reference to a second term. So the place goes to ex-Gov. Merriam of Minnesota, as the only thing left in the President's gift "equally as good" as other offices which this politician has persistently but vainly sought since November, 1896. It would be ludicrous if it were not so outrageous that a man should be made director of a great statistical enterprise who has never had the slightest experience in statistical work, and who is expected to run the Bureau upon the same spoils principles which alone secured a moment's consideration of his name. For the second time a Republican Administration debauches the census in the interest of party supremacy.

THE LIBRARIANSHIP OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

The present is a critical moment in the history of the Library of Congress, which is without an executive head. The man who shall finally be appointed to this responsible position will affect the Library, for weal or for woe, for a long generation. Even under ordinary conditions the responsibility of this appointment would be great, but there are peculiar circumstances connected with the librarianship at this time which make the situation unusually grave, and which demand the most serious consideration.

On the 30th of June, 1897, the Library of Congress consisted of a collection of books, maps, and such art works, engravings, etc., as had been received through the operation of the copyright law, crowded into inadequate quarters in the Capitol, with a staff of forty-two people, consisting simply of a chief and his clerks; the force being practically without organization. On January 1, 1898, six months later, the Library found itself spread out in its new, palatial quarters on Capitol Hill, covering acres of ground, with a force, besides the Librarian, of one hundred and thirty-two people, divided by legislative enactment into nine departments under subordinate heads. While the material part of the Library was thus promptly housed in one of the solidest structures in the United States, the library organization itself, formed only to the extent of filling the places provided by Congress, was like a huge, inflated balloon wobbling about in mid-air until those numerous anchor lines which true organization require should have been attached to its firm, material base and drawn properly

taut. The last six months of 1897 (the first six months of the reorganization of the Library) were consumed in making the new appointments required by the act of reorganization and in removing the collections into the new building—two difficult tasks, the proper execution of which would have fully justified this amount of time. Since that period more than a year has passed; and with a view to a correct understanding of what will devolve upon the new Librarian, it is desirable to state frankly what the situation is at this moment.

The late Librarian failed to adjust the elaborate and intricate organization to the great structure, and, although nineteen months have elapsed since the reconstitution of the Library, the departments, with the exception of the three principal ones, have not even been located, and, excepting the reading-room and to some extent the Copyright Office, none is settled and fully equipped for its work, but is, as it were, merely camping in some one of the magnificent halls of the Library building, with such temporary fittings and furnishings as could be obtained. Here, then, is one important task awaiting the new Librarian.

Of necessity, the act reorganizing the Library was drawn in advance of the removal to the new building, and without the aid of the knowledge which is gained only by experience in administering a large library on modern lines. It is consequently noticeably deficient in some directions. Salaries were provided for positions which are still non-existent, and some of which are likely to remain so; while other positions which a trained librarian, experienced in handling a library of parallel importance, would at once have seen to be absolutely necessary, were omitted altogether. The act referred to provides for a librarian and a force of 132 clerks. The duties of the librarian, besides the proper general supervision, involve the expenditure of all moneys appropriated for the purchase of books and supplies; and yet there was no provision for so important an adjunct as a "chief clerk." This defect has been made good only in this year's appropriations. The act failed to make any provision for an order and supply department. Every librarian of experience knows the importance attaching to this division of a library, and how great is the necessity for its proper equipment. But this necessity is especially great in the case of the Library of Congress because of the arrears in the book-purchasing, which will require special efforts in order that the lamentable gaps in the collection shall be made good. It should be remembered, also, that, as the copyright law provides the Library with copies of the ordinary current publications, the buying must be largely of foreign books, and must be supplement-

ed by well-devised and intelligently carried-out methods for filling up gaps in the equally important classes of literature not obtainable by purchase. In other words, this department of the Library should be one of weight, with a well-instructed, competent man at its head, supported by an adequate clerical force.

At present, the serious difficulties due to inadequate provisions for administration, such as we have cited, are met as best they can be by extemporized and unsatisfactory expedients. The incoming librarian must face the difficult problem of carrying on this great institution with an ill-adjusted and insufficient clerical equipment, until he can clearly formulate the urgent necessity of the Library in these particulars, properly present the same to Congress, and obtain provision for its administration commensurate with its needs. It is to be borne in mind that the Library, so far as its collection of books, maps, engravings, newspapers, and music is concerned, stands first of all the libraries in the country, while in its provisions as to administration it is probably behind the half-dozen leading municipal libraries in the United States.

But, serious as are the problems outlined above, the new incumbent will be met by yet another even more grave and fundamental, and which should be dealt with at the start if justice is to be done to the work of the Library, or true success secured for himself as its executive head. As yet, no comprehensive, coherent scheme of administration for the Library seems to have been applied or even framed. The result is, that there is neither the coördination nor the cohesion desirable in the different divisions of the Library, nor do they make a homogeneous whole or intelligently co-operate with one another. As a consequence, there is waste by reason of duplication of work and because the different departments work toward diverse ends. This is probably not from want of desire to coöperate, but simply because no general plan of work has been established so that each division of the Library has its understood part, and the work accomplished in any one department adds to the general advancement of the whole. No satisfactory result can be obtained in the long run without some such comprehensive scheme of administration; and it is clear that the new librarian will need to devise one first of all.

In doing this he will encounter his most serious difficulty. We have already referred to the inadequacy of the force, but this is exhibited even more in quality than in quantity. The selection of the present heads of departments in the Library of Congress was undoubtedly conscientious; but, as a consequence of giving way to the strong political and social pressure brought to bear in

behalf of incompetent or otherwise disqualified clerks in subordinate positions, these executive heads were left without proper material. The evil is not to be measured simply by the number of incompetents. The method of appointment instills an insidious poison which in time contaminates the whole force, rendering discipline practically impossible, and inevitably leading to disaster.

CARL SCHURZ.

Carl Schurz, whose seventieth birthday was publicly celebrated on Thursday night, is probably the only German-born citizen whose literary and political careers in the United States have both been a decided success. We do not mean to say that no other has equalled him in capacity, but no other has possessed nearly the same command of the English language; and this, in an English-speaking country, must of course be the first condition of eminence in public life. Among Mr. Schurz's various gifts, indeed, the gift of language must be considered the most remarkable. The number of Germans who speak English, and speak it well, is, of course, great. There are many Germans who make a respectable figure at the bar, but we know of none except Schurz who can claim a place in the first rank of American orators, without having to struggle for it, without having to argue about it, without having to explain why he ought to have it. There is really nothing in his speech for which he has to claim indulgence except a slight accent. We have been present when we knew he had been taken unawares, and when extempore speech was a necessity if he was to speak at all, and have listened to the faultless flow of his English with a feeling of amazement.

But skill in language alone would not make an American orator of Mr. Schurz's kind. There lie, behind all speech, regions of national or race mind, fields of political ethics, in which, if you do not wander in youth, you rarely wander afterwards; things which have to become possible or impossible to you through habit and association, not through books or instruction; things which are most easily described under the general term local political sense, the possession of which alone enables you to know how the millions around you of all classes and conditions are feeling. This is as necessary to an orator as language, perhaps more so. Without it, talk he never so well, he talks as a foreigner, and, too, can only grope his way to the national heart. This quality Schurz has, and no other German who has come among us has, within our knowledge. He knows how Americans feel without having it explained to him. He has got the Anglo-Saxon point of view. It may not always be the right view, or the view most easy to

defend artistically, but it is the view you must understand if you mean to be a political orator, and Schurz understands it. He was thus equipped as no other German has been for a career of public usefulness, and he began early. He was luckily but a youth when he was exiled from his native country, and he saw without hesitation what a country this might be to a man of his peculiar talents. He never wavered in his allegiance to it in the succeeding eventful years. Judged by the usual American political tests, he was not a success, for his official career has been short and troubled. He did a little diplomacy, a little soldiering, a little legislation, and a little administration—it was all well done, but it was not done in the way which, in the present conditions, gives a man a firm hold on American official life.

In short, he has not been a successful politician, as the term politician is understood among us to-day. Of him it is not true that thrift has ever followed fawning. He has never spoken for any party, and he has never had any party behind him, and unhappily continuous service is rarely possible in American public life in these days, unless a man devotes himself to a party and sees all public questions through party spectacles. But we do not think we exaggerate when we say that the better a man serves his party in our time, the less of a statesman he becomes. Schurz has never been willing to sacrifice the loftier position and the more enduring memory. He always sowed for the immortal gods. We cannot recall a single incident in his long career which one might cite as a distinct failure of judgment except the support he gave to Greeley's unfortunate candidacy in 1872. But even this mistake had virtue in it, for a host of good men saw in Greeley the promise of better things.

From the day Schurz landed in the country to this, his seventieth year, we can think of no good cause that he has not helped, no stream of evil which he has not sought to stem, and there have been many. No moralist has ever had a moment's doubt on which side of any public question he would stand. There was never any fear that he would come in when the "party bell rang," unless it rang for truth and liberty and justice. He was never ready to sacrifice his personality to any cause unless he was right well assured that it was a good one. We might cite many instances in which his eloquence served, or sought to serve, the state, but this task was well performed by the orators who portrayed his life at the late banquet. We seek simply to hail with thanks and congratulations a man who, in closing an illustrious career, can truly say that from prime to eve he has obeyed only one voice, and that has been the voice

which, since the dawn of civilization, has called the race to higher things.

THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.

OXFORD, February 20, 1899.

As one looked round the spacious and well-filled International Hall of the Café Monico in Piccadilly Circus on February 11, on the occasion of the annual dinner of the London School of Economics and Political Science, one could hardly help rubbing one's eyes with a certain amazement. The School is only four years old, and, as most of those present were undoubtedly aware, it was in a sense the creation of the Fabian Society—that interesting body of middle-class and opportunist Socialists whose name, before imperialism dawned upon England, was in every one's mouth. In this sense only the creation of the Fabian Society, let me hasten to say, that it was by two or three of its leading members in their individual capacity that the School was planned, and the few hundred pounds obtained for initial expenses. Still, one might have supposed that that would have been enough to damn the undertaking; and yet the predominant note of the dinner in question was not merely that of success; it was that of respectability, so dear to the British bosom. That Sir Frederick Pollock, one of the few jurists known on both sides of the Atlantic, should take the chair, might have been an act of chivalry; that Mr. McKinnon Wood, the chairman of the London County Council, and Lord Reay, the chairman of the London School Board, should propose the toast of the School, might, perhaps, have been expected, for in both those bodies Progressive majorities are now in power; but that a great judge like Lord Justice Vaughan Williams, and a great civil servant like Sir Courtenay Ilbert, should come to express their satisfaction, was, indeed, significant. And when, from the opposite ends of the hall, first Mr. Bryce, that incarnation of sound sense, and then Mr. Leonard Courtney, that pillar of economic "orthodoxy," rose to give the School their blessing, one felt that its victory was indeed complete.

But such a success cannot have been won by mere craft; it is the just reward of the honesty of the creators of the School, among whom Mr. Sidney Webb deserves the first place. They said that they intended the School to be absolutely independent of all economic or political creeds, and they have kept their word; they secured as its Director Mr. W. A. S. Hewins, who, if he has a bias at all, is probably an individualist at heart; and Mr. Hewins has managed to obtain the services, for longer or shorter courses of lectures, of a surprisingly large number of the men who are generally recognized as competent to speak on their several topics. To mention some of those who this year are giving regular and systematic instruction, besides the Director, who teaches economic history, Mr. Edwin Cannan undertakes "the groundwork of economic theory," and Prof. Foxwell, trade, banking, and currency; Mr. Acworth lectures on railway economics, Mr. Lowes Dickinson and Mr. Graham Wallas on political theory, and Mr. Hubert Hall on palmography. All of these are names well known to American scholars. Shorter courses are given occasionally by such men as Prof. Edgeworth and Mr. R. H. I. Palgrave.

Teachers like these have naturally attract-

ed students. The total number of individuals registered for one or more courses in 1895 was 285; it is now over 400; of these there are some 80 who are pursuing a definite two-years' course and give the greater part of their time to it. Among the students there are perhaps fifty of the junior members of the civil service, taking courses on finance or other subjects bearing upon their official duties, and a like number of railway officials are taking railway economics; a score or more of the servants of the County Council and of the vestries attend lectures on municipal administration, and another score of bank clerks come to those on banking. In all these subjects a great deal of systematic instruction is possible, quite aloof from mere "matters of opinion." There is evidently an increasing amount of what the Germans call Administration to be got through somehow in a modern community; and he would be a pessimist indeed who held that experience had absolutely nothing to teach us. As all the courses of the School are given in the evening, there is no reason why an increasingly large number of the younger officials in London should not benefit by its instruction—especially if they suspect that their official superiors look with favor upon it; and herein will lie, perhaps, the main usefulness of the School. It is this that justifies the Technical Education Board of the London County Council in making the grant which now furnishes the School with its largest source of income. But it does not appeal to officials alone; and it is significant that it is already attracting both men and women who have been engaged in charitable work in "settlements" and elsewhere, and who begin to feel the want of some systematic study of the problems they once attacked with ignorant ardor.

Of the future of the School the Director and the Committee have noble visions. They have already helped in the work of reforming the examination requirements of the University of London; and they anticipate that in the near future the School will practically be recognized as the Faculty of Economics and Political Science in the teaching University about to be established. This is an anticipation in which Mr. Bryce and Lord Reay took pains to make clear that they both share. At present, moreover, the School has to be content to claim but a small part of the time, and to contribute but a small increment to the income, of teachers whose main obligations are to other institutions, such as the older Universities. But, of course, the School will not be worthy of its name until it can of itself provide a career and an income for a body of eminent scholars. That time is not in the immediate future, but it may reasonably be looked forward to.

Meanwhile, it is already worth while to ask what the School has to offer to American students. It will not be thought to be a reflection upon the School when it is said that men of ability, who have duly benefited by the teaching already provided in half-a-dozen or more of the American universities, will find the greater part of the ordinary regular instruction somewhat too elementary for their needs. Those who have taken their bachelor's degree in other subjects, and are beginning their study of economics as graduates, might assuredly do well to spend a year at the School, though, as one might expect, the lecturers have usually but little special knowledge of American conditions. But the

persons who will profit most by the existence of the new institution, are those who think of coming to England to investigate some particular group of concrete facts as to English commercial or industrial conditions. In the rooms, quiet enough during the day, which the School has secured overlooking the Thames (at No. 10 Adelphi Terrace, W. C.), they will find a useful collection of printed material. The "London Library of Political Science," which is in process of formation, aims especially at the collection of reports, blue books, circulars, annual statements, balance sheets, etc., etc.—all that "literature," in short, which it is usually so difficult to get hold of in sufficiently large quantities for purposes of comparison and criticism. And as the Director makes it his business "to keep in touch" with business men and officials all over the kingdom, there is perhaps no one to whom a student, with proper credentials, can go with a like certainty of obtaining the advice and the introductions necessary for his purpose. Already this is realized in other countries; and an American student who comes with such objects in view can even now exchange ideas with men from Brussels and Berlin and Munich and Moscow.

W. J. A.

Correspondence.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS ON QUIXOTIC IMPERIALISM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: On the 4th of July, 1831, John Quincy Adams delivered an oration at Washington, his subject being "The Mission of America." In this address he used language which, it seems to me, it is worth while to bring before the public just now:

"She [America] has abstained from interference in the concerns of others, even when the conflict has been for principles to which she clings, as to the last vital drop that visits the heart. She has seen that, probably for centuries to come, all the contests of that Acedama, the European world, will be contests between inveterate power and emerging right. Wherever the standard of freedom and independence has been or shall be unfurled, there will her heart, her benedictions, and her prayers be. But she goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and vindicator only of her own. She will recommend the general cause by the countenance of her voice and the benignant sympathy of her example. She well knows that, by once enlisting under other banners than her own, were they even the banners of foreign independence, she would involve herself, beyond the power of extrication, in all the wars of interest and intrigue, of individual avarice, envy, and ambition, which assume the color and usurp the standard of freedom. The fundamental maxims of her policy would insensibly change from liberty to force. The frontlet upon her brows would no longer beam with the ineffable splendor of freedom and independence; but in its stead would soon be substituted an imperial diadem, flashing in false and tarnished lustre the murky radiance of dominion and power. She might become the dictatrix of the world; she would no longer be the ruler of her own spirit."

I applaud the strong fight which the *Nation* is making against the new craze, and believe future elections will show, if the Democrats have sense enough to give the voters a chance, that the people are more level-headed than the money-grabbers think. The impression is gaining ground that the "war for humanity" was begun and carried on for the

benefit of those who are already dangerously rich and powerful. If "imperialism" is successful, the above quotation from ex-President Adams will take its place among inspired prophecies.

T. A.

SANDUSKY, OHIO, March 4, 1899.

THE CLERGY AND THE WAR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Incidentally you have drawn attention to the attitude of the Christian clergy of the United States with respect to the war debauch which has swept the country during the past year. In this city, with hardly an exception, the sentence of the ministers of the Christian religion, like that of Moloch in the infernal council, was and is "for open war." This was alluded to by Gov. Pingree a few weeks ago when he introduced Dr. Fuller of Boston, an eloquent missionary of peace, to a small audience of 300, assembled in the Armory Hall of this city. Whatever else Mr. Pingree may be, he has from the first been a consistent denouncer of the present war of conquest. Upon introducing Dr. Fuller, he said in substance: Where are the ministers to-night? Why are they not here when we meet to talk of peace? I remember a few months ago, when the cry was "War! war!" that they nearly trampled upon one another in their endeavor to reach the platform and pour forth the volumes of their warlike eloquence. Not one is here to-night!

As I listened, I thought of the noble words which Landor puts into the mouth of Melanchthon:

"*Melanchthon.* Cannot we agree to show the nations of the world that the whole of Christianity is practicable, although the better parts never have been practised, no, not even by the priesthood, in any single one of them? Bishops, confessors, saints, martyrs have never denounced to king or people, nor ever have attempted to delay or mitigate, the most accused of crimes, the crime of Cain, the crime, indeed, whereof Cain's was only a germ, the crime of fratricide, war, war, devastating, depopulating, soul-slaughtering, heaven-defying war. Alas! the gentle call of mercy sounds feebly, and soon dies away, leaving no trace on the memory; but the swelling cries of vengeance, in which we believe we imitate the voice of heaven, run and reverberate in loud peals and multiplied echoes along the whole vault of the brain. All the man is shaken by them; and he shakes all the earth.

"*Calvin.* I beseech you, do you, who guide and govern so many, do you (whatever others may) spare your brethren.

"*Melanchthon.* Doubtful as I am of lighter texts, blown backward and forward at the opening of opposite windows, I am convinced and certain of one grand, immovable verity. It sounds strange; it sounds contradictory.

"*Calvin.* I am curious to hear it.

"*Melanchthon.* You shall. This is the tenet. There is nothing in earth divine beside humanity."

If the Rev. John Watson, alias Ian Mac-laren, be accepted as the spokesman of the Christian priesthood, a sufficient answer, as delivered at Philadelphia a few days ago, is, "In our time we have had considerable areas of the earth's surface thrust by Providence upon us." Thus it seems possible that strangers to the real parties in interest, by Providential dispensation, may transfer whole empires, together with their inhabitants, by simple gift *inter vivos*. By the same logic, the thief who steals the Reverend Dr. Watson's purse will offer a complete defence to a charge of robbery by pleading that the purse was providentially thrust upon him by the Almighty.

Dismissing the ethical unrest involved in

the act of taking possession of "considerable areas" of other people's property, one is tempted, at the risk of being thought irreverent and impertinent, to ask why the Divine Donor imparted such full and perfect knowledge of his real-estate transactions to the reverend gentleman, when he has seen fit to leave innumerable other souls to grope in Egyptian darkness in the endeavor to make out the links in the chain of title.

"May the Lord deliver us from all cant and damnable palaver."

WILLIAM H. HOCKADAY.

DETROIT, MICH., March 4, 1899.

"THE LIMITS OF OUR KNOWLEDGE."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: An interesting letter in your issue of March 2 raises, in a special case, a question by no means new, and of much wider application. In using a language no longer spoken, to what extent may we properly be called upon to produce examples from its classic writers for the very words and phrases which we employ; and how far are we justified in following natural and unstrained analogies? How much, for example, may we take for granted with regard to forms not actually found in what remains to us of classical Latin? May we, or may we not, use a form of expression analogous to one found in some classic author, but not identical with it? There is an antecedent probability that the wisest course is one equally removed from license and from slavishness. That we cannot freely extend idioms even in our own language needs no demonstration. We speak of a stream "running dry"; we should hardly venture to say "flowing dry," although, in regard to streams, "to run" and "to flow" are synonyms. On the other hand, when we have occasion to use any form, however strange, of any verb in the language—such an uncouth form, let us say, as "thou circumventedst"—do we ever think it necessary to justify ourselves by a precedent? Do we even care whether anybody has ever used this particular form before? And why should we think that the ancients felt otherwise? In Latin there are verbs known to be defective. We do not attempt to use, say, the first and second persons plural of the present indicative of *sto*, a verb known to be defective, although all the rest of that tense is found. But does this in any way imply that, in the case of common verbs, not known to be defective, we dare not use whatever form we may need of a tense against which we have no warning? Must I find *amaretis* in some author of repute before I venture to use it? No one will say so. In short, when the ancient grammarians have left us no warning that a verb or noun is defective, we cannot be required to limit ourselves wholly to forms of that verb and cases of that noun which, if challenged, we could produce out of some classic author. This would be, not merely to acknowledge a language to be dead, but wantonly to kill it. Let us now apply these general ideas to the letter referred to. We shall see that the learned writer has joined together two cases which do not stand in the same predicament.

With regard to the impersonal use of the passive infinitive of *ire* with the first or accusative supine of purpose to form a substitute for the absent passive infinitive, it is evidently impossible, if there is no supine; and, while I believe that the assumption that a supine never existed if not found in our

scanty remains of the language is open to criticism, I am ready to say that it is safer to avoid using it, because we know many verbs, and whole classes of verbs, that have no supine. But I cannot but regard your correspondent's remarks on *fore ut* as downright pessimism. For I think I may defy any one to give a respectable reason why *fore ut* should be right with one verb and not with all verbs not known to be defective in the required form of the subjunctive. As to Plautus and Terence, that is no doubt specially true of their conversational language which is true in a less degree even of literary Latin of the most formal type, that periphrastic forms were avoided willingly, if not sedulously. Instead of "Argyrippus spero *fore ut possit exorari*," the comic dialogue prefers to say "Argyrippus *exorari spero poterit*." And so I should be likely to express myself on the football ground, in the case proposed by your correspondent, "Nostri, credo, vincentur." But I am not ready to admit that I should not be equally right in using the formula *fore ut* with this or any other verb not known to be defective in the form required. And, as to what Cicero or Quintilian would think of it, that is a question which may be put off to the day when we can confidently say just what Chaucer would think of such perfectly proper expressions as "mental gymnastics" in the letter referred to. In all things, we poor mortals must be content to use partial knowledge under pain of never doing anything. We all write, more or less, in our own language; but which of us can say that he knows his mother tongue perfectly, even as now spoken? Have we not all heard of that learned grammarian who picked flaws in the Latinity of Cicero himself, and did not hesitate to call him an Allobrogian? FRANCIS PHILIP NASH.

GENEVA, N. Y., March 4, 1899.

"THE LAW OF THE ROAD."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The frontispiece to *Harper's Magazine* for January, an equestrian picture of Gen. N. B. Forrest, illustrating Dr. Wyeth's excellent article upon the Confederate cavalry leader, mentioned in your issue of the 9th inst., struck me at first as a palpable blunder on the part of the artist. Several "horse-ey" men of my club failed to see what at a glance was obvious to me: the rider grasps his reins with his right hand. I made merry over the artist, and fully committed myself before the text had shown me that Forrest was a left-handed man and wore his sabre upon his right side. I had served near Forrest at Shiloh (Pittsburgh Landing), and had known him quite intimately after the war. Although I could detect at a glance that the bridle was held in the wrong hand, I had failed to observe that the living man was left-handed.

This led me to reflect on road law. When, in 1865-'66, in the course of my law studies, I read that "Keep to the left" is the law of the road in England, I supposed it was a mistake of writer or printer. It was inconceivable how the colonists, fresh from the mother country, could exactly reverse one of the most useful of English customs, most in daily use, and most likely to be, traditionally and by habit, preserved. That custom must first have grown up among horsemen, long before vehicles were in use. Most men are right-handed. To mount upon the left required that the left should be the bridle-

hand, thus leaving the stronger hand free to draw the sword. Awkward as it is now to mount upon the right, or to hold the bridle with the right hand, I can conceive of no other reason for it than the necessity for leaving the strong right hand free for use.

This granted, two equally good reasons appear why "Keep to the left" should have been the law of the road. It is easier and more natural to draw the rein to the bridle-hand side. My recollection of riding days is that horsemen lost by night make the lost-circuit to the left, as a lame man gyrates to the side of his shorter leg. The stronger reason, perhaps, is that the mounted cavalier, in those palmy days, had good reason to have the approaching traveller upon his right. Thus he could, at once, draw his sword from the left and cut or thrust upon his right, or strong-hand, side.

These reasons are entirely satisfactory to me as to the origin of the English "law of the road." They leave wholly unexplained the more curious and more interesting question, Why did our colonial ancestors change it to "Keep to the right"? The law-books are silent altogether as to that. The older text-books devote but meagre space to roads and highways. Blackstone gives little more than three pages to the subject of easements. In Elliot on Roads and Streets, p. 618: "In England the customary rules of driving are: 1st. In meeting, each party must keep to the left." In a note it is said:

"This rule is thus stated in an old rhyme:

"'Tis a law of the road,
Though a paradox quite,
If you keep to the left,
You'll always be right."

The author continues: "In this country a different custom or system of rules has grown up. . . . The first and most important rule is, that, in meeting, each party shall keep to the right." Cases are cited from Delaware, Maine, Michigan, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Wisconsin. It is also laid down that, in the absence of a statute, proof of this custom is not necessary, for the courts will take judicial cognizance of it. In the American and English 'Encyclopædia of Law,' vol. 12, p. 957, the rule is laid down and cases are cited from Maine, Massachusetts, New York, Kentucky, New Hampshire, and Connecticut.

The New England colonists were not, at least for some years, I think, a riding or a driving people. The Virginia colonists were a riding people almost from the first settlements. I might suspect that the latter had, at least at first, brought over the traditional rule of the mother country. But all the authorities seem to agree that the rule is universal in America, "Keep to the right." I can find no warrant for a belief that it has ever been otherwise in any of the colonies.

H. M. DOAK.

NASHVILLE, TENN., February 20, 1899.

Notes.

Doubleday & McClure Co.'s spring announcements include the Temple Edition of Dickens's Works in forty volumes (in connection with Dent & Co.); 'With Sampson through the War,' by W. A. M. Goode; 'Life Masks of Great Americans,' by Charles H. Hart; 'The United States of Europe: On the Eve of the Parliament of Peace,' by W. J. Stead; 'The Real Hawaii,' by Lucien Young, U. S. N.; 'How to Plan the Home Grounds,'

by S. Parsons; 'Within the Hedge,' verse, by Martha Gilbert Dickinson; 'Nature's Garden,' an aid to our knowledge of wild flowers, by Nellie Blanchan; and 'A Voyage to the Moon,' by Cyrano de Bergerac.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co.'s list embraces 'James Russell Lowell and his Friends,' by Edward Everett Hale, profusely illustrated; a 'Life of Edwin M. Stanton,' by George C. Gorham, in two volumes; 'Thaddeus Stevens,' by Samuel W. McCall; 'Charlotte Cushman: Her Letters and Memories of her Life,' by Emma Stebbins; 'The Life and Work of Thomas Dudley, Second Governor of Massachusetts,' by Augustine Jones; 'The End of an Era,' by John S. Wise, son of the late Gov. Henry A. Wise of Virginia; 'England and America after Independence, 1783-1892,' by Edward Smith; 'Letters of Carlyle to his Younger Sister,' edited by Charles T. Copeland; 'The Conjure Woman,' by Charles W. Chesnutt; 'Under the Beech Tree,' poems by Arlo Bates; 'Hermione, and Other Poems,' by the late Edward Rowland Sill; 'The Throne-Makers'—Bismarck, Napoleon III., Koosuth, and Garibaldi—by William Roscoe Thayer; 'Through Nature to God,' by John Fluke; 'Psychology and Life,' by Hugo Münsterberg; 'The Antigone of Sophocles,' translated into English by Prof. George H. Palmer of Harvard; and 'Corn Plants,' by Frederick Le Roy Sargent.

G. P. Putnam's Sons are printing 'Two Women in the Klondike,' by Mrs. Mary E. Hitchcock, widow of the late Commander Hitchcock, U. S. N., and Miss Van Buren, a great-grandniece of President Van Buren. The illustrations will be copious.

The fifth volume (1821-1837) of McMaster's 'History of the People of the United States' is forthcoming from D. Appleton & Co., along with 'A History of American Privateers,' by Edgar S. Maclay; 'Admiral Porter,' by Prof. J. R. Soley; 'The Reminiscences of a Very Old Man (1807-1897),' by the late veteran engraver John Sartain; 'The Principles of Taxation,' by David A. Wells; 'Outlines of the Comparative Physiology and Morphology of Animals,' by Joseph Le Conte; 'Montaigne's Education of Children,' by Dr. L. R. Rector; and 'Idylls of the Sea,' by Frank T. Bullen.

Prof. Macvane's translation of Seignobos's 'Political History of Contemporary Europe, 1814-1896'; 'Elements of Finance,' by Prof. William M. Daniels of Princeton; 'Talks to Teachers,' by Prof. William James of Harvard; 'Economics,' collected papers of the late Gen. Francis A. Walker; 'Standard English Poems,' selected by Henry S. Pancoast; and a one-volume unillustrated edition of Britton's 'Flora,' are among the works soon to be issued by Henry Holt & Co.

The biography of Elizabeth of Austria is announced for publication by Harper & Bros. under the title, 'The Martyrdom of an Empress.' The author is a lady of the Austrian Court, one of the very few admitted to the intimate confidence of Elizabeth. From the same house will issue also 'An Incident, and Other Happenings,' a volume of short stories by Sarah Barnwell Elliott; 'Espiritu Santo,' a novel of operatic life in Paris, by Henrietta Dana Skinner, daughter of Richard H. Dana, author of 'Two Years before the Mast'; and 'The Jacksonian Epoch,' by Charles H. Peck, being the political history of the United States from the battle of New Orleans to Tyler's accession to the Presidency.

The Clarendon Press, Oxford (New York:

Henry Frowde), has in active preparation 'A Concordance of the Proper Names in the Septuagint,' by H. A. Redpath; 'The Oxyrhynchus Logia and the Apocryphal Gospels,' by the Rev. C. Taylor; 'A Dictionary of Vernacular Syriac,' by N. J. Maclean; 'Letters of Ricardo to Trower,' edited by James Bonar and J. H. Hollander; a second series of 'Studies in Dante,' by the Rev. E. Moore; a Supplement to Bosworth's 'Anglo-Saxon Dictionary,' by T. N. Toller; and 'Modern Land Law,' by E. Jenks.

'The Irish Washingtons, at Home and Abroad,' by George Washington, of Dublin, Ireland, and Thomas Hamilton Murray, of Boston, is announced by the Carrollton Press, Woonsocket, Mass.

The "Teachers' Professional Library," to be edited for Macmillan Co. by Prof. Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia, will soon be launched with 'The Practical Lessons of History,' by Wm. T. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education.

The tide of reprints is again rising. From Messrs. Scribner flow in three more volumes of the Gadshill Dickens, edited by Andrew Lang, viz., 'Christmas Stories,' and 'Edwin Drood' with 'Master Humphrey's Clock,' that well forgotten sequel to the 'Pickwick Papers,' and parent to 'The Old Curiosity Shop'; and a new edition of John Addington Symonds's charming 'Sketches and Studies in Italy and Greece,' in the handsome uniform reprint of his works. The same firm sends us two more volumes of Downey & Co.'s uniform edition, in very bold type, of the novels of the Brontë sisters—'The Tenant of Wildfell Hall,' by Anne Brontë, whose portrait is after a drawing by Charlotte.

Macmillan Co., on their part, renew the Dent series of pocket Temple Classics with the timely reprint of the first edition of Mrs. Browning's 'Aurora Leigh' (1856) and of Robert Browning's 'Men and Women' (1855), a curious gathering together of poems to be redistributed afterwards—some being among the most famous of his shorter ones; and the delectable North's Plutarch (1579) in two volumes. In all these cases Mr. Gollancz's sub-editors supply just the proper amount of bibliographical apparatus. Purposely restrained, also, are the not too numerous footnotes of the Eversley edition of Shakspeare, edited by Prof. C. H. Herford, and published by the above firm. The first of ten volumes, very presentable in its open typography, has appeared, and furnishes "the cultivated but not learned reader" a general introduction, and special introductions for each of the four plays beginning with "Love's Labour's Lost." The editor has profited by the labors of his predecessors, and will not be thought to have needlessly enlarged the shapes in which Shakspeare has been made accessible and intelligible to all classes.

Our notice of the admirable 'Encyclopædia of Sport' (Putnam) appeared some weeks ago, upon its conclusion in the separate parts. The bound second volume (H-Z) has now come to hand, to mark the final completion of a very successful and creditable enterprise.

The Nestor of German novelists, Friedrich Spielhagen, has recently, in his seventieth year, published what a number of literary journals in the Fatherland regard as the strongest and best production of his prolific pen. It bears on its title the one word "Herrin." Quite naturally it is a "Kultur" novel, intended, if not to adorn a tale, at any rate to point a moral. It is the story

of an emancipated and strong-minded Jewish girl, who, having broken with the faith of her fathers, seeks to shine in the masculine rôle of a manager of a great landed estate (hence the title), but, failing in her purpose of "buying" social distinction and a titled husband, ends her career in lunacy. Spielhagen's publisher is Staackmann in Leipzig.

The Muret-Sanders German-English 'Encyklopädisches Wörterbuch' (Berlin: Langenscheidt) has now reached the word "gering." The English-German part, compiled by Prof. Muret, was completed some time ago, and published in two massive volumes of about 2,500 large quarto pages; the completion of the second part, under the editorial management of the veteran lexicographer, Prof. Daniel Sanders, is promised for the year 1900, in about equal bulk. This dictionary gives not only the customary definition, pronunciation, and similar data, but a wealth of idiomatic expressions, dialectic forms, etc. A unique system of signs and abbreviations has made possible a remarkable condensation. A smaller edition in two handy volumes is also being issued, at a cost of 7 marks each in good binding. It is unfortunate that the mass of matter has compelled the use of rather small type.

We may be familiar with the collection of Watts's hymns, or we may know in a general way of the existence of the Song-Book of Henry the Eighth, but some of us may be surprised to find that there still remains a comparatively large body of ancient Buddhist hymns which have been preserved in the Pāli, or sacred language of Gotama, in the verses in which they were chanted or sung by the monks and priests of India centuries before the Christian era. These form a part of the canonical texts of Buddhism, and they have recently been made more generally accessible in a German translation by the Vienna scholar Dr. Karl Eugen Neumann, whose renderings of Buddha's sayings and of other writings are already known among specialists. The present interesting and important work appears in Berlin under the title 'Die Lieder der Mönche und Nonnen Gotamo Buddhō's' (New York: Lemcke & Buechner), and its contents make a volume of nearly four hundred pages. These so-called hymns, or, rather, selections of "stanzas (*gāthā*) of the male and female elders," comprise each a few verses, although some of them are longer. We know their traditional authors individually by name, although there is actually, no doubt, anonymous material among them, as in any hymnal to-day. The tone, the minor chord, and the characteristic notes of Buddhism are all present, and these rhapsodical songs are dominated by the influence of the powerful personality of the Sakya Sage who preached on the banks of the Ganges stream five centuries before the dawn of that day on which the morning stars sang together.

In a little brochure with the sweet-sounding title 'Der ewige Friede' (Munich: Haushalter), one of the older professors of jurisprudence at the University of Munich, Freiherr von Stengel, defends the blessings of war and large military establishments in words that will rejoice the hearts of our own expansionists. Assuming that America's desire to rule the world and dictate her laws to declining Europe will grow stronger as time goes on, "Shall the German Empire," he exclaims, "in the event of war between America and Europe, stand peacefully by and

humly bow down before America? Surely not!"

Mr. Eben Putnam's 'Ancestral Charts' (Salem, Mass.) has reached a second edition. It is a set of blanks, capable of indefinite multiplication, to exhibit the bare facts of lineal descent for four generations, and hence a convenient epitome of genealogical acquisitions.

In the *Library Journal* for February to be remarked is Mr. Rudolph's account of the genealogical index undertaken by the Newberry Library in Chicago. The work is a key to hundreds of genealogies, town histories, anniversary celebrations, war and pension records, rosters, etc., and will, it is estimated, embrace nearly 700,000 entries by the time it is ready for the printer; and it is nearing completion. Mr. Iles also reports progress on the annotated bibliography of American history which Mr. J. N. Larned is editing with an able corps of assistants. This may contain as many as 1,800 titles.

We read in the Roman *Minerva* of February 5 that the Turin League against pornography, having to combat the indecencies figured upon match-boxes, which are among Italy's most stable exports, has gone into the business of making and selling match-boxes of its own, and that these find a ready sale.

In the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for February 1, M. F. Vié describes the striking contrast between French colonial extension for glory but without profit to the mother country, and German commercial colonization without conquest, but to the national advantage. The writer speaks more especially of *connaissance de cause* of the origin, growth, and activity of the German commercial colonies in and around the Antilles and in the Spanish-American republics on the Atlantic. In Hayti and San Domingo, in Guatemala, Venezuela, Colombia, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, San Salvador, commerce is preponderantly, and in some ports almost exclusively, in the hands of Germans, who carry, for example, four-fifths of all the coffee from Guatemala to Hamburg, the remaining fifth going mostly to England, also partly in German bottoms. In Venezuela nearly all the wholesale houses, and in Costa Rica almost all the banks, are German, and so on; the French being now and then represented by one or two firms.

Under the catchy title of "Afrikanische Gaiensskizzen," the African traveller Oscar Baumann, at present Austrian Consul at Zanzibar, has been publishing in the Vienna *Zeit* a series of sketches of German methods of colonial government that have attracted wide attention. Baumann was the chief witness in the Peters trial about two years ago, when this representative German was convicted of having taken the law into his own hands and put a number of blacks to death. Baumann declares that Peters's acts are to this day imitated and even surpassed by the officials in German East Africa, and that the hanging of natives has become almost a fashionable amusement of those in authority. The official in charge of affairs at Kilwa has a collection of ropes that have been used for this purpose, and has kept an account of these in his books under the rubric, "Entertainment of foreign guests." These hangings are generally attended by the photographic amateur as well. Baumann gives a long array of facts and figures implicating

also the former Governor, Von Wissmann. The German papers have become nervous over these charges, and declare that they cannot be ignored; and the Berlin *Post* states that the German Government has already taken steps to investigate the truth of them.

Those interested in contemporary German literature may be pleased to have their attention called to a dramatic poem, "Der Thor und der Tod," by Hugo von Hofmannsthal, which is published (with illustrations) in *Die Jugend* for February 4 (Munich), after having been brought out on the stage under the auspices of the Münchener Litterarische Gesellschaft. The poem was written in 1893, when the author was not yet twenty, and is remarkable for both contents and form. No other works of the promising young dramatist have as yet been published, but his drama "Donna Diana" was last year given at the Freie Bühne, and another, "Die Hochzeit der Sobelde," was recently being studied at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin.

The intensive pursuit of special lines of study, made possible by the division of labor in the higher institutions of learning, brings us face to face with the strange phenomenon of a modern professor of engineering vying with Matthew Arnold and Goethe in his protest against the encroachments of mathematics. Prof. Paul von Lossow (Munich), discussing the education of engineers in *Hochschul-Nachrichten* for January, inveighs against the useless ballast of mathematical learning with which the technical Hochschulen burden their students at the expense of more important, profitable, and broadening branches of knowledge. The bare elements of the differential and integral calculus are sufficient to follow intelligently the lectures on theoretical mechanics by two of the most eminent specialists in that branch—so the writer states after carefully going over his own note-books; while "among thousands of engineers who have been surfeited with mathematics in the Hochschule scarcely one has, in after life, occasion to apply them to advantage." This question of reducing the requirements in mathematics in order to improve the general and technical education of engineers has been agitated for some years past in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins deutscher Ingenieure* and in monographs by leading professors.

A large part of the *Consular Reports* for February is taken up with notices from the principal countries of Europe in regard to the policies adopted by their respective governments to extend foreign commerce. The topic of most general interest which they treat is technical education, the general testimony seeming to be that a great improvement in manufactures and an increase in exports are due to the influence of the industrial and commercial schools. Austria has 15 state industrial schools, and "devoted to commercial interests are 12 high schools, 28 commercial high schools, and 79 schools for advanced instruction." A list of 67 subjects is given in which technical instruction may be had in London, while in Belgium there are 225 schools for training young girls in housekeeping. Among other important topics touched on is our trade with China, which is shown to be steadily increasing, especially in Chefoo, where in 1897 the value of American imports was over two million dollars, or "almost ten times greater than those specified as from Great Britain."

The Calendar of the Tokyo Imperial University for the years 1897-'98, now a portly volume of 375 pages, gives the lists of professors, students, and graduates, and the titles of the Journals, Memoirs, and Bulletins of the various faculties published since 1887. These monographs show hopefully the practical application of science to manifold local problems as well as to questions of cosmic interest. In the various colleges there are now 2,239 students. The total number of graduates is 3,045.

A memorial to a bright and stimulating mind, the late Robert Herbert Quick, of high repute as an educational writer, has been projected in the shape of a "Quick Memorial Library" in connection with that of the Teachers' Guild of Great Britain and Ireland, already begun by 900 volumes on modern pedagogy given by Mrs. Quick, together with a collection on historical pedagogy. It is hoped to raise £500, of which the interest shall permanently replenish this library. Many Americans join in the appeal. Subscriptions may be sent to Prof. Foster Watson, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.

The friends of Pasquale Villari propose to celebrate his fortieth year of service in the Florentine Istituto di Studi Superiori, of which he is President of the faculty, by establishing a fund whose income will be distributed in prizes for historical work of preëminent merit; and an international committee has been formed to enable his admirers in other lands to participate. Little is known in this country of Villari's tireless labors for the promotion of well-ordered liberty in Italy and of culture in its widest sense, but his classical lives of Machiavelli and Savonarola have won the regard of all students of the Italian Renaissance, many of whom will doubtless be glad to aid in this testimonial to his honor. Communications on the subject may be addressed to Henry C. Lea, No. 2000 Walnut Street, Philadelphia.

—The *Atlantic Monthly* for March has an entertaining article, by John Fiske, on "Some Cranks and their Crotchets." When Mr. Fiske was assistant librarian of Harvard College, he undertook to classify under the head of "Insane Literature" books dealing with questions which their authors would describe as coming under the head of Mathematics, Physics, Political Economy, or Literature, but which the judicious would grieve to think of as illustrating anything but "the pathology of the human mind." Under the rubric of Insane Literature, therefore, Mr. Fiske put all books in the library propounding the solution of the problems of squaring the circle, of perpetual motion, of the Great Pyramid, of the hollowness of the globe, etc. Unfortunately, this valuable innovation was open to the objection that the authors of the books in question, some of whom lived in the neighborhood, would probably feel hurt, if not libelled, at finding themselves solemnly adjudged lunatics in this way by an institution of learning. Consequently, Mr. Fiske substituted for "insane" the word "eccentric," and under the head of "Eccentric Literature" all such books are now catalogued at Harvard. Mr. Fiske goes on to say that one lot of books, which he indelicately calls "The Bacon-Shakespeare stuff," intended by him to have been put in this class, but overlooked, "still remain absurdly grouped along with the books on Shakespeare written by men in

their senses." Enlarging upon his text, he gives an amusing account of the "crankery" which leads to the production of literature of this sort, and incidentally gives the reader many a useful hint. The further we read, the wider we see the horizon of the insane in print expanding, and gradually perceive that there exists a vast audience of dupes for whom books are regularly written by persons of diseased minds, and who (but for the fact that there is no pecuniary imposition) occupy towards the writers in question the relation which stockholders do to the projectors of Keely motors, or to inventors of processes for extracting gold from seawater. The second instalment of Dr. William James's "Talks to Teachers in Psychology" contains a brief theory of education. He traces "a certain disparagement of emulation as a laudable spring of action in the schoolroom" to Rousseau, who, in 'Emile,' branded rivalry between one pupil and another as too base a passion to play a part in an ideal education; and he thinks that the depth and primitiveness of the sense of ownership, as displayed by the young of the human animal, "would seem to discredit psychologically all radical forms of communistic utopia in advance." Mrs. Howe's "Reminiscences" contain some good anecdotes illustrating Charles Sumner's want of humor. She might have added that, as in most such cases, the deficiency was so little suspected by Mr. Sumner himself that he would, on an important occasion, not only venture on a joke, but also subsequently be at considerable pains to explain it. An instance well known and often told among his friends was of a memorable pun on the word "buffalo"—explained by the punster as being founded on the double signification of the word, as designating the bison of the West and the city of the same name in the State of New York.

—*Harper's* contains a paper of a somewhat novel sort—an historical essay by a North American Indian; Simon Pokagon, chief of the Pokagon band of Pottawatomie Indians, being the author. He gives an account of "The Massacre of Fort Dearborn" at Chicago, as gathered from the traditions of the Indian tribes engaged in the massacre and from the published accounts, and what he has to say is well worth reading. He quotes his father as having always declared to the day of his death that if there had never been fire-water, there never would have been a Fort Dearborn massacre. He gives at length a speech of Tecumseh's, handed down by tradition, as good a specimen of oratory as any which we used to read in the pages of early white chroniclers. The old account-books of the American Fur Company, kept for inspection as relics, show, he says, how the glorious "winning of the West" was greatly effected by making the aboriginal proprietor of the property to be won drunk, and he adds in his quaint way that while examining them the Great Spirit whispered in his ear, "Pokagon, you can rest assured, if these books are required in evidence against the white man in the Supreme Court of the world beyond, no expert will be called for to read them." Was there a time when the good Indian, the noble savage, whom we now regard as an invention of romancers, was a reality? The sceptic should compare such a paper as this with the novels of Cooper, and he will not only find, to his surprise, that there was a basis of fact for the creations of the author of

the 'Last of the Mohicans,' but will be left with much doubt in his mind as to whether history, as reflected in Indian minds and hearts, would show as many examples of white generosity and honor in dealings with Indians as we have preserved in our own libraries of these virtues as shown by Indians. Tecumseh's picture of the ordinary white man, "cunning, crafty, cruel, without honor, without natural affection"—is almost precisely our picture of the ordinary bad Indian. Can it be that in the sight of the Great Spirit pugnacity, cruelty, and greed are no more creditable in one race than in another?

—*Scribner's* contains an instalment of Mr. G. F. Hoar's Political Reminiscences. It seems that his account of the national conventions in which he had taken part (in the February number) was the first chapter of these. His first political service, he tells us, consisted in folding and directing circulars sent out in 1848 by the anti-slavery Whigs who bolted the regular nomination of Taylor, and thus set on foot the division which ended in the destruction of the Whig and the creation of the Republican party. It is certainly curious and interesting for those who like to trace the continuity of public careers, to see Mr. Hoar, in his old age, again a bolter on principle from the councils of the party which in his youth he helped, by bolting, to found. He publishes for the first time a letter written by Webster to his brother, the late E. R. Hoar, giving his reasons for refusing to join in the secession. Four years later, Mr. Webster was a discredited man, while the Free-Soilers, casting in Massachusetts in the election of 1848 only 37,000 votes, had among their number all the men who subsequently became dominant in the State. The rise of Sumner, Adams, Andrew, the two Hoars, and Wilson, to mention only half-a-dozen, was brought about by the disintegration of the party to which they belonged in their earlier years. The flood of war literature shows signs of ebbing. This department of the magazines has been nearly worked out, and the point reached at which it is difficult to avoid repetition. Even the interest of Mr. Roosevelt's "Rough Riders" suffers from the fact that it has been told by everybody else before. Fond as we are of the pomp and noise and danger of war, there is one thing of which the magazine reader, even the most patriotic, is fonder, and that is novelty. He must have new subjects, and refuses to be thrilled with one emotion for more than a certain length of time.

—The *Century* has added to its "Heroes of Peace" series an article on "Heroes of the Railway Service," illustrated by Jay Hambridge. It is written by Charles De Lano Hine, a graduate of West Point, who, after serving as an officer for four years, voluntarily resigned his commission in the army to become a freight brakeman. After some railway service as a brakeman and a yardmaster, he reentered the military service as Major in the First District of Columbia Volunteer Infantry. He points out that railroad organization is semi-military in character, and that in some respects railway service is the more dangerous of the two; the danger, however, being a matter of such every-day routine that it attracts little attention:

"A soldier fights his battle, and may not be again under fire for a week, a month, or a year. While actually engaged, his is a maximum of danger. The railroad man is usually

in much less danger than the fighting soldier. What the railroader lacks in intensity of interest he makes up in quantity. He is under fire, so to speak, every working day or night of his life. The washouts of spring, the blinding dust of summer, the treacherous fogs of autumn, and the icy car tops of winter, all teach him to be careful of his hold in this world, lest he slip suddenly into the next. As the battle is the true test of the officer and the soldier, so is the wreck the measure of the coolness or pluck of the official and the employee."

The "casualties" in the latter class every year in this country he puts at 20,000. All this without distinction, glory, pomp, or show, and hitherto without magazines to make it known. This "Heroes of Peace" series is the first attempt—so far as we know—to reduce to their true proportions the ridiculous pretensions of military life to a monopoly of courage, nerve, and endurance. We have read with interest Mr. James Bryce's advice to us on the management of our new colonies in his article called "British Experience in the Government of Colonies," but we are bound to say that the most important statement in it is the following: "Were I a citizen of the United States, I should be among those who are opposing their annexation." The difficulty with his advice that we imitate the English colonial system (by establishing a civilized colonial service, and instituting a sort of benevolent despotism which shall keep a "firm hand" on "white adventurers") is, that it is addressed to a government in the hands of a party which is annexing for the benefit of white adventurers, and itself consists of white adventurers. It is for the very reason that white adventurers may thrive, that the White Adventurer's Great Father must turn a deaf ear to such advice.

—By the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, when we were still living under the Articles of Confederation, which established a Congress consisting of but one branch, it was provided that as soon as there should be a certain number of inhabitants in the district northwest of the Ohio River, they should be allowed to have a General Assembly, consisting of a Council and a House, and that this body should have the authority "to elect a Delegate to Congress, who shall have a seat in Congress, with a right of debating, but not of voting, during this temporary government." After the adoption of the Constitution and the organization under it of the new government, which provided, among other things, for a national legislature composed of two houses, the general Government obtained by a deed of cession the territory south of the Ohio River, and in 1790 an act of Congress was passed, which extended to the inhabitants of that region all the benefits, privileges, and advantages previously granted those of the Northwest Territory, and established there a similar government. This proved to be an inadvertent and embarrassing piece of legislation when, in 1794, James White laid before the Speaker of the House of Representatives the credentials of his appointment as a Representative in Congress of the Territory south of the River Ohio. Representative in Congress? In which branch of Congress should he take a seat? Some members thought it much more proper that he should go into the Senate. He was elected in a manner similar to that of Senators, and Senators more resembled Delegates than did Representatives of the people. Others held that he had a right to speak in either branch

when the affairs of the Southwestern Territory were under discussion.

—Mr. Boudinot of New Jersey, who had been a member of the Continental Congress, was very positive that, as the old law could not be fully executed, Mr. White ought to go where members elected by Legislatures went—to the Senate; but he thought an act of Congress should be passed in reference to the matter. Strict constructionists contended that Delegates from Territories were unknown to the Constitution, and for that reason Mr. White could not be admitted to either branch. The liberals maintained, on the other hand, that the Representatives had a right to admit any one whatever to a seat in the House, for the mere purpose of participating in the debates. The moderate men argued that nothing in the new Constitution excluded these Delegates; that the privilege of representation had been solemnly conferred upon the very people who had elected Mr. White; that Sevier had represented them in the old Congress when they belonged to Carolina, and that they had separated into a new State under the promise of this privilege. It was now too late, they added, to say that laws under which action had been taken were incapable of execution. This view prevailed, and Mr. White was admitted, but the House, by a vote of 42 to 32, held that he should not take the oath of a member of Congress.

—Some years ago the Gresham Life Assurance Company entered upon an investigation of the risks incident to professional military and naval lives, and the results are very pertinent to the "colonial policy" of the United States. Two great divisions of the subject may be made, one giving the conditions in peace and another in war; but there are other influences of moment. The rate of death at the home-stations in peace may be taken as the normal mortality, and this was found to be about 5 per 1,000 for commissioned officers, and 7 or 8 per 1,000 for non-commissioned officers and men—a rate even lower than that for the male population of the United Kingdom. This applies, however, only in early manhood, for ages under 35; beyond that point the civilian has the advantage. At foreign stations in time of peace the climate risk must be considered, and while the different services give different results, the average is 15 per 1,000, or double the normal rate. The same figure expresses the mortality rate for a small war; so it is safe to assert that, under the best of management, the occupation of a reasonably healthy possession costs in life as much as a war of moderate proportions. The application of this to the army of the United States will be evident. The tropics are not healthy regions naturally, and our men are not accustomed to foreign service. An occupation may, and most likely will, cost in life each year as much as a war of fair proportions.

ROPES'S CIVIL WAR.

The Story of the Civil War: A Concise Account of the War in the United States of America between 1861 and 1865. By John Codman Ropes, LL.D. With Maps and Plans. Part II., The Campaigns of 1862. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 8vo, pp. xii, 475.

In his second volume Mr. Ropes has adhered to the method of giving only selected campaigns and battles as illustrating the general progress of the war, the qualities of

the commanding generals, and the military administration of the Government. He has greatly enlarged the fulness of his references to the Official Records of the armies, so that it is easy to trace his authorities for the assertions of fact in his descriptions of the events he narrates. In this he cannot be too highly commended. There is nothing more wearisome than the attempt to run down the sources of an historical statement, when no reference is given, in so vast a thesaurus as even the first series of the Records. The Publishing Board has done all in its power to help us by system in the compilation, by copious indexes, and by full tables of contents in each volume of all preceding volumes, by grouping everything relating to one campaign in the several parts of one volume, separating reports from correspondence and National matter from the Confederate, by giving chronological tables of current related events and even calendars of the year to determine dates when days of the week are mentioned—for all which they will get thanks from generations of investigators yet unborn; but when all this is done, it requires no little patience to find a quotation without citation of volume or page. In proportion to this labor, the author puts us under obligation who tells us where to find the material he uses, so fully and carefully as Mr. Ropes has done in this book. It is also a guarantee of good faith, and is a salutary check upon the author himself, making him careful in his statements. The evolution of a true history is thus greatly accelerated; for the weighing of such mountains of evidence is not to be done in a day, and dubious or disputed points will long remain after the most conscientious efforts to reach solid verity.

In the progress towards an agreed narrative of the facts in the campaigns and battles with which Mr. Ropes deals, therefore, he has done good work which, it is safe to say, will have permanent recognition. He is also very pronounced and free in his judgments of men and of their conduct and capacity, but here it will naturally happen that he will find his readers exercising their own judgment and not infrequently differing from him. This is all the more likely because it is rarely the case that the grounds of such personal judgments are or can be fully stated, and the particular events in regard to which they are applied do not always seem to imply necessarily the conclusions which are stated. The capacity and character of the successive commanders of the Army of the Potomac have been so much the subject of heated partisan discussion that, in trying to gauge the author's treatment of men, it will be well to go to some other theatre of operations. Let us take the Middle West, and the relations of Lincoln, Stanton, Halleck, Buell, and Rosecrans.

Toward the close of the summer and in the early autumn of 1862, a Confederate army in two columns, one under Bragg, the other under Kirby Smith, had, by manoeuvre, forced back the national army under Buell from northern Alabama, across Tennessee and Kentucky to the Ohio River. Considerably reinforced, Buell again advanced, fought an indecisive battle at Perryville, Ky., and followed the retiring enemy southeast to Mt. Vernon and London on the upper waters of the Cumberland River. There the pursuit ended, and Buell turned the march of his columns toward Nashville, though his orders from Washington were to press the

pursuit of the enemy and occupy East Tennessee. It may be a hard rule of war that a general is judged by results, but it is a recognized one. When A. S. Johnson lost Fort Donelson and retreated to Corinth, Miss., he said to Mr. Davis that he could not complain if the rule were applied to him. Lee said the same after Gettysburg. Buell himself, on October 16, recognized it, in the letter in which he declared his purpose to change his course to Nashville.

The right of Halleck, as general-in-chief, and of the Government, to order the continued advance is too plain for argument. Such order removed the responsibility for the plan from Buell's shoulders and left him only that of vigorous execution. It was the subordinate's privilege to ask to be relieved if he thought he must fail in the execution, but no wrong was done him in giving the order. Halleck did not confine the pursuit to the route the enemy had travelled and wasted. He indicated at least two others as being eligible, including one directly across Tennessee to Chattanooga, which place, as he pointed out, was as near as Nashville, and led through a region abundantly able to support an army, which the Confederates even after another year of war looked to as one in which a large army could live. To occupy Chattanooga and East Tennessee while the country roads were good and the autumn weather pleasant, then to repair the Chattanooga and Nashville Railroad and make firm the advance so gained, was an intelligent and reasonable plan, shown to be feasible by subsequent operations in the same region. It was under such circumstances that Buell was relieved and Rosecrans appointed, after Mr. Lincoln had once revoked Secretary Stanton's order to the same effect and Buell had persisted in refusing to follow the directions sent him by the general-in-chief. In the actual condition and situation of the army under Bragg, there is good reason to think Halleck's plan would have succeeded, and a new base for further movements might have been established at Chattanooga a year before it was actually done.

In these circumstances, how does Mr. Ropes treat the President and his advisers? Of Halleck he had earlier said that he had but slender intellectual capacity, and an unmilitary cast of mind (p. 235), and repeats that he had an "inability to grasp a military problem" (p. 385). In the present juncture, Halleck is said to be only the mouthpiece of the President's determination, and is absolved in this way from the chief responsibility, while Lincoln and the Secretary of War are denied whatever support they might get from the concurrence of Halleck's opinion. It is generally agreed that Halleck failed as a field commander of an army; but it is also generally admitted that few, if any, were his equals in knowledge of military theory and history. His books on the Art of War and International Law, as well as his translation of Jomini's Napoleon, have always stood well, and have been regarded as sufficient proof of intellectual capacity and ability to grasp a military problem. Still more are these shown by his voluminous correspondence during his service as general-in-chief, when candidly analysed. That he blundered, as everybody else blundered, is of course true; but we do not believe that final historical judgment will deny to him knowledge or

brain power. His correspondence with Buell in this campaign was by no means a mere iteration of the Government's wishes. He expressed his own opinion vigorously, that it was possible to drive the enemy from East Tennessee and keep him out. "If we cannot do it now, we need never hope for it," he said (*O. R.*, xvi., pt. 2, pp. 623, 626).

Thus having isolated the President and his Secretary from the military assistance of the general-in-chief, our author, after asserting that "no one capable of forming a judgment on the military questions involved in it can hesitate an instant in arriving at the conclusion that General Buell was in the right," turns upon Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Stanton with—"The President and Secretary were neither willing nor competent to discuss the question on purely military grounds." It cannot be necessary to defend Mr. Lincoln from the charge of being unwilling to seek, with intense earnestness, in every direction for light on the problem of making his country victorious. When, the year before, protest was made to him against his patient endurance of McClellan's exasperating disrespect, and he replied, "I will hold his horse if he will only conquer this rebellion," he spoke in the spirit of self-abnegating devotion which animated him till the day of his assassination. As to his capacity to understand and discuss military reasoning, after two years of life in the focus of military responsibility, with Scott, McClellan, McDowell, Meigs, Hitchcock, and Halleck around him in both formal and informal presentation of their views in unrestrained discussion, with his keen shrewdness sifting their arguments, and with his peculiar power of generalizing principles from complicated facts, we should rather ask, Who could understand and who discuss, if not he? But, besides this probable evidence from his well-known powers, there are his letters in the Records, giving his actual discussion of real and present military problems on purely military grounds, and they demonstrate his competency to do it ably and thoroughly, as we have had occasion to show in these columns (within three months), and as Mr. Ropes has admitted in this book (p. 439, note).

Without going into a detailed criticism of Buell's campaign, it is enough to say that, though his cautious defensive strategy was criticised at Washington, Mr. Lincoln had revoked the order relieving him on this account, and reissued it only when the General persisted in retiring on Nashville instead of continuing to follow the enemy by any route. The real question was between the continuance of such cautious defensive and a bolder aggressive. It would be an anachronism, to-day, to argue in favor of bold, continuous initiative in war. That question has been decided affirmatively, if anything can be settled. Mr. Lincoln has the world with him. That the good weather of the autumn was rapidly passing, was only another good military reason for "pushing things." But there were political reasons for the same course, so strong that they seem to show the radical incompleteness of a discussion of the campaign which ignores them.

The public discontent with the progress of the war was so great that it showed itself in the elections of this same autumn by the loss of the control of the House of Representatives by the Administration. The Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War brought the whole weight of the most

vigorous element of those in favor of the war to bear upon the Administration, insisting upon a more aggressive military policy. Governor Morton of Indiana, with the coöperation of the Governors of Ohio and Illinois, protested against the conduct of the campaign in Tennessee and Kentucky. Their opinions and those of the whole Northwest were fairly expressed in a letter of Morton to the President on October 7, in which he said:

"Another three months like the last six, and we are lost—lost. We cannot afford to experiment a single day longer with men who have failed continuously for a whole year, who, with the best-appointed armies, have done nothing, have thrown away the greatest advantages, evacuated whole States, and retreated hundreds of miles before an inferior enemy. To try them longer, trusting that they may yet do something, would, it seems to me, be imperilling the life of the nation."

On the 21st he said: "In the Northwest, distrust and despair are seizing upon the hearts of the people." East Tennessee was a loyal district, represented in Congress by Horace Maynard, represented in our army by regiments of brave men whose families at home were in the enemy's power. A loud appeal went up to the President not to allow the winter to come without bringing that loyal region within the Union lines. The dangers of foreign complications, by reason of the efforts making to secure a recognition of the Confederacy by England and France, were so great a peril that the Government and all its friends regarded it as an imperative reason for extraordinary and unrelenting energy in aggressive warfare, that we might recover at least all we had lost during the summer, before the British Parliament should meet in January. Unless war is made for some other reason than to subvert the statesmanship of the country, such considerations ought to be imperative in favor of extraordinary exertions, ought to justify exceptional privations, and forbid the easy-going deliberateness which is not content with an army superior in numbers, in equipment, and in supply, but demands exemption from risk of short rations, of interrupted communications, of forced marches. In such circumstances such demands spell nothing but "Give it up."

It was in such circumstances that Rosecrans was chosen to succeed Buell because he was thought to have the energy to make such aggressive, indefatigable war. He was told that this was expected of him when the appointment was sent to him, and that delays could not be tolerated. He had his option to take the command on those terms or to decline it; and he took it. As Halleck afterwards told him, they at Washington believed that Buell would succeed at some time, if not hurried; but inexorable events were hurrying. And yet, when Halleck's urgency was reiterated through six weeks and no visible progress was made—a period as long as the whole Austro-Prussian war of 1866—when the autumn was gone and December was begun, when the conditions on which the appointment was made were all broken, when the grief and apprehension of the patriot in the executive chair found voice in warning that another change might have to be made, Mr. Ropes sees nothing in it all but an improper threat of removal, and says that Rosecrans deserved the thanks of his profession for resenting it! He even justifies Rosecrans in delaying three weeks longer. Meanwhile Bragg had gone out of Kentucky at its southeast corner by way of Cum-

berland Gap, had traversed the whole length of East Tennessee some two hundred miles to Chattanooga, which was much nearer our army than the enemy at the time the pursuit was abandoned, and had come back northwest from Chattanooga a hundred and twenty miles to Murfreesboro, thirty miles from Nashville. Can we now be asked to believe that praise for Rosecrans and contempt for Lincoln and his advisers is the final word of history? Can anybody wonder that Mr. Lincoln said that if his generals did not want to use the armies, he wished they would lend them to somebody who could? For the victory at Murfreesboro, incomplete as it was, he was generous in praise, and made it the reason for condoning the waste of most of the next summer.

In the treatment of the question of numbers of opposing armies, Mr. Ropes seeks to make the official statistical returns to the Adjutant-General's Office the basis of his computations, and in this he is unquestionably right, though he does not always adhere to it with entire consistency. He has adopted a rule of deducting 20 per cent. from the returns of the "present for duty," for "men on extra duty, etc." This is a manifest error. In the original returns are separate columns for officers and men present sick, in arrest, and on extra duty, but in neither the National nor the Confederate returns is this triple group included in the numbers reported "present for duty." In the *Nation*, No. 1440 (p. 86), was given an analysis and comparison of the forms of return, and the Confederate method of reporting "effectives" was shown. In Nos. 1538 (p. 462) and 1543 (p. 71) the relative reliability of statements of numbers made by officers in other forms than the regular returns was examined. Without discussing the subject again, it still seems that the reasons for adhering to the "returns," when they exist, as the supreme authority in military statistics, are conclusive, and we cannot go with Mr. Ropes when he "adopts substantially the numbers given in the Confederate (narrative) reports" written long after such a battle as Antietam, when they are inconsistent with the statistical returns made in regular course of duty.

To illustrate: Lee's army, with which he began the campaign against Pope at the end of July, was 82,632 "present for duty," as we learn from the statistical returns. By the same means we learn that there remained to him after the battle of Antietam in September, close to 44,500, as Mr. Ropes states it (p. 332). This leaves more than 38,000 as the total losses of the Confederates in the two months' campaigning—a conclusion from which there is no escape. But, adding to the numbers remaining in September the casualties in the battles of South Mountain and Antietam, Mr. Ropes argues that, according to the returns, Lee had on the morning of the battle last named 58,000 men. As a compromise with other general statements in reports, he reduces this below 40,000 (p. 377). Yet he has given his estimate of the force with which Lee crossed the Potomac at about 55,000 (p. 337), which would make the Confederate losses for Harper's Ferry and South Mountain 15,000; but nobody could for a moment accept this. On the other hand, if Lee crossed the Potomac with no more than 45,000, his losses in the campaign against Pope were nearly 38,000. Mr. Ropes very clearly declares the conflicting data to be irreconcilable, and offers his estimates as only approximate.

It is utterly useless to try to reconcile the claims of commanders, in general statements, with their official returns, or to compromise between them. Such statements only show the extent to which errors of memory or careless assertion can go. We shall have taken a long step towards historical truth, in this respect, when all investigators shall have learned the simple fact that no general officer in an army has any means of knowing the numerical strength of that army except the statistical returns consolidated as they come up through companies, regiments, brigades, divisions, corps, brought together at the army headquarters, and transmitted to the seat of government. This is not to be thought of as one of the means of knowledge; it is literally and exactly the only means. The army is not counted in any other way, by anybody whomsoever. What is not got from these returns is not got at all. What conflicts with them is thereby convicted of being false. On the return itself are columns for "Alterations since last report," and the series is either continuously self-proving, or the return is annotated by explanations of any apparent discrepancy. No intelligent officer could ever pretend that he had any knowledge on the subject except what is obtained either directly or indirectly from these returns. If one of a series is lost, we must, of course, supply its information by such evidence of what the lost return contained as we can get; but it must accord with the others of the series and be consistent with that which precedes and that which follows. Reports of statistics by medical officers, by provost-marshal, etc., are subordinate parts of the same system. In the published Official Records are only abstracts of the full returns, but in case of doubt the originals are accessible and the accuracy of the abstract may be tested. The historical importance of such a criterion of truth is, we hope, a sufficient justification of calling attention to the actual system until its authority shall be fully recognized.

PROBLEMS OF NORTH AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY.

Introduction to the Study of North American Archaeology. By Prof. Cyrus Thomas. Cincinnati: The Robert Clarke Co. 1898. 8vo, pp. 391. Illustrated.

In dealing with this volume, and the same may be said of any other work upon the subject, it is well to remember that but few of the more abstruse problems connected with the prehistoric remains of America can be said to be definitively settled. We have, it is true, measured the length, breadth, and height of many of the mounds and raked over their contents, just as we have explored the ruined cities of Mexico and Central America, and compared their architecture with that of less favored regions; and it is safe to say that, from these and other indications, we have gained a reasonably correct idea of the mode of life of the people who built these mounds and lived in these cities, so far as it is revealed to us by a study of their arts and industries. At all events, the conclusions drawn from these sources have an actual basis of fact, and to this extent are believed to be indisputable. But when we go further and ask who were the builders of these mounds and cities, or, assuming that they were a different people or a people in a different stage of civilization from the former occupants of these

several regions, inquire where they came from, and by what route they reached the localities where these remains are found, we are at once upon debatable ground.

Thus, for example, if called on to account for the presence of man on this continent, we may, without doing discredit to our intelligence, answer, with Powell, that he was here before he acquired articulate speech, and that "there is no valid reason why the Eastern World may not have been peopled from the Western"; or admitting his foreign origin, we may bring him over from either Europe or Asia, and land him at different times and at different places, on the same or opposite shores of either North or South America. Indeed, there are those among us who do not hesitate to resurrect submerged continents whenever it is necessary to smooth his pathway. So, too, in regard to his development. It may have been indigenous, or it may have been colored by Asiatic influences. Both opinions are held, and as there does not appear to be any immediate prospect of deciding the matter either one way or the other, it is, perhaps, just as well not to waste any time in discussing what for the present, at least, is a question of probabilities.

Such, in fact, seems to be our author's opinion, for although he believes (pp. 369-378) that man originally arrived in America by way of the extreme Northwest Pacific Coast, and (p. 379) that there may have been "prehistoric contact on the western coast of Mexico with people from the Pacific Islands or Southeastern Asia," yet he is so far from insisting upon these points that he leaves us free to accept any theory that will help us to a solution of these questions. In the same spirit, he dismisses the problem of palæolithic man in America (p. 5) as not proven; and, contrary to his usual fairness, he disposes of the Calaveras skull and the implements found in the auriferous gravels of California by a resort to the fallacy of "begging the question." In other words, he tells us (pp. 190 *et seq.*) that these remains could not have been of the same age as the geological stratum in which they are found, for the reason that, being neolithic, they indicate a higher phase of development than was in existence when that stratum was laid down; this being precisely the point at issue.

With these problems out of the way, and bearing in mind the necessarily conjectural character of much of the evidence, we are now ready to take up the story as told by our author, though it seems advisable to reverse his line of investigation, and begin, instead of end, with our prehistoric American at the time he made his home in "the inhospitable region that lies between the western shore of Hudson's Bay and the Rocky Mountains." From this point as a centre, population is said to have flowed southward in two streams; "parted by the great treeless plains stretching from the Saskatchewan to the Rio Grande, one moved south along the mountain skirt, passed to the Pacific side," and, still pushing on, finally reached Mexico and Central America; while "the other crossed to the Atlantic side," and, circling around the lakes, took possession of the Mississippi valley and the Eastern and Southern seaboard. In the course of this long and wearisome movement, "requiring possibly thousands of years," these people split into different stocks and tribes, "If, indeed, they had not

been differentiated before reaching the continent," though it is said (p. 8), and, as we believe, rightfully, that "they belonged apparently to the same race, its members being popularly known as . . . American Indians."

In coming to this conclusion, our author summons to his aid language, tradition, and other factors in the problem, his main dependence, however, being upon the evidence furnished by the monuments and other remains that are found scattered over the country. These are carefully studied, and as a result of the comparison instituted between them and the works of the Indians, they are attributed (pp. 22, 138, 229, 240, etc.) to the people found inhabiting these sections at the incoming of the whites, or to their ancestors—in other words, to these same Indians. To this statement we, certainly, do not object: neither have we any fault to find with the separation of these remains into three (or, omitting the Arctic, into two) great divisions which Prof. Thomas styles the Pacific and the Atlantic. Such a classification is not only convenient but it is real, for it is based upon the dissimilarity that exists in the remains found in the two sections, and, what is more to the point, it marches, geographically speaking and in a general way, with the linguistic groups into which Brinton divides the Indians. Whether these differences are of such a character as to mark them as the product of different ethnic groups, is a matter of some doubt, though it is admitted that they were due to different influences, or, as Bandelier expresses it, to the exigencies of another climate and of varying natural resources. Be this as it may, it is not of much moment in the present investigation, since it is not so much with the origin of these different kinds of remains that we are concerned as it is with their existence and distribution. These, so it is thought, furnish clues to the movements of population in prehistoric times, and it is by following these clues to their sources that our author traces the Indian back to his original home in the broad stretch of country that extends from Hudson's Bay to the Rocky Mountains. Accordingly, it is from this region that the primeval American is started on his march southward, bearing along the seeds of that civilization which culminated in Mexico and Central America on the west, and in the mound centres of the Mississippi Valley on the east.

This, in brief, is a summary of our author's theory, and, in the present state of our knowledge, there is no reason why we should not accept it, except in so far as it relates to what are termed "the prehistoric movements of population." These are found to depend, so uniformly, upon conjecture that, taken in connection with what is known of the wanderings of our tribes in recent times, they may be relegated to the realm of uncertainties. Indeed, all mention of them might have been omitted without lessening our knowledge of Indian life and civilization. This fact our author seems to recognize, for although he devotes to the discussion some forty pages, in which the terms "possible" and "probable" occur with exasperating frequency, yet, in the end, he leaves us free to accept, as an alternative, the theory that America was peopled from Europe, and that the "spread of population was from the Atlantic border."

For the remainder of the volume, and es-

pecially for the description of the various remains, as well as for the account of the arts and industries, etc., of the Indians, we have only words of commendation. And yet, such is the uncertainty that attends an investigation into prehistoric life, and so difficult is it to gauge the full force of acknowledged facts, that, not unfrequently, we find ourselves at odds with our author. Take, for instance, the statement (p. 248) that "the form of government among the Aztecs was a well-regulated monarchy; . . . the title under certain conditions passing from father to son," and how can we reconcile it with Bandelier's carefully studied conclusion "that there was neither monarch, autocrat, nor despot in Mexico; that merit alone on the battlefield could promote to the rank of war chief (or, as he was sometimes called, emperor); that no dignity was transmissible by inheritance, and in fine, that Mexico was a barbarous but free military democracy"? Or again, what are we to think of the "advanced culture" (pp. 8, 240) of the Mexicans when we are told by Brinton ('American Race,' p. 44) that, "leaving out of consideration the objective art of architecture and one or two inventions, the Aztecs of Mexico and the Algonquins of the eastern United States were not far apart"? So, too, in regard to our own Indians, the occasions for a difference of opinion are somewhat frequent. We do not, for instance, believe that the use of masks on the Atlantic side of the continent (p. 182) was comparatively rare, when both Adair and Lafitau—one in the north and the other in the south—tell us that, made of gourds, bark, or other material, they were worn by the Indians in some of their solemn ceremonies; and, finally, we are by no means of the opinion (p. 159) that the Shawnees were a different people from the Mascoutens, or, as they are sometimes called, the *Nation du Feu*, when the Jesuit Relations make it plain that these were different names for the same tribe. But it is unnecessary to pursue this subject further. Enough has been given to show the character of the statements to which objection may be rightfully made; and as they are of secondary importance, and might be controverted or omitted altogether without detriment to the main contention, further comment would savor of hypercriticism.

In conclusion, we may be permitted to say that, good as this work is, we prefer Thomas when he deals with tangible facts, as he does in his exhaustive account of the Mounds of the Mississippi Valley, rather than when he goes wool-gathering in fields where, according to his own admission (p. 148), success is impossible.

The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America; An Introduction to the History and Politics of Spanish America. By Bernard Moses, Ph.D., Professor in the University of California. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1898.

The pathetic ending of the first great colonial empire of modern times naturally arouses a new interest in the process of its establishment. For us, too, who are shuddering with light hearts the burden that was crushing Spain, some knowledge of the foundations of that empire, on the ruins of which we must build, would seem to be indispensable. This need is admirably met by Prof. Moses in this study of the beginnings of Spanish America. His qualifications for the work are exceptional. His special studies

in comparative constitutional law, his long residence in California, and his sojourns in Mexico and Spain, have given him a first-hand familiarity with the Spanish stock and Spanish institutions which invests his discussion with a clearness and a certain insight and sympathy that are beyond the reach of the mere student of documents.

After a brief review of Spanish history and of the general aspects of the colonial policy of the Spanish kings, including a description of the Council of the Indies, Prof. Moses gives a very lucid and detailed account of the Casa de Contratacion, based on Captain John Stevens's 'Spanish Rule of Trade to the West Indies.' Owing to the rarity and high price of both this work and its original, the 'Norte de la Contratacion de las Indias Occidentales' of Veltia Linage, this chapter supplies information as to the colonial trade hitherto not easily accessible away from the large libraries. The organization of the administration of the colonies is illustrated by a concrete study of the Viceroy and the Audiencia in Mexico. Later in the book the ecclesiastical establishment in Mexico is examined to show the relation of the Church to the King. It is characteristic of Prof. Moses's practical aims and his soundness of method that these great institutions should be studied historically as they existed in Mexico, that part of the Spanish empire which is of most interest to us and with which he is familiar by travel. Five chapters are devoted to South America, one of which deals with the Jesuit missions in Paraguay. The volume is brought to a conclusion with a discussion of Spain's economic policy and a comparison of her American colonies with those of England.

As a whole this work is admirably adapted not only to provide the thoughtful reading public with a useful body of knowledge in regard to the origin of the institutions of our Spanish-American neighbors, but also to aid teachers and students in extending the scope of courses in American history. The chief defect which we notice can easily be remedied in a second edition. An historical work in a neglected or little-known field should be furnished with a brief annotated bibliography, comprising the most important original sources and the most serviceable secondary authorities. This is especially necessary in the case of Spanish history, owing to the lack of systematic bibliographies of Spanish publications. In the present instance the absence of such a list of authorities is the more keenly felt from the rather careless method of citation employed by the author. No clue is given to the date or place of publication of the Spanish works which are referred to. Then there are references like these: "Robertson, New York, 1839, I. 384, 523," and "Watson, I. 73, 74." Is the first reference to William Robertson's 'Charles V.' or to his 'History of America,' or to J. P. Robertson's 'Letters on Paraguay'? Is the second a reference to Robert Watson's 'Philip II.' or to Robert Grant Watson's 'Spanish and Portuguese South America during the Colonial Period'? Again, the student interested in the economic aspects of the Spanish colonial policy should have his attention called to Roscher's masterly discussion in his 'Koloniën und Kolonialgeschichte,' and to the equally important chapters which Leroy-Beaulieu has devoted to the subject in his 'Colonisation chez les Peuples Modernes.'

The commercial policy of Spain towards her

colonies must be regarded as a monumental example of misdirected regulation and untutilized opportunity. That the Spaniards erred more profoundly and adhered to their error more persistently than the other colonial Powers, is to be accounted for partly by the conservative and reactionary position which Spain occupied in the great European conflicts of the sixteenth century, and partly by the fact that the Castilians were not a mercantile or an industrial people. The expulsion of the Jews had deprived the country of that portion of the population which had business aptitude and insight; and later, when progressive economists analyzed the situation and pointed out the remedy, the restrictions on printing prevented their work from having the influence that it would have exerted in a freer country. Notwithstanding their uncommercial character, the Spaniards were greedy of wealth. The result was a policy singularly narrow and oppressive, and wholly subservient to the apparent immediate interests of the mother country.

Prof. Moses's final chapter, comparing Spanish and English colonies, is a very dispassionate and lucid review of contrasted ideals and divergent practice. The balance from every point of view is not on the side of the English, although the practical results in our eyes clearly show that freedom of migration, laxness of control, and the encouragement of individual enterprise, rather than paternal oversight and restriction, are the secrets of colonial growth. Many worthless Spaniards did get to America, but the colonies were never made the dumping-ground of the social wastage as were some of the English settlements. The Spanish ideals were in some respects higher than the English, but less well adapted for promoting a progressive and vigorous civilization. A progressive civilization, however, was the last thing that Spain wanted. Therefore, in passing in review the colonial policy of Spain, we must keep in mind that the ideal aimed at was one with which we have no natural sympathy.

Really to get at the heart of the matter, the Spanish colonial policy should also be compared with the policy of England towards her Oriental dependencies. Spanish colonial America partakes quite as much of the nature of British India as of the nature of English America. When England had a problem somewhat similar to that of Spain, her policy developed striking similarities. Where England has to rule a large native population, we find as little self-government as in New Spain, and that of the same kind, in minor municipal affairs. The English Council of India might have been copied from the Council of the Indies. The legislation of British India is as despotic as that of Spanish America. There is, in short, as marked a similarity in governmental machinery as there is a contrast in quality of administration and in commercial policy. The English give good government to India, the Spanish Kings gave bad government to America. The secret is not so much to be found in the machinery of administration as in the ideals and character of the men who conduct it. If a political spoils system should get hold of India, her history would repeat that of the Philippines. If an American spoils system is introduced into our new islands, their future will be but a repetition of their past. If a democracy is to administer successfully the government of alien dependencies, it must adopt a self-denying ordinance as regards the spoils of its political victories.

"The Georgian Period." Being Measured Drawings of Colonial Work, by Charles L. Hillman, Frank E. Wallis, Claude Fayette Bragdon, David Gregg, Francis Swales, Glenn Brown, and others. Parts I, II, and III. Boston: American Architect and Building News Co. 1899.

The list of American books on architecture is growing, and some of the books whose titles occur in it are of excellent quality. One of the most important is, and will remain for some time, the work which is gradually taking definite shape, and whose title is given above. In our previous notice (in June, 1898) it was assumed that there would be two parts and no more, but with the third part is issued a leaflet stating that there will be an indefinite number of parts issued in succession. The statement of the editor is to the effect that suggestions were made in the *American Architect* of last August "as to the publication of other collections of measured details of colonial work," and that the result is the publication of Part III. and the collection of material enough for a farther issue.

"Instead of issuing a fourth and final instalment, very much larger than its predecessors, we [the editors] have decided to continue the series without definite term, and allow it to become, if fortune favors, a sort of *omnium-gatherum*, to which seekers may turn in search of definite architectural information regarding architecture of the Colonial and Provincial periods, down to the revival of classic forms in the early part of this century."

It seems right, however, to review the book in its present state, because it contains already 121 plates, contributed by many architects and draughtsmen, and because it is of necessity devoid of systematic form or unity of plan, being essentially the work of different men, contributing each what has come under his own observation. It is announced, indeed, that there will be reprinted "some of the many interesting essays on the subject which have been published" in the *American Architect*; but these also will be detached essays, of course, and the collection will be rather an encyclopædia than a book, with a book's unity of purpose.

Sixteen different contributors are named on the title-pages, and on each title-page occur the final words "and others." Generally, and, perhaps, in every instance, the name of the patient student who has made the drawings is given on each plate. These sheets are crowded with matter, details being packed into the spaces left by the general drawings, and a sensible disregard of spacious and comely aspect being generally manifest. Other plates, however, are devoted to drawings in perspective, such as the very picturesque one of the Old State House in Boston; and sometimes one or two small perspective studies come in a plate with measured drawings of the structure represented. There are also a certain number of large photographic pictures, gelatine prints, which are certainly very good; only one in the first part, but eight in each of the others. These are an attraction—certainly they are an added element of strength to the publication; but its true purpose is indicated in its title "measured drawings"; that is to say, facts and figures which one may swear by. No one may be allowed to despise the two photographic views given of the beautiful circular double staircase in the New York city hall; but still the measured drawings of the front, of one pavilion

on a larger scale and on a smaller scale of a section through the rotunda and bell turret, are the immediate cause—that and their like—of the work's existence. The pains and care, the thought as well as patience, that have been put into these careful drawings, are appreciable only by those who have done the thing themselves. If the reader who is not a draughtsman, though interested in architectural work, should need a significant hint, let him observe how great is the number of books with architectural purpose which, in these later days of photography, are illustrated by pictures unaccompanied by plans, even the most rudimentary. Let him contemplate even such serious and important books as the 'Treatise on Gothic Art' by Louis Gonse, and wonder at the neglect, in so elaborate a treatise and so beautiful a book, of the obvious necessity of partial and local as well as general plans, ground plans and other. The reason for all this is that, after the photographer has been sent to the spot and has done his work, a new plant has to be made ready and a wholly new expeditionary force has to be set on foot, if even the plans (without reckoning sections, elevations, and measured details) are to be made from the building under examination. In this country of few skilled workmen, few men of leisure to pursue their studies, of scarce and dear intellectual labor, it is not so surprising that measured drawings are rare; but it is wonderful that important French or German books should ever come out without their measured details. They have skilled labor at hand and at a low rate of remuneration in those older lands; but in America we have little of it because there are greater opportunities for men to "get on" and make a rather easy living than there are for steady and deliberate intellectual work. It is the more surprising and the more admirable that this body of trustworthy drawings has been got together.

The epoch covered by these plates ranges from 1636 (the Fairbanks House at Dedham, Mass.) to about 1815, the date given for the tower and doorway of the North Church at New Haven. The student of old buildings will hope for some rendering in future parts of this publication of the valuable ancient houses of no great size and of no pretension whatever which still exist, or existed until very lately, in the old towns of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts. It is to be observed, however, that the tendency of the book is undoubtedly towards the Georgian architecture properly so called, as well as to architecture of the Georgian period, by which is meant that a study of late classic (or, as some would say, pseudo-classic) architecture is the purpose of this publication, to the exclusion, perhaps, of buildings of freer and less academic character in their design. No fault is to be found with the work, or its projectors, if it should prove to be so limited. The most that can be said is that an appendix giving the simple clapboarded houses, with overhanging second-story pendants terminating the uprights of those upper stories, would be a good thing to have. It might almost have been expected that the Philipse Manor House at Yonkers would have been left to be included in such an appendix; but here it is in the second part. No more interesting dwelling-house exists in America. It is a survival of the much older English houses of single or simple plan—that is

to say, of those without corridors, with each room occupying the whole width of the structure and lighted from either side. A little plan in the corner of Plate 24, where the elevation and some details are given, explains this to those who do not know the interesting and curious mansion now used as the city hall of Yonkers; and there are half-a-dozen plates more of spirited and interesting detail. Plate 31 of the second part gives the front of Faneuil Hall, "the Cradle of Liberty," a tolerably uninteresting piece of architecture, but great in its associations. In Part III., Plates 21 and 22 are devoted to an important house in Philadelphia, and the plan of the house on a sufficiently large scale for intelligent study is given in the table of contents. Plate 24 is a gelatine-print of the Tudor Place at Georgetown, D. C., and this also has a plan which multiplies many times the value of the picture. From Charleston, S. C., is taken St. Paul's Church, Ratcliffeboro', dated 1819, and from the immediate neighborhood comes the church, St. James, Goosecreek, a little building which stands, or stood, alone in the open country, a mere church for the planters living around, without a village near. On the same plate with this church is the old "Stone House," Richmond, Va., which is as free from classical influence as even the New England houses whose existence was recalled in a previous sentence.

John Sullivan Dwight, Brook-Farmer, Editor, and Critic of Music: A Biography. By George Willis Cooke. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co.

Mr. Cooke, who has before now proved himself the faithful and loving Old Mortality of the epitaphs of the Transcendentalists, has added a volume of memoirs to his recently published volume of correspondence between John S. Dwight and George William Curtis. He has the advantage which belongs to a later generation, in a wider survey of facts, based on more ample materials, while he has the disadvantage of being often obliged to rely upon the memory of others, contributed in some cases at a time of life when memory grows less trustworthy. A curious instance of this occurs in the very preface, where he "corrects," evidently on some authority other than his own, a statement made in the Dwight-Curtis volume, where Curtis himself speaks in a letter of a series of papers in the *Dial* called "Ernest the Seeker" as being written by William Henry Channing. Mr. Cooke now says of these papers, "They were in reality written by William Ellery Channing, the poet (cousin of the preceding), one of Thoreau's most intimate friends and his first biographer" (p. xiv). As a matter of fact, Curtis knew perfectly well what he was writing, and whoever informed Mr. Cooke to the contrary was greatly in error. His informant doubtless confounded the half-autobiographical fragment of the elder cousin, "Ernest the Seeker," with another semi-autobiographical series in the last volume of the *Dial*, "Youth of the Poet and Painter," by the younger cousin. The two relatives were totally unlike in temperament, and no person who knew them could confound the grave and lofty meditations of William Henry Channing with the cynical humor of the other. But it must be remembered that the three Channing cousins, all having William for their first

name, and varying only in the middle name, are always the source of perplexity to historians of the Transcendental period, and Mr. Cooke only shows this further when he mentions the third cousin, Dr. William Francis Channing (inventor of the telegraphic fire-alarm), as "Mr. F. W. Channing," on a later page (p. 163).

Apart from this piece of bad luck, we have found the book singularly accurate, although even the author cannot quite master the original relation between the *Atlantic Club* and the Saturday Club, inasmuch as he attributes the origin of the *Atlantic Club* partly to James T. Fields, who, on the contrary, brought it to an end, after taking charge of the magazine, because he thought the club dinners too expensive for the more modest contributors. Mr. Cooke has, however, given undoubtedly the best description yet written of the Saturday Club, the better known and longer lived of the two. In regard to Brook Farm he has also given some additional particulars, and has brought out in some degree the curious combination of singularly sensitive men, such as Hawthorne, Bradford, and Dwight, with certain people who, as Miss Marianne Dwight wrote (p. 101), "though good in their way, yet lack that refinement which is indispensable to give a good tone to the place." These people, according to Miss Dwight, were "providentially" called away, and she adds, "It always seemed to me a great mistake to admit coarse people upon the place." How far the cattle in the barn would have been tended and fed without the aid of these coarse people, will always remain undetermined; and some light is thrown by Miss Dwight's confession upon a scene still vividly remembered, at one of the social-reform meetings in Boston during the Brook Farm period, when Dwight appealed to the chairman to silence a certain Farmer Allen, who was revealing with the most undisguised frankness some of the harmless social events of what was then called "the Community."

In the chapter on "The Autocrat of Music," we find manifested the same necessity of depending on the opinions of others who knew Dwight in his prime. Mr. Cooke does not understate the later criticisms in respect to Dwight and his work, but he does not quite recognize the fact that his work from the very beginning met with open disapproval from other men of his own time and of similar training, among whom Mr. Francis Boott was perhaps the most eminent. These men frankly expressed the opinion that Mr. Dwight had, so to speak, begun too far along, and that he had, as one of them used to say, made the whole people of Boston hypocrites in respect to Beethoven. These men also dissented from the utter contempt with which Dwight was wont to speak even of the higher class of plantation melodies as composed by Stephen C. Foster, whereas these critics maintained his music to be the spontaneous outcome of a national musical instinct as yet untrained. But whatever may be said on points like these, no one has brought out better than Mr. Cooke the service rendered by Dwight in what may be called the literary interpretation of music. He lived at a time when, as a brilliant woman said on her first visit to Boston, "Bostonians seemed to regard music, painting, and sculpture as mere branches of literature"; and of Dwight's value at that precise time there can now be little question. Mr. Cooke ad-

mirably says of this service: "Dwight translated music into literary form, showed the public what to find in it, and how to discover its profound spiritual charm and power. This is what no one else has done with anything like such beauty of language or such persuasive skill to convince and enlighten" (p. 236).

The typography and general appearance of this book are admirable, but the absence of an index is a great defect, this omission being due in all probability to the publishers. The previous volume of Curtis-Dwight letters had the same fault.

The New Economy. By Laurence Gronlund. Chicago: Herbert S. Stone & Co. 1898.

The construction of imaginary commonwealths is as agreeable to many minds as building castles in Spain—which, indeed, may not be now a synonym for delightful day-dreaming. Few people seriously believe that any of the numerous utopias which have been described by philosophers and fools will ever have a real existence, and it seems absurd to criticise these visions from the point of view of practical statesmanship. But they may be compared with one another and their differentia noted, with some useful results; for while the visions cannot be realized, there may be enough people captivated by them to make them dangerous. The book before us aims not at equality, but at the destruction of the capitalists. The difficulty with the present system is that under it "you cannot benefit the poor without benefiting the rich, and that you cannot injure the rich without injuring the poor." The remedy is for the Government to take the place of the capitalists, conduct the industries of the country itself, and thus abolish all profits. But, in the conduct of these industries, the author very rationally maintains, ability is necessary. Salaries as high as \$7,000 may wisely be paid, and the able men who now realize such prodigious profits will have to come down to this figure, or starve. It is natural to raise the objection that, in spite of the abolition of the competitive régime, these \$7,000 places will be scrambled for; indeed, that the struggle for office will be more desperate than at present. But let not the believers in equality think that their panacea of making all places equally unattractive gives their schemes any advantage. They admit that the success of these schemes depends on the elimination of selfishness; and when human beings cease to be selfish, it is hard to see why one ideal commonwealth should not answer as well as another.

On the other hand, Mr. Gronlund must not be uncharitable to rival visionaries. If he assumes modifications of human nature in order to give his system a practical air, he should not deny this liberty to other people. Hence we cannot but reprehend his denunciation of the late Edward Bellamy as an unsound teacher. He complains that Bellamy ignored ability; but Mr. Gronlund ignores it beyond the \$7,000 limit. Bellamy also abolished the wedding-ring, favored vegetarianism, and changed the whole nature of woman; none of which changes happen to please Mr. Gronlund. But he can give no reason for his hostility except that Bellamy "shares the common American error of wanting to invent social remedies; he assumes that men can construct any social system they choose, and

so he sets up his own ideal system, and expects the people to realize it according to the sketch he has made." In short, he "entirely fails to connect with reality, and is purely a dreamer." These strictures suggest that the construction of utopias ought to be limited to people having some perception of the incongruous. The idea of one social reformer denying another liberty to "invent social remedies" is rather too startling.

Africa in the Nineteenth Century. By Edgar Sanderson. With portraits. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1898. 8vo, pp. vii, 335; map.

The aim of the author of this summary review has been to give a popular account of the principal events in the history of Africa during the last hundred years. There can be no question of his success in arousing the interest of his readers, so numerous are the stirring episodes of exploration, colonization, and conquest, both by the force of arms and by the arts of peace. Mixed with much that is evil and debasing in the white man's part in creating this new Africa, there is far more that is heroic, self-sacrificing, and encouraging. Possibly a clearer and more comprehensive knowledge of the history of the various countries would have been gained if Mr. Sanderson had treated each one as a whole before touching upon another. The value of the summary would have been increased, also, if he had dwelt less minutely on the details of campaigns and battlefields, and more fully on the equally important though less exciting political history of recent years. Space should have been found, too, for a brief mention, at least, of Emin Pasha and his rescue by Stanley, the indirect results of which are still felt in Uganda. There are here and there marks of hasty writing and the lack of careful revision, as, for instance, in the statements that Sir Harry Johnston was Commissioner of Uganda, p. 270, and that Sir Garnet Wolseley was the successor of Sir Bartle Frere as High Commissioner in South Africa, p. 279.

The portraits are of four noted Englishmen, and there is a sketch map showing the treaty boundaries, together with an excellent index.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

- Bardeen, C. W. *Authors' Birthdays. Second Series.* Syracuse: C. W. Bardeen. \$1.
 Barracand, Leon. *Roberte.* Paris: Colin & Cie.
 Bernhardt, W. *Haumbach's Waldsoellen.* Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 35c.
 Bliss, F. J. *Excavations at Jerusalem. 1894-1897.* London: Palestine Exploration Fund. \$2.75.
 Bowyer, Lady. *The Divine Romance of Love and War.* London: Gutenberg Press.
 Bradford, Gamaliel. *The Lesson of Popular Government.* 2 vols. Macmillan.
 Bronson, T. B. *Hugo's Scènes de Voyage.* Henry Holt & Co.
 Brontë, Anne. *The Tenant of Wildfield Hall.* 2 vols. London: Downey & Co.; New York: Scribners. \$4.
 Brooke, S. A. *The Ship of the Soul.* Whittaker. 50c.
 Brown, Mary W. *The Development of Thrift.* Macmillan. \$1.
 Browning, Mrs. E. B. *Aurora Leigh.* [Temple Classics.] London: Dent; New York: Macmillan. 50c.
 Browning, Robert. *Men and Women.* [Temple Classics.] London: Dent; New York: Macmillan. 50c.
 Bruun, J. A. *An Enquiry into the Art of the Illuminated Manuscripts of the Middle Ages.* Edinburgh: David Douglas.
 Bullen, F. T. *The Cruise of the Cachetot.* Appletons.
 Byrd, Mary E. *A Laboratory Manual in Astronomy.* Boston: Ginn & Co. \$1.85.
 Caine, Hall. *The Scapegoat.* New and revised ed. Appletons. \$1.50.
 Carlyle, Thomas. *Historical Sketches.* London: Chapman & Hall; New York: Scribners. \$3.
 Church, S. H. *John Marmaduke: A Romance of the English Invasion of Ireland in 1649.* Putnam's. 50c.
 Clemens, W. M. *Theodore Roosevelt, the American.* F. T. Neely.
 Comparotti, Domenico. *The Traditional Poetry of the Finns.* Longmans, Green & Co.

Craft, Mabel C. Hawaii Nel. San Francisco: William Dorey. \$1.50.
 Day, L. F. Alphabets Old and New. London: B. T. Batsford; New York: Scribners. \$1.50.
 Dickens, Charles. Christmas Stories. 2 vols. Edwin Drod. [Gadsbills Edition.] Scribners. Each \$1.50.
 Evans, A. H. Birds. [Cambridge Natural History.] Macmillan. \$3.50.
 Evans, G. W. Algebra for Schools. Henry Holt & Co. \$1.12.
 Fagnat, Emile. Questions Politiques. Paris: Colin & Cie.
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 Hawkins, Rev. J. C. Horse Synopticon. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde.
 Herford, Prof. C. H. The Works of Shakespeare. Vol. I. Macmillan. \$1.50.
 Hewett, Prof. W. T. A German Reader. Macmillan.
 Heywood, Thomas, and Rowley, William. Fortune by Land and Sea. Boston: W. H. Clarke Co. \$1.
 Hill, G. B. Gordon in Central Africa, 1874-1879. From Original Letters and Documents. Macmillan. \$1.75.

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 Lavignac, Albert. Music and Musicians. Henry Holt & Co.
 Lewine, J. Bibliography of Eighteenth Century Art and Illustrated Books. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co.; New York: Scribners. \$25.20.
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 Scott, Sir W. Quentin Durward. 2 vols. [Temple Classics.] London: Dent; New York: Scribners. \$1.60.
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 Symonds, J. A. Sketches and Studies in Italy and Greece. Vol. 3. London: Smith, Elder & Co.; New York: Scribners. \$2.
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 Thomas, Dr. F. B. A Dictionary of University Degrees. Syracuse: C. W. Bardeen.
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 16, 1899.

The Week.

Other Congresses have been extravagant, but we doubt if any was so urged and hurried into extravagance by the President as was the Fifty-fifth. That is a point to be set down in its favor. It was spendthrift, but it was not so wantonly prodigal as the President would have had it be. Not only did no warning against lavish appropriations come from him, such as almost every President for years has felt it his duty to utter; not only did he fail to interpose with his veto to save the Treasury one squandered dollar; but by open recommendation and private prompting he tried to get Congress to spend some \$200,000,000 more than it did. The Nicaragua Canal bill nominally carried \$115,000,000, and would surely have led to at least \$50,000,000 more, yet Mr. McKinley favored that costly leap into the dark. The shipping subsidies bill stood to take anywhere from \$50,000,000 to \$100,000,000 out of the Treasury, and the President advised Congress to pass that. He informed it that the Hawaiian cable bill, appropriating \$2,500,000, was "a paramount necessity," and should be made law at once. All these Executive incitements to extravagance Congress withstood. It had a more careful regard for the national finances than had their sworn guardian, the President. Never before was such a thing seen in this country—the Chief Magistrate leading in advocacy of reckless expenditure, and the House of Representatives refusing to follow him.

It is gratifying to learn that a bill slipped through Congress during the last hours of the session which will work important reforms in the pension system. One abuse of that system has been the marriage of veterans, sometimes almost in their dotage, to young women, who expect that their husbands will soon die, and that they will thereafter draw widows' pensions for the rest of their lives. The new law provides that no pension shall be granted to the widow of any pensioner who marries him after the approval of this act, on the 3d of March. There are a number of State and national homes for soldiers, many of the inmates of which, besides being supported by the federal or State Government, have received the full amount of their pensions, like their fellows outside. The new law provides that, when a pensioner enters such a home, one-half of his allowance shall be paid to his wife or to his minor children. Under the old system, a pen-

sioner with a family might desert his wife and children and still draw the full amount of his pension. The new law provides that, when a pensioner is guilty of such desertion, one-half of his pension shall be paid to his family.

Senator Foraker, an Ohio man who takes pains to say that he is not getting the smallest "piece" of the "good things going" in this Ohio Administration, secured the adoption of an amendment to the army bill which not only is a bit of cold devilishness, but is calculated to bring to naught the most benevolent plans of the President and his friends to "assimilate" Cuba. This amendment reads:

"And provided further, That no business franchises or concessions of any kind whatever shall be granted by the United States, or by any military or other authority whatever, in the island of Cuba during the occupation thereof by the United States."

What a blow this was to the plans of our most benevolent statesmen, was made clear at once by their outcries. Hanna of Ohio opposed the amendment; so did Platt of New York; so did Sewell of New Jersey. All these eminent men, brooding night and day on schemes for doing good to the Cubans and (incidentally) to themselves, saw immediately that this Foraker amendment would ruin the whole colonial system, and almost make them sorry that they had shed their blood to free Cuba. But a spiteful and narrow-minded Congress passed it nevertheless, and the colonial board appointed by the President to study questions relating to the judiciary, and taxation, and the sale or gift of franchises, railway grants, street-car line concessions, electric-light and other municipal monopolies was shunted off from Cuba to Porto Rico.

In view of the fact that the new army law compels the President to reduce in rank such men as Gens. Ludlow and Wood, and gives him no opportunity to make Gen. Otis a regular Major-General, the bestowal by Congress of the prized rank of Brigadier-General in the regular army upon Col. Frederick C. Ainsworth has caused no little comment among army men. Formerly a surgeon in the regular service, Gen. Ainsworth, as we must now call him, was made Chief of the Record and Pension Office of the War Department some years ago. By the introduction of a card catalogue, he very rapidly made what had been one of the most useless departments in Washington one of the most serviceable and efficient. In 1892 he received the rank of Colonel, to the amazement of the army, and was borne upon the army register in a place by himself, since he belonged neither to the line nor to the

staff. But even this did not satisfy his ambition, and as a result the new army law provided the Brigadier's star for him, besides "creating a place" for John Tweedale, chief clerk of the War Department, as his assistant with the rank of Major. There are now no good reasons why the head clerks in the Weather Bureau and Agricultural Department should not be Colonels, and we are glad to notice that Mr. McKinley is also of this opinion, since he is said to have promised to bestow a vacant paymastership, with the rank of Major, upon an elderly private secretary, hitherto content to be a civilian.

Now that a spoilsman has been given charge of the Census Bureau, earnest attempts are made to convince the country that it will not be run on the spoils basis. Director Merriam has announced that "all applicants will be subjected to an examination, before appointment, which will be as rigid as the examinations before the Civil-Service Commission," and that no political influence will be sufficient to put on the roll any person of whose competency the Director has not been satisfied, or to keep one who proves on trial to be incompetent. Such a statement from a known believer in civil-service reform, like Carroll D. Wright, would carry weight; people would feel no doubt that a Director of this type would live up to it. The difficulty about accepting it from Mr. Merriam is that, if he were to live up to it, the change of habit would be as great as it would be in Col. Wright's case were he to turn spoilsman. Mr. Merriam got his own place through "pull," not merit; and it will be the most extraordinary thing ever seen if such a man shall honestly enforce the merit system among his subordinates.

It seems that the appointment of a statistician as Assistant Director of the Census, after a spoilsman had been placed at the head of the Bureau, was not a matter of choice on the part of the President. The law left him no discretion in the premises. It provides that "there shall also be an Assistant Director of the Census, who shall be an experienced, practical statistician." Even the spoils-seeking Congressmen realized that, with a "practical politician" at the top and the same sort of employees at the bottom, there must be somewhere an official who has had some experience in statistics. But this is almost the only concession to such considerations which we can find in the law. On the other hand, great care was taken by Congress to guard against the entrance of trained men outside the places of Assistant Director and five chief statis-

ticians, "who shall be persons of known and tried experience in statistical work." One illustration of this is found in the curious provision that "employees in the existing branches of the departmental service, whose services may be specially desired by the Director of the Census, *not exceeding six in all*, may be transferred without examination, and at the end of such service the employees so transferred shall be eligible to appointment in any department without additional examination, when vacancies exist." There are several hundred persons in the classified service who have had training in census and statistical work, and it would have been a great advantage if any number of these had been made available for present need, and then returnable to the classified service. As originally drawn, the bill provided that such transfers might be made without any restriction. But the spoilsmen were so afraid that "their workers" might be kept out by this employment of skilled clerks who were "under the civil service," that they insisted upon limiting the number of such transfers to six—a perfectly ridiculous restriction in any other light than as a bar to the free entrance of experience, skill, and demonstrated merit.

Before leaving Washington for his vacation in Georgia, President McKinley appointed Herbert Putnam to be Librarian of the National Library. The nomination cannot be sent to the Senate until the next session of Congress opens, but there can be no doubt that it will then be confirmed, so that the incident may now be considered closed. Mr. Putnam's "platform" as Librarian at Washington has been drawn up by himself. About two years ago the Joint Congressional Committee having charge of the institution gave a hearing as to the policy which ought to be adopted for its regulation in the new building. Mr. Putnam appeared before the committee, and, after expressing his views on the subject, said:

"I should suppose that the man who is to have the final administration of that library must have, above all things else, administrative ability. . . . I do not believe that your chief administrative officer, attending properly to the business problems of the library, need be a profound bibliographer or need know the most, of all the persons in the library, as to what the library contains. He should know enough of the literary side of the library, of bibliography, etc., to appreciate intelligently the needs of the several departments of specialized work. I should regard him as bearing a relation to the library something similar to that borne by the President of a university to the several departments of that university."

This, in substance, was the picture drawn by the Council of the American Library Association for transmittal to the President on January 30; and it is the opinion of the foremost librarians of the country that Mr. Putnam is best qualified of their craft to organize the National Library on wise lines, take it

and keep it clean out of politics, and make it the guiding star of the library movement in this hemisphere. The post is his with no political or personal obligations whatever.

We hear of a good deal of dissatisfaction and disgust among Republicans over the Thomasville trip of the President's. Why, they ask, should he let Hanna carry him off so ostentatiously? Why should he give color to the talk that Hanna is very anxious about the next Presidential nomination and campaign, and that he is really taking Mr. McKinley off for a "rest" which will consist of interviewing politicians from all over the country, and planning for the contests of 1900? Why, above all, these nervous Republicans are wondering, should the President choose just this time, when the forces of Bryanism and revolt are rallying to the cry that monopolists and speculators are in control of the Government, to go off as the personal property of the chief agent of the monopolists and speculators? It gives too much plausibility to the charge that Hanna is really the Government—not simply the power behind the throne, but on the throne itself a good part of the time. Already has this idea taken firm root in the simple minds of the Filipinos. Witness this astonishing dispatch, included in the documents printed with the Peace Treaty:

"Cortes family, representing wealthy, educated families Manila, implore you in name humanity and Christianity not to desert them, and aid to obtain annexation Philippines to America."

To what potentate does the reader suppose this appeal was addressed? Why, to "Hon. Marcus Hanna, United States Senate, Washington." In other words, the Filipinos went straight to headquarters, and applied to the man whom they understood to be the real President. It would be an embarrassing thing, say the disquieted Republicans whom we are quoting, to have that idea get into the heads of people in this country, too.

If the Beef Court of Inquiry is really purposing to bring in a report whitewashing Alger and his canned roast beef, it would be wise to get out of Chicago as soon as possible. Every time that its members look into the meat-canning industry there they discover evidence which is very damaging to Alger and his favored contractors. They brought out the fact on Friday that the so-called canned roast beef which was sent to the army in Cuba and elsewhere was not roast beef at all, but simply boiled beef, usually of the kind that had been rejected as unsalable because of its leanness. On Saturday it was shown, on the testimony of an inspector of the Bureau of Animal Industries, that in a certain canning-house "diseased beef was re-

moved from the top of a rendering tank after it had been placed there for destruction," and had been sold in the Chicago market. Whether any of this had been sent to our soldiers, did not appear from the testimony, but the description tallies well with that which many of the soldiers have given of what they were supplied with. In regard to the canned beef which he knew had been sent to the soldiers this inspector testified that it was the kind known as "chuck," the cheapest grade of all, taken from the poorest cattle in the market, and worth from three to four cents a pound. Does not this tally precisely with the evidence given by the officers and men regarding the "canned roast beef" which they had?

It appears from Mr. Howell's candid statement on Saturday that one of the most vexatious of the custom-house regulations which he quotes has no statutory basis at all. It is, we presume, the composition of Mr. Gage or of Mr. Howell himself, for he says that it was framed "recently," that "it is still in force," and that it is "a new order." We may rely upon it that, could he have put it off on anybody else, he would have done so. Read it again, fellow-citizens, and in doing so remember that this is A. D. 1899, not 1799; that this is the United States of America, not Morocco or Turkey; that the object of taxation in civilized states is not to plunder or build up character, but to collect revenue for the Government; that all our Government gets from this grand "regulation" is \$140,000 a year, and that for securing this portion of a revenue of \$340,000,000 it annoys, vexes, insults, delays, and endangers the health of the average of 120,000 persons who arrive in first-class steamers at this port from Europe every year:

"Whenever the baggage of passengers arriving from abroad is found to contain any articles purchased abroad which have not been declared by the passengers, they shall be described on the back of the baggage declaration by the inspector and submitted to the appraising officers for appraisement, and the inspector will be held responsible for the failure to so find and report such articles, regardless of their value."

Read it carefully, we say, and do not throw away such a product of constructive statesmanship, and then, having chosen some quiet place for reflection, will it not occur to you, if you have received even a common-school education, that the whole of this preposterous custom-house machinery, inspectors, appraisers, and deputy surveyors, might be dispensed with by exacting from each passenger, as he descends the gangway, a fixed sum of one dollar, or of one dollar and a half, for the privilege of landing in America?—

"My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing."

In this way the Government would get

its revenue much more surely than at present, nobody would be vexed, inconvenienced, or detained; everybody, even poor teachers or professors, would pay the dollar gladly. We will undertake, for our own part, to pay two dollars. Is it not astonishing that when two statesmen like Messrs. Gage and Howell set about concocting such a god-like "regulation," this scheme did not occur to them? We ask all our readers boldly if they know of any American business man of mature age who, if he was going to frame a regulation that was likely to annoy and insult many thousands of his fellow-citizens, would not wait to see by his books how much it would bring in to his account, and, on discovering that the amount was very small, would not ask himself whether there was not some easier and less offensive way of bringing in the same amount?

The desire of the people in Fort Wrangel, Alaska, to be set off from the United States to Canada, in order to get decent government, seems natural enough when we learn what sort of officials the Washington authorities have been sending there. Gov. Brady of Alaska is authority for the statement that there are sixty men in whose hands is the government of the Territory; that "they have no interests in Alaska except to grab whatever they can and get away"; that "they are like a lot of hungry codfish"; and that "seven of these officials, 11 per cent. of the entire government, are now under indictment for malfeasance in office." As one sample of the methods pursued, he cites the fact that our Government prohibits the sale of liquor, and yet collects a revenue from its sale. As illustrations of the way that the liquor laws are enforced, Gov. Brady says that he has known judges who would try a "joint"-keeper, and then go to his saloon for a drink with him; and that one of the officials now under indictment was proved to have made a raid on a "joint," and then turned around and sold the liquor back to the saloon-keeper! "The native has no respect for such a government," says Gov. Brady, "and who can blame him?" "The way that those appointments are made is abominable," is another of his comments. All this is more important for its bearing upon the future of "our new possessions" than upon the present of a possession which we have had for more than thirty years. One expansionist at least has got his eyes open to the significance of the Fort Wrangel incident. In a speech on Saturday evening Gov. Roosevelt said:

"Have you read in the papers that an Alaskan town wants to be transferred to Canada? It wants to get from under our flag merely because no one has thought it worth while to give Alaska good government. If we govern the Philippines, Cuba, Porto Rico, and Hawaii as we have governed Alaska, we shall have the same results."

The eleven car-loads of our citizens who journeyed to Albany last week in the interest of the Amsterdam Avenue bill, received an object-lesson in the modern science of government which should be of great value to them. They learned more in a few hours about the wonderful system under which they are living in this city than years of quiet observation and experience have been able to teach them. They went confident that Croker was with them, that he would exercise his absolute power over the Tammany members of the Legislature in favor of their bill, and they were even able to think kindly of him for thus exercising his power in the interests of the people. Surely a boss who was willing to exert his influence for good in this way could not be such a very bad man after all. Possibly the stories about his using his great power mainly for purposes of blackmail might be mere inventions of his enemies. The newspapers are shamefully reckless about charges of this kind against public men, you know. Well, they arrived in Albany, and went to the "halls of legislation." They were received by the Senators, and an adjournment of five minutes was voted in order that they might shake hands with the statesmen. Then the Senate reassembled, and the visiting citizens were treated to what the Boys call a "whirl." The bill that they desired to have passed was taken up, and an amendment was proposed which meant its death. It was opposed valiantly by the champions of the measure, and defended with great plausibility by the leading statesmen who represent the eminent Mr. Croker in the Senate, assisted by the leading statesmen who represent the eminent Mr. Platt in the same body. A vote was taken, and these two bodies of leading statesmen were discovered to be working heartily together for the amendment that would nullify the bill. What did that mean? Why, simply that the "orders" of the two bosses had either been different from what the visiting citizens had been assured they were, or else the representatives of the bosses had misunderstood them.

While the visiting citizens were trying to unravel this mystery, there came a second "whirl" to add to their confusion. No sooner had word reached the Assembly that the Senate had amended the bill, than the latter body turned about and passed it in its original form without amendment. Strangely enough, this action was taken by the same combination of boss-representatives that had succeeded in amending the bill in the Senate. Indeed, in making the combination in the Assembly, the Battery liquor-dealer who has the honor to be the personal representative of Mr. Croker in that body, announced that the "gen-

tleman who has the honor to preside over and direct the affairs of the city of New York told me on Sunday night that he did not want the Democratic organization of Tammany Hall to oppose or vote against this bill." That silenced all opposition, as well it might. It was in the nature of a royal edict. When word of it reached the Senate, the representatives in that body of the "gentleman who has the honor to preside over and direct the affairs of the city of New York" were dumfounded, of course. They must have misunderstood their orders, but, whether they did or not, they were determined to adhere to their amendment to the bill. What is the result? Simply what is known at Albany as a "see-saw." Each house will make it a "matter of principle" to stand by its bill. The Senate will insist upon its amendment as vital; the Assembly will insist that to permit the amendment to prevail will destroy the usefulness of the bill. Consequence—no legislation.

The native hue of resolution is being sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought on more than our side of the water. In other words, the bills have begun to come in, and there is such a difference in one's spirits usually between the time when one is spending and the time when one is paying! In England there is a huge deficit in the revenue for the year, and the newspapers are warning the Chancellor of the Exchequer not to add to the income tax, but there is, of course, no general agreement as to the exact place where he is to get the money. The protectionists are all alive with the hope of getting a tax on corn and other farm products, that will make the landlords and farmers happy, and make the laborer share more fully in the work of civilizing the "brown man" and get a piece of "the glory." But ever since Lowe tried to tax lucifer-matches, Chancellors have been chary about direct taxes on the common people which these can see too plainly, as they have no Griggs in England to tell the working people about "glory." We may feel sure that from this time forward the "white man's burden" will begin to feel too heavy for comfort. We are rapidly entering on the educational period, in fact, for expanding democracies. No drunken fit ever fails to be followed by a period of headache and reflection. Then we fear the great "alliance" of last year of the two branches of the Anglo-Saxon race is not "panning out" as was expected. Conquering America is not what they thought it in England. The campaigns in Cuba and the Philippines have not made America seem such a help against the "brown man" as was expected. The beef, and Alger, and Egan, and the prodigious bard-like literature of the war have offended English taste, and even *Punch* has ventured to satirize Hobson's osculatory performances.

"CHAOS."

The expansionists have begun to threaten us with "chaos" if they stop killing people with machine-guns in the Philippines, just as they threatened us with "a renewal of the war" if the treaty with Spain was not promptly ratified, concealing from us carefully who was to renew it. One thing they apparently do not see, and that is that they are accustoming us to "chaos." What are we doing but establishing chaos and carrying it on as a sort of business in which we are proud to excel? What is chaos but gun government, many thousands of deaths by violence, absence of civil law, great sense of "insecurity" among the peaceable, daily growth among large bodies of the population of intense hatred and study of revenge towards the people claiming the government, indefinite postponement of peace and order and trade and commerce and industry? Why, bless your innocent souls, expansionists dear, chaos has been the normal state of the Filipinos for generations, and what we thought you were going to do was to put an end to it. Now you tell us that if you stop killing the Filipinos and try kindness and conciliation, "chaos" will begin. But there cannot be worse chaos than you are carrying on. Every dispatch from Gen. Otis tells of chaos, and nothing else. It tells only of skirmishes, slaughters, assassinations, burnings, of the general destruction around Manila of all the works of civilization, of the death of thousands of half-civilized men, solely because you choose to call them "rebels," though they have never acknowledged your authority, and you have not a particle of claim to their allegiance except what is based on a bogus purchase from a bankrupt vendor—and you Americans!

The truth is that we, "foremost in the files of time," have simply bought the good will of a chaos business from a broken-down old dealer, the last left in the world, and have begun to carry it on at the old stand in precisely the old way, except that we are substituting Protestantism for Catholicism, enlightenment for superstition, American bragging and blowing for Spanish bragging and blowing, and keen, effective slaughter for Spanish old-fashioned, clumsy slaughter. We are, in fact, trying to do exactly what the Spaniards were trying to do—that is, hold down a wild people against their will 8,000 miles away. We are trying to do what Spain tried to do in all the Spanish-American republics and in Cuba, without success, and with a government much less adapted to the work than Spain's. Our government was made for peaceable, industrious, homogeneous, Protestant men. We are abandoning our ploughs and looms to engage in the old detestable Spanish business of "chaos"-making and "concentrating," for which we have neither fitness nor expe-

rience. What do we think of a conquering Power whose Secretary of War had to quit the army to avoid court-martial, and promptly uses his authority to serve decayed beef to the troops, whose Commissary-General blackguards the Commanding General in a carefully composed essay in the language of a drab in the stews, and is rewarded by the Executive with six years' vacation on full pay? To be a successful conqueror you must not only have guns and soldiers, but a conqueror's manners and the ways of a conqueror, and you must modify your Christianity.

Many good people who do not approve of "chaos" are asking themselves in a helpless way, "What are we to do? we are in for it," and so on. Well, we luckily know something about these "rebels" from the experience of the Spaniards—that the "rebels" rely mainly on their climate and the wide and scattered nature of their territory. All the difficulties will be much greater for us than for them, except cannonading from the shore—that is, a few miles. If the rebels will not accept our rule through conciliation, we can avoid a long war and great loss of life and probable ultimate relinquishment of the enterprise only by leaving the islands to their own devices. We assure those who are afraid of anarchy and chaos that there will be less of that in the native way than in ours. All Spanish-American states have had anarchy at first. But sooner or later there comes to the top a man of their own blood, race, and religion who understands them, and he gets hold of power, has a following among them, and eventually establishes some kind of government suited to the wants of their civilization. We have undertaken this enterprise through the advice of men who know nothing of the subject, backed by adventurous youths who wanted the fun of war, and parsons who had grown tired of Christianity. They wanted to spread the Gospel with improved weapons instead of the old pikes the Spaniards used to spread it with.

THE NEGLECT OF HAWAII.

If the action of Congress, or, rather, its failure to take action, respecting the government of Hawaii were a fair indication of the benevolent attention which our island territories are likely to receive from us, they might be tempted to think their last state worse than their first. The case seemed clear for prompt legislation. There has been no war in Hawaii. No preliminary work of pacification was necessary. The islands, moreover, had long been accustomed to a representative government. The inhabitants were ready for some form of local rule under American sovereignty. Full material for judgment was before Congress; a commission had made an exhaustive report and offered a bill; Ha-

waiians and Americans alike declared the matter to be one of great urgency; yet Congress did just nothing at all. We forget—it did one thing: it extended our navigation laws to the Hawaiian Islands. They asked for the bread of a territorial government, and we gave them the stone of an obsolete and restrictive shipping law.

That the affair may stand out in its true light, we set forth the successive steps which seemed to lead straight up to legislative action, but which led only to legislative neglect. The joint resolution of July 7, 1898, annexing the islands, declared that the Congress of the United States "shall provide for the government of such islands." In order that Congress might be able to act intelligently, the resolution further provided for the appointment of a commission to "recommend to Congress such legislation concerning the Hawaiian Islands as they shall deem necessary or proper." Such a commission was duly appointed by the President, visited the islands, and made a report to Congress which, with recommendations, filled 560 pages. President McKinley brought the whole matter to the attention of Congress. He said, with his beautiful faith in Congress, that he "believed" the recommendations of the Commission would receive from Congress "the earnest consideration due to the magnitude of the responsibility resting upon you." But a President who "believed" that would believe anything. Congress simply chucked the whole thing overboard. It would not even discuss the bills for Hawaiian government. Its way of dealing with the magnitude of responsibility is to ignore it altogether. Even when the President sent in a special message to remind it that at least a bill to lay a cable to Hawaii was "a paramount necessity before the close of the present Congress," Congress coolly said, "Oh, you think so, do you?" and threw his message into the waste-basket.

There was particular reason for haste in legislating for Hawaii because the resolution of annexation had left the islands in a very awkward legal situation. The Hawaiian Supreme Court had held that the jurisdiction of the local courts had been seriously impaired. They were inhibited from passing on all cases arising under the laws or the Constitution of the United States, yet no court of competent jurisdiction had been erected in their stead. All admiralty questions, for example, are indefinitely hung up in Hawaii, because no court has jurisdiction to try them. It seemed that the least Congress could do was to pass a remedial bill to cure this unlucky legal muddle of its own creating. But it did nothing. The Hawaiians cried out for relief, but 2,000 miles is a long way for the human voice to carry, especially when there is so much louder and nearer a clamor from the "deestrics." A Congressman could not well be expected to

attend to the jurisdiction of a court in Honolulu when he had to spend his days and nights hustling for a new courthouse in Liberty Corners.

There must be a moral in all this, but we will leave the expansionists to draw it. They told us how the horizon of Congress was to be "broadened" by having to legislate for distant possessions. They explained how inevitable it would be that a more serious tone and a higher statesmanship should result from our plunging into world-politics, as the Germans say. The way to develop a sense of responsibility was to undertake new duties; that is, to cure a weak back, pile on more burdens. Well, we know that the case of Hawaii must prove all this to be true, for the expansionists are never mistaken, but they ought to explain at least to the wondering Hawaiians just how it all happened, and how the wisdom and benevolence of Congress were displayed towards the islanders by letting them severely alone.

The real reason of the failure of the Hawaiian bills to receive any attention from Congress is, we presume, the "short session." When legislation is in a state of chronic congestion, and desperate efforts have to be made to get through the bills necessary to keep the Government going, it takes a powerful push indeed to get any other measure to the front. If the Hanna-Payne ship-subsidy bill, with its enormous bribes, its tremendous array of selfish interests in support of it, could not get a hearing, it is not, perhaps, surprising that the Hawaiian bills were turned out of doors. Nor do we suppose any serious or lasting harm will be caused by delay. The courts in Hawaii will find some way to punish crime. The men in control of the Hawaiian government will manage to keep the concern going. They and we shall flounder along in the good old American way. As for confident predictions, one way or the other, what the effect of all this on American political life will be, we decline to make any, except that which a wise English critic made when asked what he thought would be the effect on English literature of the disappearance of the three-volume novel. He said he did not precisely know, but was sure it would leave English literature very much what it was before.

LOBBYISTS AND LEGISLATORS.

The lobbyist has been much under discussion in Indiana during the session of the Legislature which ended a few days ago. Gov. Mount, who is a plain-spoken sort of Executive, took up the matter in his message to the Legislature, and said:

"The lobbyist who seeks to dominate legislation adversely to the public weal is an enemy to the public good. Hired lobbyists are a menace to free government. The time is rapidly approaching when the hired tool of corporate greed will be excluded from the halls of legislation. The just law that commends itself needs no schemer, with doubtful

methods, to secure its enactment. Labor is the creative power of wealth. Workingmen from the farm, the mines, and the shops cannot become lobbyists. They have not the means to this end. Business men and the common people have not the time. It becomes, therefore, the sacred duty of law-makers to look after the people and to see to it that no inroads are made upon their rights."

Indiana newspapers agree that there was abundant warrant for such talk by the Governor. "Every State in the Union has suffered more or less from lobbyists," says the *Indianapolis Journal*, "and none more than Indiana." During the last ten years a number of important reforms have been carried through the Legislature. The *Journal* testifies that "every measure of progress and reform that has been enacted in the State has been passed over the opposition of a lobby determined to maintain conditions favorable to a few and unfavorable to the masses."

Radical measures of reform were sought from this year's Legislature when it met last January—particularly in the matters of township and county government. Both parties had pledged themselves during the campaign last fall to favor such legislation, but, when the session opened, it was found that a powerful lobby had been organized, with the purpose of defeating the reform. A local observer reports that this lobby embraced all who had been profiting under the old system—extravagant and dishonest county commissioners; greedy county officers, to whom such commissioners had been "very kind"; party bosses who live on the crumbs of corruption that fall from political tables; courthouse rings, bridge-building companies, stationery and blank-book-supply houses, county officers who are reformers before election and fee-grabbers after, plausible citizens who are "in favor of real reform but not of this bill," small politicians who think that platform pledges are made to catch votes—in short, every person who had profited or hoped to profit under the old system. At the head of this formidable combination was the Association of County Officers, which opposed the bills of 1891 and 1895, substituting salaries for fees, and is still trying to undermine and whittle away the law on that subject which is now in force.

The shamelessness of these lobbyists increased as the contest over the reform measures grew close, and their impudence became remarkable. When the important vote on passing one bill to its third reading was being taken, one of the lobbyists slipped into the seat of a Representative, near the rear of the hall, who was absent. When the Representative's name was called, this lobbyist sang out, "No"; the clerk caught the response, and recorded him as voting in the negative. The lobbyist then slipped out of the seat, priding himself upon having secured the recording of a supporter of the bill against its passage—

although the scheme did not succeed, as two or three members had observed the trick, and made the clerk expunge the false vote.

The legislative reporter of the *Sentinel* who related this incident, wrote that "there is no adequate way of describing the impudence of some of these lobbyists," and he gave these further illustrations of their methods:

"They slip into the seats of members, and pester them by sending pages in constantly with requests that they come out into the lobbies. One lobbyist from Shelby County has made himself especially obnoxious. When pleading tactics will not avail, he attempts to bulldoze, and several of the members will no longer pay any attention to his cards when he sends them in. As the strife over the bill becomes more acute, the lobbyists for the county officers are assuming more and more the attitude that they own the House of Representatives, body and soul, and are no longer as sly and secretive as they were."

What shall be done about such a scandal? The natural reply to such a question, considering the American tendency to seek relief in a statute, is to pass a law to stop it. Years ago there were a good many people who thought that the only thing necessary to put an end to lobbying was to enact some sort of law. An experiment in this line was made in Massachusetts, some time ago; but, after thorough trial, there is a general agreement that little of real value has been effected by the registration of men who claimed the right to urge or oppose measures before the Legislature, or by the attempt to restrict their activity. The only sure way to get rid of lobbyists is to have legislators who cannot be influenced by their methods. No law was required to keep lobbyists from slipping into the seats of members at Indianapolis, and answering on roll-call to the names of absent Representatives; no statute was necessary to prevent legislators from answering calls to leave their seats and meet lobbyists outside the chamber. A sense of decency should be sufficient to make short work of all such tactics. The great trouble at Indianapolis was the tenderness of the law-makers towards the lobbyist. Even when the fellow was caught trying to falsify the roll-call, nothing was done except to correct the record by those who discovered his villainy.

No law was ever needed to protect George F. Edmunds and Justin S. Morrill, Allen G. Thurman and Thomas F. Bayard, from the approaches of lobbyists. No body of law-makers composed of such Republicans and Democrats as these men would ever suffer from corrupt attempts to influence its action. A Legislature could not be composed of men with such talents as these leaders at Washington possessed, but there is no reason why men of as high character as theirs should not be chosen. Without legislators whom lobbyists know that they cannot affect, there is little hope of abolishing the lobby.

NEW YORK CHURCHES.

For the origin of the troubles in the West Presbyterian Church of this city it is necessary to go back to the time when the late Jay Gould was one of its shining lights. His religious walk and conversation inevitably had a metallic ring. The style of preaching fitted to win his approval had necessarily to be very practical, and the management of church affairs in his day was above reproach on the financial side. The West Church was then, in fact, known as "the brokers' church." It used to be whispered about, in an awed way, how many "millions" every Sunday Dr. Paxton was in the habit of preaching to. We forget what the total was, but it was certainly large enough to make the Almighty think twice, as the French nobleman said, before damning men with such bank accounts. Several years of this intensely practical religion could not but bring about in the trustees of the church a state of mind which made it seem to them the most natural thing in the world to ask their pastor to resign, not because he was not eloquent or godly, or successful in drawing the unchurched to his ministrations—for it is agreed that Dr. Evans has been all these—but because there is a shortage in the money receipts.

Just what the financial situation of the West Church is, seems to be in dispute. A mortgage of \$45,000 on the church property is said to be held by one of the trustees, Mr. Russell Sage. We have heard it said that Mr. Sage ceased attending the Brick Church and "took a pew" in the West Church for reasons not unconnected with this mortgage, but of this we know nothing. Reporters tried to get light from Mr. Sage on the whole case on Sunday, but, owing to his severe rule never to discuss even semi-worldly subjects on the Sabbath, they failed.

There is, however, no doubt whatever that financial reasons alone led to the demand that the pastor resign. He should not have been surprised at this, considering how the pecuniary note was made dominant in the church during so many years. As one of the indignant younger members is quoted as saying, in those days no one who could not pay \$500 for a pew was wanted. Heaven was then described from the pulpit as a sort of glorified Wall Street.

It would be an exaggeration to say that this West Church case is typical. We should be sorry to say we thought it was. Yet there is no doubt that it suggests one of the perplexing and difficult problems which confront many pastors and churches in New York city. We need not specify the many instances during the past few years of ministers of different denominations and in various parts of the city being practically compelled to surrender their pulpits, on the ground that the cash returns from

their ministry were not satisfactory, however the case might be with the spiritual returns. Church trustees in New York have a terribly business-like way of looking at these matters. They have not a word to say against their pastor. He is a good man and a good preacher; but the Midases have given up their pew, the Georgeouses advertise theirs for sale, and what are you going to do? This is their hard-headed way of interpreting the promise they made when calling their minister, to leave him "free from worldly cares." Worldly care is, in fact, the thing which breaks down ten clergymen to one who succumbs to spiritual burdens.

The truth is, we believe, that few men outside of New York realize the enormous difficulties of the work of a pastor in this city. Most vacant pulpits are filled by drafts on country towns, and the country clergymen must be rare who are not surprised by the stress and strain of a New York pastorate. Many of them succeed, of course, and of them we hear most. They are the ones who are pointed to as showing the influence and power of a New York pulpit. But the many who fail, and who go away broken in health and spirit and with ruined prospects, are forgotten; and it still remains a subject of congratulation when a preacher who has had great success in a town or small city receives a "call" to New York. Too often it is a call only to fierce competition, to incessant and heart-breaking labor, to overwhelming anxieties, and to final failure. But the illusion will doubtless persist, and the great prizes of the pulpit in New York will be striven for as diligently as ever by the rural clergy.

It will be noted that this peculiar kind of church trouble is rarely heard of except among the non-episcopal churches. Independent churches seem to struggle for life more fiercely. One is all the while bidding against another. In the same denomination a certain kind of "comity" is usually observed in not locating one church too near another; but rival sects show little consideration, and push for eligible sites on "the avenue" as eagerly as if they were so many clubs. Yet even the episcopally governed churches steadily abandon the poorer sections of the city, and show how powerful the financial motive is with them, too, as indeed it seems that it must be with any voluntary church. Doubtless in time some scheme will be evolved amounting to endowment of churches in the parts of the city where the people are not able to support them. But at present the situation is one which saddens and burdens many hard-working pastors and workers among the poor. They steadily feel the pain and humiliation of seeing Christianity given a mercenary aspect—an aspect which, to most of us, is only occasionally and disagreeably brought home by such an incident

as the action of the trustees of the West Church.

THE BICYCLE IN GREECE.

ATHENS, January 25, 1899.

It has been repeatedly suggested to me, by the regrets of a considerable number of the members of the American School at Athens, that I should give some public expression to the utility of the bicycle in Greece. I put aside certain temptations to praise the bicycle generally, and speak of it only as a help here in the study of archaeology.

Every year men come to us saying: "I left my wheel at home, thinking it would be of little use in this rough country." After some reflection on "the difficulty of having it sent over after them, they rent wheels a few times, after which, deterred partly by the awkwardness of having to hunt up a wheel for every little excursion, and partly by suffering from the poorer quality of wheels that are to be had on loan, they drop the habit of bicycling. But the wheel has been so keenly appreciated here by generations of students that this dropping out is to be very much deprecated. Archaeology does not consist entirely in the study of books and museums. That it does largely so consist it must be confessed; but a legitimate and important part of Greek archaeology is the knowledge of the face of the country; the tracing out of its ancient routes, going over the passes and climbing now and then a mountain; the skirting its coasts; the visiting its places of great renown; the studying of its battle-fields; and the seeing of the landscapes on which rested the eyes of Pericles and Epaminondas, of Sophocles and Pindar. Especially important is this for one who has but one year to spend in Greece. It is well for him, even at the expense of some time which might well be spent in the museum or in the library, so to fill his mind with the landscapes of Greece that, when he goes back and stands before his classes and speaks, for example, of Leuctra, he may be looking with the mind's eye upon the slopes down which the Spartans came charging, the opposite slope where the Thebans stood, and the valley between, where they clashed. The class is then sure to catch some of this vivid presentation, and feel that they have almost seen Leuctra themselves. If, then, one should spend the whole of his year in museums and libraries, we might say to him, "This ought ye to have done, and not to have left the other undone."

Granted that one wishes to see the country and to become familiar with it, so that he will read Greek history, and Greek poetry, too, with other eyes, the bicycle becomes evidently indispensable. To take an example: One morning, to shake off a headache incurred by sitting too long in a close room at an invaluable meeting of the German School the night before, I bicycled with a member of our School, who had never been there before, to Liopesti (Pæania), the birthplace of Demosthenes, stayed long enough to chat with the villagers and take a glass of their resined wine, with which one is supposed to drink in the gift of talking modern Greek, and came back to Athens all in three hours, taking it very leisurely at that, and returning by a roundabout way, reaching home full of oxygen and sans headache. We might have walked, to be sure, but not to Pæania, unless we had given the whole day to it.

Railroads will take you already to many

parts of Greece, and in a few years, if the affairs of the country go well, you will be able to proceed by rail from the northern border of Thessaly to Kalamata at the southern end of Messenia. But even railroads cannot do all for us which the bicycle does. Exercise, open air, and, perhaps more than all, the delight in propelling one's self, will make one prefer the wheel. We can reach Eleusis by bicycle as quickly as the train takes us, and choose our own time for starting, without the alternative of sitting some time at the station or losing the train.

There are many other charming spots in Attica where no railroad comes in to help. Marathon and Salamis are two such places, to which we make excursions every year. Last year some of us rode out on Thanksgiving Day through Deceleia to a point where we saw Oropus and the Euboean Gulf at our feet, and Dirphys, the highest mountain in Euboea, rising opposite us, and then turned around with the recollection of one of the finest views in the world to add to enjoyment of our Thanksgiving dinner. In twenty minutes, had we so wished, we could have been in Oropus. On any day one can start out from Athens and reach the end of Attica in any direction and get home to an early dinner. In fact, we have sometimes taken dinner at home after straying as far as Megara and Thebes. The acquaintance which some members of our School have gained with Attica, in all its nooks and corners, by single day's bicycle-riding, is something noteworthy; and when, in 1897, on Thanksgiving Day, we turned out ten men for a ride across Salamis to Megara for a luncheon, and came home by the shore road, we felt considerable *esprit de corps*.

The notion which foreigners have of the roads of Greece, that they are bad compared with those of other countries, is an error. A bicycle journey through Italy and Sicily disabused me of that notion. The worst road that I ever tried was that between Caserta and Naples, and the next worse was that leading into Rome from the north. There are, of course, some bad roads in Greece; but even Sicily, to say nothing of worse roads in Italy, cured me of complaining against Greece. For a pure pleasure ride, the road between Tripolitza and Sparta would be hard to match anywhere in the world. It is in capital condition, and, on account of its gentle grade, involves very little walking. Six hours suffice for the journey in either direction, and the view either way is superb. The ride through Ætolia and Acarnania, regions considered half civilized in the classical period of Greek history, but always fine in natural beauty, with big lakes, and rivers that "move in majesty" (a rare thing in Greece), hedged in by high mountains, is perhaps the best in Greece. One rides from the shore of the Corinthian Gulf opposite Patras to Arta (Ambracia) in two days, with a comfortable night at Agrinion, passing the historic Missolonghi and visiting the ruins of Calydon, Pleuron, Cēniadē, Stratos, Limnæa, and Amphiloehian Argos, while to the right and left are other ruins which invite one to make détours if one is not in a hurry. And one ought not to omit the recently excavated Thermon, the ancient capital of Ætolia, even if it does cost an extra day. The long-known and impressive ruins of Cēniadē, the chief city in Acarnania, also invite one to linger a whole day instead of spending a few hours in passing.

The first five cities of ancient Greece in renown and interest were Athens, Sparta, Argos, Thebes, and Corinth. One can ride from Athens to Thebes or Corinth and back in a single day; he can also easily reach Argos from Athens in a day, and this leaves a rather long day's work for reaching Sparta. Any good bicyclist would find it no great matter to leave Thebes and pay his respects to Athens on the first day, visit Corinth and Argos on the next day, and sleep comfortably at Sparta the next night.

Perhaps, however, no better example of what one may enjoy with a bicycle can be given than the journey which I have just finished. Last Thursday the clouds dissipated themselves in such a way as to make me believe that we were about to have a few days of that winter weather which is "rarer than a day in June," and so, taking the train to Eleusis, to spare myself a little at the start, I rode over the famous Treis Kephala Pass into Boeotia. I thought when I was at the top of the pass that the view presented was the finest in Greece. Not to mention lesser glories, Parnassus was close at hand on the left, Dirphys almost equally close on the left, while very distant, but very clear, directly in front, was "snowy Olympus," a perfect mass of white. After lunching at Thebes, I wheeled easily along to Lebadea, entering it as the setting sun was turning the white mountains into pink. The next day, more clear and beautiful than the first, if that were possible, brought me to Lamia in Thessaly, via Thermopylae. The third day, in order to get a nearer view of Olympus, I rode and climbed up to the top of the ridge which formed the old border between Greece and Turkey, before Thessaly was incorporated into the kingdom of Greece, and on which, in the late war, the Greeks made their last stand after the battle of Domoko. From this point Olympus is, indeed, grander than from the passes of Cithæron, while the whole Pindus range, and the grand isolated peak of Tymphrestus, which some think would prove (if properly measured) to be the highest peak in Greece, stand up in majesty. Parnassus and the Aetolian Mountains make a fine showing on the south. From this point, on this same third day, as clear as the two preceding, I reached Amphissa at evening, after climbing two passes and enjoying new glories at each. It was, in fact, a continuous intoxication, to recover from which it required two days of archaeological study at Delphi. This was, to be sure, almost equally intoxicating, but, being an intoxication of another sort, it let me down gently. In three days I had got a glimpse of nearly all Greece in such weather as only a Greek winter can give.

RUFUS B. RICHARDSON.

JOSEPHINE AT THE MALMAISON.

PARIS, February 24, 1899.

M. Frédéric Masson has published a sequel to 'Josephine de Beauharnais' in a new volume, entitled 'Josephine Impératrice et Reine.' The transition is perhaps the most interesting epoch in the life of Josephine. The *liaison* with Bonaparte formed at the house of Barras was transformed very rapidly into an offer of marriage. At what moment? M. Masson prints a letter, unfortunately without date, which seems to mark the psychological moment; in this letter Bonaparte defends himself against the reproach of not loving Josephine for herself. Eleven

days after, having still done the honors of the house of Barras, she accepts Bonaparte's offer. She was thirty-two years old, she had two children; Barras was very fickle and had left her several times already for Madame Tallien. She felt no love for the young general, but her friends told her that he had genius, he was generous, he was ambitious, he was on the point of taking command of a great army. She felt, perhaps if not love, some pity for the young hero who wrote her such ardent letters. She consented, but Bonaparte was really in her eyes a *pis-aller*, and she thought sincerely that she was conferring a great favor.

M. Masson does not observe the chronological order in the publication of his volumes. After Josephine's life before her marriage with Bonaparte, he ought to have given us her life in the interval between the marriage and the 18th Brumaire and during the Consulate; his new volume takes up Josephine in 1804, when she has become an Empress. The reason is, that this 'Josephine Impératrice et Reine' had already been published apart in a splendid edition by Goupil, which was too dear for the general public. The new volume gives only the text of this magnificent edition, but M. Masson has added to it a fresh chapter on the Malmaison, the house which Josephine inhabited during the Consulate and after her divorce.

The Malmaison deserves a special mention all the more because it is on the point of becoming a great Bonapartist museum. A rich financier has recently bought what remains of it, with the intention of making a complete restoration of the place which will always be identified with the time of the Consulate. The Malmaison is situated on a bend of the Seine, in the pretty region, so well known to the painters, which comprises Ruell, Bougival, Marly, and St. Germain. At the time when Josephine was Madame de Beauharnais, she lived much at Croissy, which is in the same region. She was there in 1792, again in 1793; she returned to Croissy on coming out of prison. She saw from Croissy, on the opposite side of the river, the château of Malmaison, with its high roofs; it became the home of her dreams, though it was not very architectural, only a central part with two side pavilions; and fifteen windows in all on the façade. "Near the château there was a farm; the park was not very large; there were some vineyards besides (there are still some vineyards in that neighborhood, where people make a little wine as sour as the famous wine of Suresnes or Argenteuil)." The name of Malmaison comes from *mala domus*; it is rather common in France.

In 1771 the château belonged to a *famille de robe* connected with the Parlement, an intellectual family, as was apt to be the case. After the Revolution, it was in the hands of the only *fermier-général* who had not been guillotined, M. du Moley. He was in need of money; Josephine took Bonaparte to Malmaison immediately after her marriage; an offer of 250,000 francs for it was made, but the negotiation was interrupted by the expedition to Egypt. In his absence M. de Moley sold the house to Josephine, in her own name, as she was married *séparée de biens*. The price of the house was 225,000 francs; the furniture was bought for 37,516 francs. As soon as possible Josephine established herself at the Malmaison. She was dying to play the part of a *dame de château*. "The first person whom she in-

stalls in it is Citizen Charles, the ex-assistant to the Adjutant-General of the army of Italy; Charles, the *boute-en-train*, the *colembouriste*, with whom she likes to prolong in the night, or under the indiscreet rays of the sun, sentimental journeys in the great avenues. 'How she loves her brother!' say the peasants of Ruell, who see her through the grille on their way to the Hallea."

Josephine had debts; she could not bring herself to sell the jewels which Bonaparte had given her after the Italian campaign. She had borrowed money to pay for the Malmalson; she had not paid her taxes; she owed money to everybody, even to her servants. Her Bonaparte relations refused to help her; but, with the unconsciousness and levity of a true creole, she continued to spend, to buy whatever pleased her. With a childish pleasure she showed her neighbors her pearls, her diamonds, her cameos, and, in her house, the pictures, statues, mosaics which had been presented to Bonaparte in Italy. It was time that Bonaparte should return; he did return. He did not go to the Malmalson, but to the Rue de la Victoire, where took place the famous scene in which Bonaparte, who had come back determined on divorce, was reconquered by Josephine. While in Egypt his relations had informed against her, he had written her the most angry letters; he had the most serious grounds for a divorce, but he could not resist the tears and entreaties of Josephine. They were reconciled, and she at once took him to the Malmalson.

"It was," says M. Masson, "a real home for one who had never lived anywhere but in colleges, schools, barracks, huts, palaces, inns, through which he went having nothing but what he wore on his body; now he has a house which he can call his own, a garden where he can cool his ardor, a few acres of which he can call himself master; and he pays, but in his own name, not in the name of Josephine, the 210,000 francs still due to Du Moley; he pays the rest, the clamorous debts—all he is asked to pay for."

The *coup d'état* of Brumaire follows almost immediately upon the return from Egypt; and as soon as the blow is struck, as soon as Bonaparte feels himself master of France, he goes to the Malmalson for repose. For a moment he thinks of leading a quiet life, of playing the Cincinnatus; but he cannot keep quiet, and, having nothing better to do, he summons architects. He confers with Fontaine, the architect of the day, and orders changes and additions to the Malmalson. He must have a larger dining-room, a library, etc. When he returns to Italy, Josephine superintends the works. Six hundred thousand francs were spent on all these additions and improvements. Pictures were ordered for the Malmalson from all the good painters of the time—Gérard, Girodet, and others. The subjects were: "Ossian evoking phantoms to the sound of the harp on the shores of the Lora" and "Ossian and the warriors receiving in Valhalla the French warriors who had died for their country." Ossian was a great favorite with Bonaparte. "You have had a grand idea," said Bonaparte to Girodet, who had chosen this last subject; "the figures are really phantoms; I recognize the generals." Other pictures represented "The First Consul sleeping with fatigue at the passage of the Alps," and "General Bonaparte on the summit of the Alps." The painters of that time had very singular notions of the Alps, but had Napoleon himself not told Gros to represent him in the Alps "calm on a fiery

horse"? Portraits of Josephine, of Madame the mother of Bonaparte, completed the decoration of the great salons. In other rooms there were Pompeian decorations on panels: vases, tables in stucco, busts of all sorts. The whole ornamentation was in that style which we call the Empire, afterwards much neglected and despised, and, strangely enough, now coming again into fashion.

Josephine spent much of her time in discussion with the architects and with her gardeners—more, I suspect, than with her librarian, for there was also a library at the Malmalson. The librarian was Father Dupuy, who received a salary of 3,600 francs a year. He was a Minim of Brienne, whom Bonaparte had not forgotten. All the books at the Malmalson were modestly bound in calf, and bore on their covers the monogram P. B. (Pagerie-Bonaparte). When they were sold, there was a printed sale catalogue, but I have never been able to procure it. It would be interesting to know what books Josephine and Bonaparte read during the Consulate. Many of the volumes, however, were presents. The most important were the great works printed at the Imprimerie Nationale, such as the famous 'Description de l'Egypte,' a folio which can still be picked up at a moderate price.

Josephine was passionately fond of flowers; she had hot-houses and a botanical garden. She appointed Redouté (author of a fine work on roses) to be her flower-painter, and authorized him to publish the 'Jardin de la Malmalson,' a beautiful work, which cost her in all 130,000 francs. Josephine's expenditures were so great that Napoleon had to make a yearly budget, but it was never respected, and there were always extraordinary credits to be opened. M. Masson enters into the most minute details concerning all the improvements and additions devised by Josephine—temples, grottoes, artificial rocks, bridges, statues, vases, English gardens, antiquities, columns, ancient pictures, mineralogical cabinets.

Napoleon grew by degrees tired of the Malmalson; he lost his interest in it when he was able to take the Palace of Saint-Cloud as a residence. The Malmalson, however, is near Saint-Cloud, and Josephine, even when she became Empress, always considered the Malmalson as a home. It seemed to her a sort of material tie between Napoleon and herself; her perpetual fear of a divorce rendered dearer to her the house in which she had lived with Napoleon before dynastic preoccupations took possession of him. She knew that the Malmalson would be her retreat if the divorce was pronounced, and if Napoleon took a second wife. When Napoleon installed himself at Saint-Cloud, his first care was to build a good road between the Malmalson and Saint-Cloud. Josephine bought land along that road, when she found an opportunity. Her dream was to be able to go to Saint-Cloud without going out of her own land.

It is to be hoped that the Malmalson will soon be restored. In its present state you would hardly recognize it as it figures in the engravings of the time and as it is described in M. Masson's book. This book will be a valuable document for those who have undertaken the restoration. It will be very difficult, if not impossible, to acquire all the land which once belonged to Josephine's estate, as it has been sold in lots, and is partially covered with villas. The restoration of the ancient park is less important than the re-

storage of the château, which is a very easy task; and when once the château is rebuilt on its former plan, and furnished in its old style, probably many gifts will be made to the museum, which will help to give it the character of a true museum of a very definite and historically very important period.

Correspondence.

THE RIGHTS OF MAN AT THE WEST.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: To a man born, educated, and trained in the East and long resident in the Middle West, there are many opportunities for observing the really essential differences of temperament and character between the citizens of those sections. In perhaps nothing is that divergence more manifest than in the attitude of those two sections towards the Philippine question. How the plain citizen feels in the East about the question I have no means of knowing at first hand, but it is quite evident in my mind that the plain people of the West are almost unanimously in favor of expansion. To explain precisely why would be a hard task; but there seem to be at least two considerable factors in producing this popular feeling.

Our people—and I mean by that farmers and inhabitants of small towns, cities, and villages in the Mississippi valley—our people feel in the first place that they are just as good as any other people on earth, individually and collectively. Having never come in contact with others superior to their own class, this illusion has never been jostled appreciably. Intensely, perhaps fanatically, patriotic, they are great readers of newspapers, and when they see from day to day the world's doings and the small part that America plays therein, their pride is hurt; they feel that there are a good many good things going on abroad in which they as Americans have no share. Geographical and financial considerations prevent their taking closer view of these glorious performances, so luridly set forth in their darling newspaper. Sturdy Americans as they are, they are jealous of "abroad," and want to know more about it. Hence the frantic eagerness of Chicago to have the World's Fair brought to our very doors, where we could see and study foreign nations. The further removed our citizens are from the currents of the world's activities, the more interested they become therein. Consequently, when the Philippine question came up, the most enthusiastic expansionists were those who lived farthest away from the political centre of the equilibrium of the world. So when McKinley asked these people, "Will (I) we take these foreign islands?" there was not the slightest delay in the response. The answer was: "Sure thing, the sooner the better." Their mental attitude was precisely that of a country yokel who had been gazing at circus posters all his life, and was suddenly asked if he would like to join the circus.

After that arose the question as to the rights of the inhabitants of the Philippines, and, strangely enough, our people turned an absolutely deaf ear to such queries. Why they should do so is one of the enigmas of modern political psychology for which many explanations have been adduced, but I suspect that our publicists have been overlook-

ing one factor in our national life which may shed some light on the conundrum. Roughly stated, it may be said that our people are beginning to doubt the doctrine of political equality. As if to satirize the idea, Europe has been sending us object-lessons by the million, and the negro has contributed valuable lessons for us. We have been gradually growing tired of folks inferior to ourselves, and, doctrine or no doctrine, we have not failed to show it. Whatever we may have once thought of the negro, there is no blinking the fact that nowadays we do not esteem him. Roaming gangs of tramps have opened country folks' eyes on points in comparative anthropology. Traditions of encounters with savage Indian tribes hereabouts are not all dead in the country districts, and when it was alleged that the original inhabitants of the islands were no better than Indians, tramps, negroes, or Hungarians, etc., the average American Mississippi valley citizen had no scruples in allowing a denial of rights to such cattle. The average American to-day believes in the immortal principles of the immortal Declaration of Independence if carefully enclosed within a circumscribed circle and applied with discretion and strictly to our own people. And he also has the temerity to say that such were the views of the immortal George and the immortal Thomas, or would be if they were permitted to see to what extent their views had been distorted in subsequent years. Personally, I think the farmers and villagers are right. I have read the *Nation* religiously for twenty-five years; I admire its keenness, honesty, and fearlessness, but I am surprised that it fails to read the signs aright of the growing popular distrust of the doctrine of Equality in America.

A WESTERN AMERICAN.

CHICAGO, February, 1899.

A TEST CASE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is with great satisfaction that I see you have taken up the subject of the ignominy imposed on our homeward-bound travellers by the custom-house rules. I became conscious of it the first time I returned alone from Europe. I presented my declaration, together with exact lists of the articles supposed to be dutiable which I was bringing in, and which were carefully packed, with the bills, in a separate trunk. When the custom-house official proceeded to open my other baggage I resented and resisted his doing so. Friends who had come to meet me warned me that I had better not make him angry. I was too angry myself to care, although he was tipsy, very impertinent (before any discussion arose), and made offensive remarks about his tests whether women's gowns had been worn or not; but this is aside from the point, as well as the fact that his examination was superficial and that the duties were trifling. When I asked what was the object of the declaration if the baggage was to be examined afterwards, I was told that it was only a form, devised, not for persons like myself, but for those who would smuggle, and that the officers know to a certainty whom to suspect; that the examination of other people's trunks was merely another form. Then why make the suspected declare? For the form. Then why examine the unsuspected? For the form. I put the questions as a logical dilemma without get-

ting any further. The law compels smugglers to become also liars and perjurers, and puts honest people in the position of being liars, perjurers, and smugglers to boot. My amazement and disgust that hundreds of thousands of respectable Americans yearly submit to this infamy were unbounded, and I registered a vow never again to undergo it.

On my next return from abroad, now ten years ago, I declined to make a declaration, saying that I would rather have my trunks emptied on the wharf. But on landing I found that this was not the alternative. No declaration? Then my baggage *would not be opened on the wharf*, but must go to some Appraiser's office, bonded warehouse, or other place of storage, I forget what. My demand to have it examined then and there was vain; it was carted off, and, as business hours were nearly over, I was told that nothing more could be done about it that day. I went home, a three hours' journey, and returned early next morning to prove whether I could reclaim my property without classing myself with smugglers, liars, and perjurers. My head was giddy and my legs were weak from the voyage; delays and difficulties were many; if I remember right, I was obliged to apply at five places, driving to and fro across New York below Park Place through the narrowest thoroughfares at the most crowded time of day. More than four hours were spent in this manner. Every official in succession stared and asked the same question: "Why did you not make a declaration?" and on my answering, "Because I would not make a declaration and then have my baggage examined—one or the other, not both," he stared again and recommenced the explanation that it was only a form, etc. At length I reached the final stage; a courteous and kindly personage gave me the order of release for my trunks, and repeated the official question and explanation. I asked him if he had sons: "Yes, two, nearly grown up." "You expect them to be honest, honorable men?" "I hope they are so already," he replied, flushing. "Then," I said, "you had better teach them not to accept the imputation of dishonesty and dishonor, as that blunts the sense of honor."

I went home victorious, but nauseated, to be indisposed for weeks from my exertions and experience. What struck me as the worst symptom I had met with was the universal surprise at my objection to write myself down liar and perjurer. Most of my friends said I was a fool, and I fear the rest thought so. What I thought of them was that the Government had destroyed the self-respect of the country. I tried to write you a short account of the matter then, when the precise details were fresh in my mind, and entitled it "A Nation without the Point of Honor," but I was ailing too long to do so while the grievance was fresh. It may not be too late yet, however, since you are stirring up our sluggish sensibilities.—Yours gratefully, AN AMERICAN WOMAN.

March 9, 1899.

"THE LAW OF THE ROAD."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The letter of Mr. H. M. Doak has recalled to me much about road law that has long lain dormant in my memory. I have had driving experience both in England and in America, and have had a good deal of travelling on horseback or behind a horse in

England and on the Continent of Europe. My people have led a country life for generations, farmers and yeomen, so that there has been among us a kind of tradition of horse for ever so long. But I have never heard any suggestion to explain the British rule of road, "Keep to the left," as Mr. Doak does. What my father told me, when he used to take me out in his gig or dog-cart, was this: You turn to the left when you meet a horse and cart because, by passing on that side, you do not run any risk of pressing or hurting the man in charge; for, if the horse is led, the man leads him by the *right* (the strong) hand, and the man is thus on the side of the horse most distant from passing carriages if they keep to the *left*.

So much for the horse and cart. Next take two carriages, each driven by a man on the box: the coachman in every country I know sits at the *right*-hand side of the box. Now, what is the safest rule to make for meeting and passing, taking the coachman's seat into account? Evidently it will be the rule that will give the coachman the most exact knowledge of the position of his carriage as he meets or passes another carriage. It is therefore obvious that, with coachmen sitting on the right side of the carriages, the safest rule for meeting is for carriages to be right to right, and that is equivalent to saying, "Keep to the left." For passing, the safest rule would be that the overtaking coachman should have the overtaken carriage on his right, and that also means, "Let the *faster* of the two carriages going in the same direction keep to the *left*." Then, of course, the *slower* must go to the *right*.

So we can now understandingly examine both the English and the American rules. The former is, "Keep to the left meeting, to the right overtaking"; the latter exactly the reverse, "Keep to the right meeting, to the left overtaking." Of the rules for meeting, the English is better; of those for overtaking, the American would be the better but for one consideration, namely, that the slower overtaken vehicle pushed over to the right-hand side of the road may immediately need to meet a third vehicle, and to do this properly has to cross the road. It is this consideration which has, I believe, led to the adoption in England of the opposite rule, in accordance with which the slower vehicle grinds along at the left-hand side of the road undisturbed by either meeters or passers.

The case of the led horse remains: in his case the main point is to keep him from being able to strike out at meeting or passing horses or vehicles. To secure this, he is kept close to the edge of the road, and the man leading him keeps between him and all other traffic or animals. He leads him by his strong hand, his right hand; and so the led horse is kept as close as possible to the right-hand edge of the road, looking in the direction in which he is travelling, and everything gladly makes way for him.

I am inclined, when driving in America and continental Europe, to be less comfortable in meeting a carriage or wagon than in overtaking it, while in England my feelings are exactly the reverse. I would gladly hear the experiences of others in a similar plight. One thing is quite beyond my comprehension, namely, the fact that the Americans, even of English descent, appear to have utterly rejected the English practice. In Canada the majority do the same, but in some towns (is Toronto among them?) the English

practice obtains. How is this to be explained?

WILLIAM GOW.

ORANGE, N. J., March 10, 1899.

[In St. John, New Brunswick, twenty-five years ago, the rule of keeping to the left prevailed; and perhaps it still prevails. What was more surprising to right-handed foreigners was that the same rule determined the passing of pedestrians on the sidewalks.—ED. NATION.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The letter of Mr. Doak on "The Law of the Road," in the *Nation* of March 9, presents the curious question, Why did our English forefathers reverse their own English usage, and thereby establish in this country a new law of the road—that of keeping to the right instead of to the left?

The English usage did not originate with gentlemen on horseback carrying swords, but with English carters in smock-frocks, riding the "near horse" or plodding along on the left side of the road. The usage was established before the days of canals, steamboats, or railroad trains, when the heavily laden dray, moving in long trains, did all the transportation service of the country, and when there was no driving in the modern sense of that term.

The reason why the English keep to the left in driving, and why all horsemen mount on the left side of the horse, is because all men (substantially) were created right-handed. That much is plain; the feeblest intellect can grasp it. The carter's chief instrument for guiding and animating his team—for inflicting punishment and making a noise—was his carter's whip. Being right-handed, it was necessary that he should carry his whip in his right hand. To use it effectively, it was necessary that it should be, as near as might be, in the middle of the field of operations. If the carter would mount the left horse, he must mount on the left side, and if he would not mount and dismount in the middle of the road, where the English mud was deepest, the team must be on the left side of the road. When he dismounted there, he found, and helped to make and maintain, a foot-path along which he trudged, having his team within reach of his whip hand, and the horse on which he rode nearest to himself; whence the terms "near horse" and "off horse," which in modern days are to the American meaningless.

The reason why all horsemen in European countries as well as in England mount on the left side is likewise because their fathers were created right-handed. Being right-handed necessitated carrying the sword or sabre on the left side. If they had mounted on the right side, they would have had to clutch the scabbard and lift it over the horse when they mounted. In a word, the origin of the English usage of turning to the left and of the universal usage of mounting a horse on the left, is plain—it sprang from a general condition of right-handedness.

But apprehending the real reason for the English usage does not help us to a solution of the problem, Why did Englishmen in America, when on the highway, do exactly the opposite of that which they had been accustomed to do in the land where they were born and bred? When I was a boy, I was told that our Northern winters, deep snows, and drifted roads had brought about the

change. It was said that the greater part of the travelling in the early colonial days was done after the sleighing was good—that when two sleighs met and both had to "turn out" into the unbroken snow, it was better for the driver to be free to spring out and hold up his sleigh without having his legs crushed by the one he was meeting—that on the right side he could see where he was going, which was of more importance than seeing whether his sleigh would scrape against the other sleigh. (Here I may note parenthetically that the driver at an early day had shifted his seat from the carter's side of the vehicle to the right side, and for the same reason, viz., that he might have his whip-hand free.) But this explanation of snow and snow-drifts failed me when I found that "Keep to the right" was the law of usage from Canada to South Carolina. My inquiries have not been scientific or exhaustive, and there may have been parts of the country wherein, in the early days, drivers "turned out" to the left. The English railroads followed the carter's usage and ran on the left track. The railroads in New Jersey followed the English railway usage, and for a long time obstinately continued to do so. There may have been a left-hand usage in New Jersey upon the highways. Yet in South Carolina there was a conservative English community, and in South Carolina there was neither snow nor sleighing, nor wagon-traffic with the snow-bound States; and yet there they keep to the right, and the memory of man runneth not to the contrary.

I have not looked into early colonial and State statutes to ascertain the earliest legislation in regard to the law of the road, and I should attach but little importance to what might be found, for legislation merely regulates and enforces usage. The singular and extraordinary fact remains to be explained that different and remote communities, when transplanted from one continent to another, without law or obligation of any kind, immediately, or almost immediately, took to doing exactly the opposite of what they had all their lives been accustomed to do.

CHARLES C. NOTT.

WASHINGTON, March 11, 1899.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your correspondent on this subject has given reasons for the English rule which should be satisfactory to all. In reply to his question, Why did our colonial ancestors change it to "Keep to the right?" I would say that the reasons referred to apply to an old, long-civilized country, where drivers are in a large majority. There the driver, sitting on the right, must turn to the left, on meeting any other vehicle, in order to watch his wheels in passing those of the other. In a new colony, where agriculturists abound, ox-teams must far outnumber all wagons and carriages. The teamster, walking at the head of his cattle, on the left, must, for the same reason, keep to the right to watch the wheels. "Keep to the right," with us, is too firmly fixed to change. Some drivers adapt themselves to it by sitting on the left, but at the loss of the freedom of the whip-hand.

F. B.

CAMBRIDGE, March 10, 1899.

THE "MISOGONUS" AND LAURENCE JOHNSON THE MARTYR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The "Misogonus," of which Collier

long ago gave an analysis, and which Prof. Brandl of Berlin has just edited (with many curiosities in text and notes) in his 'Quellen des weltlichen Dramas in England' (Strassburg, 1898), is so early and so interesting a specimen of English university comedy that any information about it is worth recording.

The manuscript which has preserved the play is signed, under the list of *dramatis personae*, "Laurentius Bariona. Ketheringe. Die 20 Novembris, Anno 1577." The fifth letter of the surname is said by Collier to be a Greek omega; Prof. Brandl makes it a 'w'; Dr. F. I. Carpenter, of the University of Chicago, who has examined the manuscript, assures me that Collier is right. No attempt to identify this Bar-Jona has been made, so far as I know. Brandl contents himself with remarking: "hebräisch=Taubensohn." Clearly we should seek in Bar-Jona not a Semite, but a scholarly Englishman who for some reason (in jest or earnest) wished either to conceal his name or to play a verbal trick with it.

"Bar" is, of course, "son," and we may without temerity recognize in "Laurentius Bariona" plain Laurence Johnson.

Laurence Johnson is no mythical being. He was fellow of Brasenose College in 1569, and applied for his B.A. on November 25, 1572. Certain conditions were imposed, and it is not known whether he fulfilled them or not. At all events, he went to Douay in 1573, to study for the Roman Catholic priesthood, and later to Rheims. In 1577 he took priest's orders, and in the same year he returned to England as a missionary. In 1581 he was indicted for treason, being associated in the indictment with the celebrated Jesuit Edmund Campion and several other priests. On the 30th of May, 1582, he was hanged at Tyburn. We have two accounts of his execution, both from eye-witnesses. One is from the pen of Anthony Munday, who had given evidence for the prosecution ('A breefe and true reporte of the Execution of certaine Traytours', 1582, reprinted by Collier in his Shakespeare Society edition of Munday's "John a Kent and John a Cumber," 1852). The other is from a friendly hand, and may be found in the 'Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ in Angliā adversus Calvinopapistas et Puritanos,' Treves, 1588, folio 93 v^o ff. Johnson was not a Jesuit, but a secular priest.

On his return to England in 1577, Johnson had assumed the alias "Laurence Rickardson," his father's Christian name being Richard, and it is in this same year that we find him (if my conjecture is correct) concealing his real identity under the punning disguise of "Bariona" in the "Misogonus" manuscript.

A reviewer in the *Literarisches Centralblatt* for February 11 (col. 206) remarks that "Laurentius Bariona" stands in the British Museum Catalogue as the author of a "Cometographia, London, 1578." This book I have not had a chance to examine. Its title however, indicates that the author was a Christian: 'Cometographia quaedam Lampadis aeris qu[æ] 10 die Novemb. apparuit Anno a virginis partu 1577,' and we need not hesitate, provisionally, to ascribe it to Laurence Johnson. One might even conjecture that he adopted the pseudonym for the special purpose of this book. At all events, the signature in the Misogonus MS. and the date of the comet are less than a month apart. The 'Cometographia' was doubtless not so

much astronomical as prodigious and exemplary, like T. T[winer?]'s English book on the same subject, which appeared in the same year: 'A View of certain wonderful effects . . . newly conferred with the presignifications of the Comete, or blasing Star, which appeared in the Southwest vpo the .x. day of Nouem. the yere last past 1577.' The Comet of 1577 is that which gave Tycho Brahe the materials for his famous investigations on the parallax of comets, and the whole of part ii. of his 'Opera Omnia' (Frankfort, 1648) is devoted to it. Some account of the ominous character ascribed to this "blasing star" may be conveniently found in Stanislas Lubieniec's *Historia Cometarum*, Amsterdam, 1666, pp. 373-7, whence we learn that, after the disastrous campaign of Don Sebastian in Africa, the comet was by many thought to have prefigured the death of Sebastian, Muley Mohammed, and Abdel-Melek. For contemporary impressions, see the letter quoted in Strype's 'Annals of the Reformation,' bk. ii., chap. 10, ed. 1725, ii, 510. American readers may like to consult Increase Mather, 'KOMHTOPPAEIA. Or a Discourse Concerning Comets,' Boston, 1683, pp. 101-3.

The prologue to the "Misogonus" is signed "Thomas Richardes." A person of this name was one of Johnson's fellow-students at Oxford (college unknown), and applied for his B.A. on December 7, 1571 ('Register of the University of Oxford,' ed. by A. Clark, II., 13, Oxford Historical Society Publications, Vol. XII.), shortly before the date of Johnson's application.

The authorship of the "Misogonus" is still an open question. If, as Collier thinks, the play was written in 1560, the author may have been neither Johnson nor Richardes.

Information with regard to Johnson may be found in the following works: Anthony & Wood, 'Fasti Oxonienses,' ed. Bliss, I., 189 (cf. 477, 478); 'Register of the University of Oxford,' ed. Clark, as above, II., 18; Foster, 'Alumni Oxonienses,' 1500-1714, II., 815; Challoner, 'Memoirs of Missionary Priests,' Manchester, 1803, I., 54 ff.; Richard Simpson, 'Edmund Campion,' 1867, pp. 320-2, 309; Henry Foley, 'Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus,' II. (revised edition), 170 ff., III., 42, IV., 259; letter from C. Hodgson to L. Johnson, April, 1580, 'Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Addenda, 1580-1625,' p. 4.

G. L. KITTREDGE.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., March 8, 1899.

Notes.

R. H. Russell announces 'The Portfolio of National Portraits,' eight portraits of historic Americans, engraved on wood by Gustav Kruehl, in a limited edition of 250 copies; 'English Portraits,' large lithographs by Will Rothenstein, of which the American edition is twelve copies; 'Political Hits,' cartoons by W. A. Rogers; 'The King's Lyrics,' verse of the time of James I. and Charles I., selected by Fitz Roy Carrington, and illustrated by prints of the period; 'Just Rhymes,' humorous verse by Charles B. Loomis, illustrated by F. J. Cory; 'The Baronet and the Butterfly,' Eden versus Whistler, by the artist; uniform editions of "Cyranos de Bergerac," Hauptmann's "The Weavers" and "Lonely Lives," Ibsen's "Hedda Gabler" and "The Master Builder," and Augustus Thomas's "Alabama." Finally, "Treasures of the

Metropolitan Museum of Art,' by Arthur Hoeber, illustrated.

The Baker & Taylor Co. have in press 'George Müller of Bristol,' by the Rev. Arthur T. Pierson; 'From the Child's Standpoint,' studies of child nature by Florence Hull Winterburn; and 'Wild Flowers,' illustrated, by E. M. Harding (Maud Goings); and 'Vedānta Philosophy,' lectures by the Swāmi Vivekānanda.

Macmillan will soon publish 'A Selection of Poems for School Reading,' by Marcus White, Principal of the State Normal Training School, New Britain, Conn., and 'An Introduction to the Poetical and Prose Works of John Milton,' by Prof. Hiram Corson of Cornell.

The first separate reprint of Robert Louis Stevenson's 'Morality of the Profession of Letters' (from the *Fortnightly Review* for April, 1891) is announced by the Brothers of the Book (Laurence C. Woodworth), Gouverneur, N. Y. It will consist of 350 copies on hand-made paper, bound in crushed buckram.

Mr. Charles Welsh, pursuing his well-known antiquarian researches into things childish, desires contributions of nursery rhymes and jingles, especially local or distinctly American, with a view to tracing the evolution of a national nursery literature. He may be addressed at No. 67½ Wyman Street, Jamaica Plain, Mass.

A good opportunity for linguistic discipline is promised in 'Unsere Monarchie: Die Oesterreichischen Kronländer zur Zeit des fünfzigjährigen Regierungs-Jubiläums Franz Josef I.' (Berlin: Werner Co.; New York: Lemcke & Buechner). This jubilee work will take the shape of an oblong folio, to be issued in twenty-four monthly parts, each having twelve full-page photographic illustrations. The text is in four parallel columns, in German, Bohemian, Polish, and Italian.

We have frequently called attention to 'Monographs on Artists,' thin volumes, copiously illustrated, edited by H. Knackfuss and published by Velhagen & Klasing in Leipzig (New York: Lemcke & Buechner). Hitherto the text has been German, but a reissue (from the same house) has now begun in English, the translator being Campbell Dodgson, M.A., assistant in the department of prints and drawings at the British Museum. This will be welcome news to many non-German art-lovers, and the Raphael and Holbein just put forth in more familiar garb are excellent examples of the extensive picture-gallery which the subscribers to this series amass. We regret that the fresh departure has not improved upon the original scheme by providing both tables of contents and indexes.

We have received from the Macmillan Co. two more volumes of the "Rural Science Series," edited by Prof. L. H. Bailey of Cornell University. One of them, by Prof. F. W. Card, is a treatise on 'Bush-Fruits,' and is compact with practical information. The other is entitled, 'The Principles of Agriculture,' and is intended rather for schools and rural societies than for the ordinary farmer. It does not follow that the ordinary farmer will not be profited by reading it; but it is an exposition of fundamental principles, not an agricultural manual.

Col. J. D. Miley's 'In Cuba with Shafter,' which the Scribners have just published, does not throw any light on the real mystery of the Santiago campaign—which is, why the

plan of attack prepared by the naval officers and at first approved by Gen. Shafter was afterwards abandoned by that officer. One controverted point Col. Miley does, indeed, clear up. This is the doubt whether Gen. Wheeler did not disobey the order of June 24, assigning his division to Daiquiri, and, by pushing on in front of Gen. Lawton, bring on the engagement of Las Guásimas. Col. Miley explains that Gen. Wheeler, who was chief in command on shore, pressed on so very early in the morning of June 24 that the order detaining him did not reach him. For the rest, the book is a plain narrative of the battle, siege, and capitulation, with some added pages giving fresh matter in the shape of an account of Col. Miley's expedition to receive the surrender of the outlying Spanish garrisons. The military maps at the end are finer than any we have seen in similar publications.

From the Scribners, too, we have a new book of Carlyle. Rather, it is a very old book, being nothing less than the studies and sketches he made for his long projected but finally abandoned history of the Civil War and Commonwealth. The MS. was docketed by Carlyle himself in 1865 as "probably about 1849—have not looked at it since, nor will." It has now been edited by Mr. Alexander Carlyle, and is published under the title 'Historical Sketches of Notable Persons and Events in the Reigns of James I. and Charles I.'

As a gift-book for grown people, it would be hard to imagine anything more attractive than the volume of 'Early Italian Love Stories' just issued by Longmans, Green & Co. It contains twelve *novelle*, translated by Una Taylor, and adorned with thirteen beautiful full-page illustrations by Henry J. Ford. The "early" of the title should not be interpreted too literally, as half of the stories belong to the sixteenth century. The authors represented are Boccaccio, Giovanni Fiorentino, Masuccio, Cinto, Erizzo, Straparola, and Bandello. None of the tales selected are gay, and most of them end tragically. Giovanni Fiorentino contributes the famous narrative of the Lady of Belmonte. The translation, while very free, preserves, without the use of tiresome archaisms, much of the antique flavor of the originals. The peculiar charm of these tales can hardly fail to awaken in the reader a feeling of regret that the *novella*—one of the most characteristic manifestations of the Italian genius—is so little studied and so little accessible.

The Boston Record Commissioners issue their twenty-eighth report, consisting of lists of the marriages recorded on the town records from 1700 to 1751, checked for the period 1709-1751 by the publications (Intentions of marriage), and supplemented from church records and a few other sources. The key to this unpretentious volume of 350 pages is an index one-third as bulky. Genealogists may be trusted to appreciate the labor bestowed on this compilation by Mr. Edward W. McGlenen, of the Registrar's Office.

Mrs. Susan Whitney Dimock, who published two years ago as a labor of love a handsome volume of 'Births, Marriages, Baptisms, and Deaths from the Records of the Town and Churches in Coventry, Conn.,' has produced a companion work for the town of Mansfield in Windham County (New York: Baker & Taylor Co.). In each case of town or church record the compiler has grouped in alphabetical order the vital facts for a given

family or name. Thus, at the very beginning we have, under Abbe, the children of Gideon and Mary (Wood), Gideon and Keziah (Walker, second wife), Gideon and Bathsheba (Smith [presumably third wife]), etc. Nothing could be more convenient for the searcher. In other words, we have not a mixed chronological transcript, but a classified arrangement answering (with the index to the several divisions) every need, if we assume the correctness of the copy. Mrs. Dimock appeals to the State to print these records of the elder towns which are fast becoming illegible, and are already partly destroyed—especially the church records.

The Rumanian Geographical Society has issued the fourth and concluding part of the first volume of its 'Grand Geographical Dictionary of Rumania.' It consists of more than 200 quarto pages of three columns each, and treats of the localities arranged alphabetically between Botosani and Bucharest. Detailed descriptions of the larger cities are given, and more than a third of this number is devoted to an exhaustive account of Bucharest.

'Schantung und seine Eingangspforte Kiautschou' is the title of a handsomely printed volume of more than 300 octavo pages (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer), in which that eminent authority Baron von Richthofen discusses the practical benefits which ought to follow Germany's acquisition of a Chinese port. Although for the most part a mere repetition of what had already appeared in the author's great work on China published about twenty years ago, and based on a journey made thirty years ago, it possesses the interest conferred by the element of timeliness, and is further rendered useful by the addition of new matter concerned chiefly with details as to mineral wealth, possibilities of manufacturing and commercial development, the openings for railroads and the like. The view taken is throughout a sanguine one. The author considers it a blessing for China that a friendly Power, not over-anxious for territorial expansion, has established itself in the harbor of Kiaochau, and is about to establish a city there which will serve to open up a rich province whose population is, perhaps, the most vigorous, manly, and reliable to be found in China. Whatever may be thought of Richthofen's opinions, there can be no doubt of the intelligence and industry with which he has assembled a great mass of valuable material, which no one can neglect who wishes to be informed on the current problems concerning the Far East.

A paper on the economic condition of the Philippines, by Max L. Tornow, occupies the larger part of the *National Geographic Magazine* for February. It contains a useful summary of information in regard to the resources, agricultural and mineral, of the islands, with statistical tables embracing many details of the foreign commerce since early in the century. Less than a tenth of the available arable land is under cultivation, nor can there be any extensive plantations until railways, good roads, and laborers are provided. There are extensive coal-fields of excellent quality, and iron-ore comparing favorably with that of Sweden, waiting to be worked. The author, who has lived in Manila and experienced the blighting effects of the rapacity of the Spanish officials, closes with a brief exposition of the necessities of the situation, which may be summed up in the two words, honest government. There

follows a lively account of Manila after Dewey's victory over the Spanish fleet, by the German military attaché at that place, Major A. Falkner von Sonnenburg. Describing the Spanish operations against the insurgents on the outskirts of the city, he says that "the character of the country seems to be almost ideal for the kind of warfare which military men call 'guerilla fighting.' Only a very methodical and slow warfare gives reliable and enduring results." He says a good word for the Jesuits, as the only religious order which has succeeded "in being loved and esteemed by native and government alike."

As railway tunnels have made the Alps, for the tourist and for trade, merely a geographical expression, so a ferry service soon to connect Reggio and Messina will abolish the Sicilian straits. Syracuse will thus become the southernmost port of Italy taken as a whole, and will compete with Naples for the transit to and from Malta and Alexandria and Bombay. Daily trains from Calais will convey goods in bulk to the Sicilian land's end, and in time passenger trains will likewise be ferried across for Palermo or for Syracuse. A weekly fast palace-car train will serve London (by way of Calais) and Berlin, and shorten the course from the former city to Syracuse to sixty-one hours, possibly to fifty-eight, and enable the traveller leaving London at nine A. M. on Thursday to be in Alexandria at six P. M. on Monday. The sea passage will be reduced from sixty-four hours to forty-four. The *Giornale di Sicilia* foresees a marked increase of visitors to the island itself; and so does the great personal conductor Cook. America is left out of account; but nothing is surer than that Palermo will vie with Genoa and Naples hereafter as the American's door to Italy, in view of the shortened voyage and the delightful welcome in scenery and climate. No doubt the unhappy population is to gain, morally and politically, by this closer connection with the peninsula and contact with foreigners.

We notice that the "Electra" of Sophocles is to be presented in English by the graduates of Adelphi College, Brooklyn, on April 6 and 7 at the Germania Club in that city; the proceeds to go to the Alumni Fund. Miss Frances Greene has composed the music for the occasion.

Mr. William I. Fletcher's Department of Library Economy in the Sauveur Summer School at Amherst, Mass., will open on July 10 for a session of six weeks.

A correspondent writes: "In a Note in your issue of the 2d inst. you speak of the amusing argument as to when the twentieth century properly begins. Mr. Gilbert Parker, in his recent fine story, appears to share in the somewhat general confusion as to how many years it takes to make a century. In the proem to 'The Battle of the Strong' he says: 'There is no man living to-day who could tell you how the morning broke and the sun rose on the first day of January, 1800. . . . The lit of the sensations, the idiosyncrasy of voice, emotion, and mind of the first hour of our century,' etc."

—The Oxford Historical Society, during the fifteen years of its activity, has published, through the Clarendon Press (New York: Henry Frowde), a number of learned and expensive volumes on the early history of Oxford. They have thus rendered accessible to the few who are likely to be interested the Register of the University from 1449,

the memorials of individual colleges such as Merton and Magdalen, and other records of great value to the antiquary. These works have been issued at the rate of one or two a year. In 1898 was published, under the editorship of Mr. H. Anstey, 'Epistolæ Academicæ Oxonienses,' in two volumes, a collection of letters and other documents illustrative of academical life and studies at Oxford in the fifteenth century. The contents of Mr. Anstey's volumes are a reproduction of the register commonly known to Oxford antiquarians as *Registrum F.*; it has never before been printed, and hardly explored. The MSS. were, in most cases, very difficult to decipher, as may be seen from the facsimile reproductions, and the editor has devoted to the task the leisure of five years. Of the 527 records printed by Mr. Anstey, 48 are in English—the rest in what may pass for Latin. To the casual eye they would seem to possess a minimum of interest for even the most limited of Oxford dons; but that would be a most mistaken judgment. Many of these records have the interest of genuine "human documents." The servility, the ignorance, the petty vanity, the poverty, and pardonable greed of a mediæval academic body are laid bare for the entertainment of the judicious reader of these letters. The imposing list of benefactors of the University of Oxford, as one hears it read to-day, produces the impression of nobles and gentry giving freely of their riches to an august body that received their tribute with becoming dignity. One should read the begging letters of the University from 1427 to 1509 to appreciate the real foundations of Oxford's greatness. A University without books, without money enough to pay the fare of a representative to Basle, with buildings so dilapidated that academic functions could not take place in windy weather, was an alma mater that must have been a burden to her sons.

—Duke Humphrey of Gloucester was Oxford's greatest benefactor in these times. *O celica inspiratio* is the favorite title of honor for him in the letters; a London grocer who sent a copy of Josephus is addressed as *reverencia tua*. The Duke's books were chained to desks lest the needy M.A.'s should steal them. They were chiefly theological, but included a small collection of Latin and Italian authors. A list of the volumes is reprinted from the Register, and from it we catch an interesting glimpse of the private library of an English duke in the fifteenth century. The copy of the 'Golden Ass' of Apuleius must have been a pleasing gift to "All the hole Universitie of Oxon."—as the authorities loved to style themselves when they wrote in English to kings and queens who were not expected to understand Latin. The study of Greek did not exist at Oxford in the time covered by the larger part of the letters; it was not till the early years of the sixteenth century that, under the influence of Grocyn and Erasmus, Greek was included in the "curriculum." Towards the end of "Registrum F.," the registrar, one Farley, proudly signs his name in the Greek character, which was probably all he knew of the language. All who are interested in the study of surnames should consult Mr. Anstey's volumes, where are to be found many surnames, still in common use in England, with extraordinary variations of spelling, even in the compass of a single letter. The phonetic spelling of some of the English letters rivals that of certain specimens among the "Paston" collection. It is amus-

ing to observe how, towards the end of the century, the solemn religious tone of the earlier epistles gives place to more business-like language.

—Vols. xxxv. and xxxvi. of the 'Jesuit Relations' (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers Co.) contain a good variety of documents, but in beginning to notice them we are oppressed by a sense of loss. The Huron Mission exists no more, and we must seek elsewhere for our principal topics. After Garnier and Chabanaud had been added to the list of martyrs, and, more particularly, after the Iroquois war-parties had devastated the Neutral and Tobacco nations, the Jesuits were forced to abandon Huronia altogether. The remaining savages in that region were rendered docile enough by their horrible afflictions, but they were only a remnant, and they longed for such shelter as could be found under the guns and ramparts of Quebec. The words with which Lallemant opens the Relation of 1649-50 are equally a confession of failure and a tribute of resignation: "Your reverence will have already learned by the return of the first vessels the sequel of the disasters to, and the utter wreck of, the Huron Mission, which the fury of the Huroquois has at last accomplished. . . . Our eyes and hearts, seeing and feeling these blows from the hand of God, have but this reply to make: 'He is the sovereign Lord of His works, and the Ruler of our insignificant projects conceived for His glory. It is for us to accept His decrees, and never to disapprove what He performs.'" The immediate effects of this catastrophe were considerable. Lallemant was urged by his associates in New France to return home for aid, and did so, leaving Ragueneau, who was now at Quebec, to act as Superior. The fugitive Hurons, though they could not be altogether cared for, were generously helped, and new life was thrown into Jesuit undertakings in the Laurentian valley. The region of the Kennebec, which more properly belonged to the Capuchin sphere of influence, also received attention. And with it is to be connected Drulillettes's narrative of his New England trip in 1650-51.

—The aim of this journey was to secure English aid against the Iroquois who then threatened the Abenaki converts. Drulillettes left Quebec on the 1st of September, armed with passports from the Governor, D'Ailleboud, and accompanied by one of the leading Sillery Indians. They went south, partly by land and partly by sea, and arrived at Boston on the 8th of December. The circumstantial details of the Jesuit's visit to the Puritans are highly entertaining. His purpose was an ambitious one, in that it involved the coöperation of four English settlements with French and Roman Catholic allies. Evidently great respect was paid Drulillettes on account of his hard work among the Abenakis, and he has nothing but warm praise to report of the hospitality extended to him. On December 13 Gov. Dudley gave a formal dinner which was followed by an audience, and at it counsel was held concerning the common danger. However, the men of Boston were unwilling to proceed independently of their brethren, and sent Drulillettes to Plymouth, whither he went on the 21st, and received courteous treatment from Governor Bradford (whom he curiously calls Jehan Brentford). In Boston his host had provided a

special room for his religious observances, and, at Plymouth, Bradford showed his consideration by providing a fish dinner on Friday. Altogether he received more practical encouragement at Plymouth than in Boston. No definite arrangements were concluded before Drulillettes's return, but he left Massachusetts in a mood of hope. One picturesque episode of his embassy was a meeting with the Rev. John Elliot (xxxvi., p. 90): "J'arrivay a Roxbury [Roxbury] ou le ministre nomme Maistre heliot qui enseignoit quelq. sauvages me recust chez lui a cause que la nuit me surprenoit et me traita avec respect et affection me pria de passer l'iver avec luy." Seldom in the seventeenth century did Jesuit and Calvinist reach terms of such politeness and amity!

—With every explanation, the mystery of Asiatic trade increases. Commissioners sent out by chambers of commerce, as well as resident officials dwell upon the subject, and yet all point to the future while speaking slightly of the present. The experience already gained is slurred over, and the brilliant promise of what is to follow an extension of holdings forms the basis for eulogy. M. Doumer, Governor-General of Indo-China, has recently presented his views, and to a body of merchants and economists, so it is not probable he dwelt upon the darker phases. France holds territory in Asia three times the size of her own state, with a population of about 25,000,000, of whom 12,000,000 are in Cochín-China and 10,000,000 in Tonkin. The cost of managing these possessions is about \$15,000,000 a year, and of this \$8,500,000 will be charged on the French budget. In 1897 there were imported from these dependencies a value of \$4,360,000; and the exports from France were \$6,100,000; a total of \$10,460,000—or about 70 cents on the dollar of Governmental expenditure. Nor does the fervid praise of the country by M. Doumer shed light on the question. Cochín-China and Tonkin are fertile, growing rice as the leading product. The extensive rivers and canals offer ready means for shipping this crop. Some pepper and cotton exhaust the list of exports, though the forests may yet become important. Annam and Cambodia are without water-courses, or have such as cannot be made navigable because of the floods and the formation of bars.

—The most promising returns from future development are to be found in the cultivation of transplanted crops. Tobacco-plants are being brought in from Sumatra, gutta-percha plantations have been established, and tea is cultivated in Annam. Coffee is mentioned as a possibility, and sugar is sent to Hong-Kong. The cotton of Cambodia, a short staple, finds a market in Japan, while that of Annam is to be used in a French mill now building at Haiphong. The most important market—that of Tonkin—is thus described: "The population is very dense on the delta, the rest of the country has been ravaged for forty or fifty years by Chinese bands. Revolts, invasions, and wars have made certain parts of this country a veritable charnel-house; in the suburbs of Sontay, Tuyen-Quang, Kep, etc., corpses infect the plains. Settlements cannot be made for some time to come." A not very promising picture. Failing to prove that the Asiatic possessions of France are actually productive in lines capable of feeding French trade, M. Doumer falls back upon the provinces behind Indo-China, and

dwells upon the exceeding richness in mineral deposits of Yunnan. M. Beylard, a French engineer, has reported enthusiastically on the situation, and Yunnan is said to be "the natural economic complement to Indo-China. The importance of this region, from the commercial point of view, is recognized. It yields to no other in political importance. It is, in fact, the parting-place of the Hindu and Chinese races. It is to the east what Afghanistan is to the West." The fact is, that France is gambling on the future in Asia, and even the Governor-General cannot hide the hollowness of present conquests—margins, as it were.

—The text of the Act now to hand enables us more fully to understand the scope and character of the New Zealand measure for old-age pensions than did telegraphic reports. "Subject to the provisions of this act, every person of the full age of sixty-five years or upwards shall, whilst in the colony, be entitled to a pension as hereinafter specified." Twenty-five years' continuous previous residence is obligatory, allowing absences for sailors, and two years' total occasional absences for others. During these twenty-five years he (including she) must not have been imprisoned for five years, nor during the previous twelve years imprisoned on four occasions or for four months, for any cause "dishonoring him in the public estimation." If married, he or she must not without just cause have deserted partner or children. He must be of good moral character. His yearly income must not exceed £52. The net capital of his accumulated property may not amount to £270. He must not have deprived himself of income or property to qualify. The pension is £18 yearly (payable in monthly instalments), and to vary with varying income or capital, diminished by one pound for every complete pound of income above £34, and also by one pound for every complete £15 of net capital. The act runs to eleven pages and a half. The above essential provisions are comprised in one page and a half. The text is occupied with detail, registrational and otherwise. A perusal does not give much encouragement to the hope of the possibility of the application of a similar measure to countries of wide extent or large population. Aboriginal natives are included, to whom "moneys other than pensions" are not paid out of the civil list. Chinese and other Asiatics, whether naturalized or not, are excluded.

THE BROWNING LOVE LETTERS.

The Letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Barrett, 1845, 1846. With portraits and facsimiles. In 2 vols. Harper & Bros. 1899.

Here are all the letters that ever passed between Mr. and Mrs. Browning (with one exception). After their marriage they were always together, and letters would have been a superfluity. The exception is a letter of May 23, 1845, which was destroyed by Mr. Browning, it having been returned to him by Miss Barrett on account of its "wild speaking," presumably an offer of marriage after he had seen her for the first time, on Tuesday afternoon, May 21. Browning destroyed all the rest of his correspondence, but, not long before his death, said of these letters, "There they are: do with them as you please when I am dead and gone!" It is

not to be believed that he intended to permit their publication. His meaning must have been, "Keep them or destroy them," finding himself unable to lay violent hands on them. Few who knew Browning personally or in his books will be able to convince themselves that his words intended, even as possible, the construction which his son has put on them. Standing off from these letters as a dramatist, he may have perceived their dramatic value, but to proceed from such perception to their sacrifice upon the altar of "the world's new fad, Publicity," would have been quite another matter—an irreverence strangely at variance with "a certain inlaid box, into which they exactly fitted, and where they always rested, letter beside letter, each in its consecutive order and numbered on the envelope by his own hand."

This said, the critic may excuse himself for displaying the contents of these volumes on the ground that Mrs. Browning has made him free of her part of the correspondence when she writes, February 17, 1846:

"I, for my part, value letters as the most vital part of biography, and for any rational human being to put his foot on the traditions of his kind in this particular class does seem to me as wonderful as possible. . . . We should all be ready to say that if the secrets of our daily lives and inner souls may instruct other sorrowing souls, let them be open to men hereafter as they are to God now. Dust to dust, and soul-secrets to humanity—there are natural heirs to all these things."

If she had had a thought of her own letters to Browning ever being published on this ground, it might have given her pause. At the same time it may be cheerfully conceded that, if she and Mr. Browning had been consciously premeditating printers' copy for this year of grace, they probably would not have done so well as they did in their complete unconsciousness, nor could their letters have been more free from anything and everything diminishing in any way our admiration for this pair of lovers. There are abundant protestations, and there is a great deal of that commodity of which Byron wrote that

"More than half the charm is lost
Of kisses that arrive by post."

But, once admitted into this sacred privacy, the admirers of the Brownings will find nothing which does not heighten their appreciation of their characters, their relation to each other and to that art of poetry which was the "blithe go-between" that fructified the flower of love itself had planted in their hearts. At the same time it may be doubted whether the effect produced by these letters might not have been produced more delightfully by judicious selections from the correspondence. The most of them are love letters pure and simple. The amount of personal and literary matter, aside from their main purpose, is hardly more than Falstaff's bread in contrast with his sack. When the correspondence has been going on a year, there are 104 letters, and after that their frequency increased until on September 19, 1846, they reached an absolute end; that being the day, one week after the marriage, when they ran away together.

Miss Barrett's letters, like Mrs. Browning's, were not remarkably good, and Robert's were much worse, in "form and moving." He might often say with Father Taylor, "My verb has lost its nominative, but I'm bound for the Kingdom of Heaven all

the same." Oftener it is his nominative that loses its verb. There are sentences that go on for half a page and more and never end. After reading these letters for an hour, a few pages of 'Sordello' would be good to rest the weary mind. There are scores of pages in the aggregate about the days when Browning is to come for his clandestine visits. The day first set can seldom be kept free. Sometimes it flutters back and forth a whole week long. How these meetings and the almost daily correspondence went on while the insanely egotistical father knew nothing about them, is passing strange. It would seem that he must have known enough to divine their import, and have been preparing for himself with secret joy such a dramatic exhibition of his *patria potestas* as would surpass all previous exhibitions in that kind. One of the hardest things for Browning was to see her father through Miss Barrett's eyes. Could he have let himself go, we might have had a letter or a personal encounter for which a dozen or twenty of the less important letters given might easily have been spared.

So far as they were mutually concerned, the course of these true lovers ran as smoothly as need be. There were no quarrels to be made up. The nearest approaches to them resulted from their endeavors to outdo each other in unselfishness. Browning's headaches were a minor trouble. These are a deduction from our robust Browning as heretofore conceived. In Mrs. Browning's sympathy they loomed quite as portentously as her own weakness and suffering in his more hopeful eyes. Next to fixing the right day for the next meeting, these headaches furnish the most recurrent note. In his first letter, January 10, 1845, he writes that he loves her books with all his heart, "and I love you, too." After his offer of marriage, the May following, the letters become somewhat more literary, but before long the truth blazes out again, and then begins the long struggle, on his part to win her consent to a final marriage, on hers to prevent him from burdening himself with the weight of her chronic misery. When he discovers that she uses opium to mitigate this, there is expostulation on his side, pathetic palliation upon hers, but generally she is the more level-headed of the two. It is interesting to see how his parenthetic style is clarified by the stress of passionate emotion, while hers is affected in an opposite manner.

Once he has the promise of marriage, a new struggle begins over the fixing of the happy day. The dread of her father's horrible displeasure holds her back. At length the month is set. Suddenly her father broaches a scheme of general house-cleaning, and the whole family is to move out. The best-laid plans of the lovers are threatened with miserable abortion by this untoward scheme. The envelope of her letter of September 12, 1846, is endorsed in Browning's hand, "Saturday, Sept. 12, 1846 ¼ 11—11¼ A. M. (91)," showing that even when on pleasure bent he had a careful mind. The "(91)" indicates the number of his visits to her since the first in May, 1845. The marriage was solemnized in Marylebone Church—not in St. Pancras, as stated in Mrs. Orr's biography of Robert Browning. They did not meet after the 12th until the leave-taking on the 19th. Browning had become a master of equivocation by this time; witness the fact

that when he was already engaged to Miss Barrett, and some one had offered to present him to her, he had answered, "Don't you know, she never sees any one?" But he could not ask for Miss Barrett when that lady had become Mrs. Browning. As for Mrs. Browning, she loved him just too much to write him that the marriage was invalid and he mustn't come for her, so hard it was for the first time in her life to pain her father by a voluntary act—the father who would never speak to her again nor open one of her letters to himself.

Very beautiful are some of the confessions upon either side, as where Browning, in the later stages of his happiness, confesses that in the earlier stages he had sometimes shortened his visits a little that he might the sooner take her hand. The "Portuguese Sonnets" prove to have been simply a faithful transcript of an experience which enriches the treasury of high-minded love by one more great example. The difference between the two as poets is an interesting one. Her poetical self-consciousness is much keener than his. Especially does she think of herself as an artist, whereas it can hardly be doubted that her grand defect was that she was so much less artist than poet. Without extravagance, they are rivals in their mutual admiration, and his admirers who are contemptuous of her ability should lay his praise of it to heart. Even for those earlier things, of which she came to think little, he has sincere applause; the lover possibly getting the better of the critic. His last 'Bells and Pomegranates' are coming out, and there is much said of different numbers of the series, especially "Luria." All lovers of that noble drama will value every word of Browning's criticism on it. It was his hope to write a poem that should be, not dramatic, but lyrical and subjective, but there is no evidence that he even so much as began to carry his idea into effect. She assures him that he is "never misty—even in 'Sordello'—never vague"; and he protests that his one purpose is to make himself as clear as possible.

The glimpses of other people are but few. Mackay is dismissed by Browning as a "prince and potentate of Commonplaces." Miss Barrett will not admit Carlyle's "mannerism": it is "not his dress but his physiognomy—or more than that even." There is much trouble in cleaning up after Miss Mitford, she leaves about so many scandalous reports—especially about Miss Barrett's friend Thorne, mentioned scores of times in the letters and not once in the index: "He pours libations on his bare head out of the water-glasses at great dinners," and, being rejected by a lady with £50,000, the same evening offers himself to a lady with £40,000. Mrs. Procter also, wife of Barry Cornwall, has an unguarded tongue. In one day Miss Barrett has a visit from Miss Martineau and Mrs. Jameson, "one talking Mesmer and the other Homer." Dickens invited Tennyson to go to Switzerland with him. Tennyson declined: "I should be entreating him to dismiss his sentimentality, and so we should quarrel and part and never see each other again." Browning describes Tennyson as "a LONG, hazy kind of a man, at least just after dinner." Going to see a representation of his own "Strafford," Browning was asked, "Is not this the author of 'Romeo and Juliet' and 'Othello'?" and answered, "No—so far as I am aware." "The author of Othello!"—so he comments—"when he can be and is *William*."

Barrett's own R. B.!" He is severe on the Howitts, and asks, "What ails them of a sudden that they purvey this kind of cat-lap? . . . not a venerable commonplace excused on account of its age." At one time Carlyle talks "constrainingly, bracingly"; at another he tells of an American "who was commissioned by a learned body of his countrymen to ask him [Carlyle] two questions: What's C.'s opinion as to the future state? and, What relation Goethe was to Goethe's mother's husband?" There is a good word from Browning for Lord Byron: "Only a little longer life and all would have been gloriously right again." 'Consuelo' is incontinently damned, with some injury to Miss Barrett's feelings. The excellent Mr. Kenyon, who set up Mr. and Mrs. Browning financially so handsomely, is, with serene unconsciousness and the best possible intentions, always getting in the way. Flush, too, Miss Barrett's dog, is much in evidence, but makes an appreciable diversion by getting lost just as the situation was becoming extremely tense on the eve of the prisoner's escape. Browning's reality is generally unimpeachable; but when he professes his willingness to give up his vocation as poet to take care of Miss Barrett, as Mrs. Browning, there is the slightest undulation of his broadcloth, as if he were laughing in his sleeve.

THORPE'S AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.

A Constitutional History of the American People, 1776-1850. By Francis Newton Thorpe. 2 vols. Harpers. 1898. Pp. 486, 520.

Mr. Thorpe's book is an illustration, on a somewhat extended scale, of a method of treating history, and particularly American history, of late years much in vogue. Older writers, setting down their facts in appropriate order, and with such literary skill as they could command, were, as a rule, content to label their work simply "a history" of this or that country or time. With a crude conception of the unity of history, they fondly imagined that a truthful record of human progress could be presented only by him who, according to his light, should present the whole of it. Nowadays, a considerable class of writers, of unquestioned industry and learning, seem inclined to a different view of the matter. They take a single phase of a subject, or, better still, a minute and relatively isolated topic, treat it exhaustively, erect (often) a slender structure of text upon a massive foundation of footnotes, and seek distinction by labelling the result a "social," or "political," or "economic," or "legal" history. Of all the terms thus introduced to show precisely the kind of thing a writer thinks he has done, that of "constitutional" history has been most abused. At different times and in different hands it has been made to mean a history of legal notions, a history of party politics, a history of representative government, and a plain chronological statement of facts. And now comes Mr. Thorpe, with a 'Constitutional History of the American People,' in which the term receives still another application, and with the confident assurance, apparently, on the part of the author that, notwithstanding the limitations and misapprehensions of others, he, at least, is on the right track.

Mr. Thorpe has not, indeed, failed to de-

fine the term he uses. Constitutional history, he tells us in his preface, is

"the history of a constituency which, consciously or unconsciously, is ever striving to promote its own welfare. A constitutional history deals primarily with persons, not with documents. Laws and constitutions, written or unwritten, are the evidence of the efforts of a constituency to secure its ends. The development of constitutional government consists, essentially, in the definite limitation of authority, in order to accomplish purposes either implied or specified. . . . Our constitutional history, like that of every other people, is a history of the evolution of religious, of political, and of industrial rights. The steps in all this progress are recorded in the results of many struggles. Among these are the struggles for the extension of the suffrage, for the equitable apportionment of representation, for the abolition of discrimination on account of race or of previous condition, for the organization of systems of education free to all, for the separation of the state from questionable practices, and for the establishment of government directly upon the will of the people. Incidental to these processes has been the slow definition of the functions of the state, of its rights as a moral person in coördination with the rights of the individual, and of its powers and their fields of operation—executive, legislative, and judicial. . . . The evidence enables us to deduce, with approximate accuracy, the principles on which government in America rests. . . . The principal authorities upon which the evidence rests are the laws and constitutions of the country, and the journals, proceedings, and debates of constitutional conventions" (pp. v—viii).

We are not particularly disposed to quarrel with Mr. Thorpe's definition, though we should not like to see it accepted as sufficient; but the application of it suggests some important questions. The first four hundred pages of the thousand to which the work before us extends are devoted to a discussion of the notions of sovereignty, popular government, and the state in America in the eighteenth century, the organization of government in the States, the formation of the first State constitutions, the early conditions of suffrage, the westward expansion, the issues involved in the admission of Missouri, the annexation of Texas, and the absorption of Mexican territory, together with a special chapter on the status of free negroes. For further light on the chief "constitutional" problems of the first half of the present century, we are next pointed to the discussions in the State constitutional conventions between 1845 and 1850. Four States are selected as types—Louisiana for the South, Kentucky for the border States, Michigan for the North, and California for the new West—and four hundred pages are given to a detailed abstract of the debates in the conventions of each. The contents of the remaining two hundred pages are indicated by the titles of the chapters—"A Half Century of Constitutional Changes," "Corporations, Finance, Local Government, and Education," and "The Courts, the People, Social and Civil Progress."

These topics, clearly, are such as one would expect to find discussed at length in a constitutional history of the American people. But how does Mr. Thorpe treat them? An examination of his volumes shows that the chief emphasis throughout is laid upon two or three subjects only, those, namely, of citizenship, suffrage, and eligibility for office. Page after page is taken up with a rehearsal of the arguments of this or that person or this or that convention on some proposition, intended to settle one or other of these questions. Two-fifths of the entire

space, as we have seen, is devoted to an account of constitutional conventions in four States. In other words, Mr. Thorpe's conception of constitutional history, if we may gather it from this his latest work, is that of a history of the formation of State constitutions; and it is this that he has given us in his book. Alike in the chapters on the four typical States mentioned and elsewhere, attention is insistently called to the formulation of a document, the turning of a phrase, the precise definition of a right, an obligation, or a restriction. With the exception of the legal status of the negro, scarce any of the great questions which agitated the political and social life of the United States between 1776 and 1850 receive in Mr. Thorpe's pages more than brief incidental mention; and the person who should read the book without a considerable equipment of previous knowledge, could not be blamed for concluding that the United States had had no foreign relations, no tariff controversy, no struggle with a national bank, no attempts at nullification and secession, and no serious foreign or domestic insurrection, but that the matters of vital concern to us had been such as whether a residence of three months or ten years should be prescribed as a prerequisite for voting, or whether cities and country districts should have equal or proportional representation in a State Legislature, or whether a candidate for Governor should be required to own real estate and profess his belief in God.

We have dwelt at this length on the inappropriateness of Mr. Thorpe's title, not because the label is of greater significance than the contents, but because a comparison of the title and the subject-matter points the way straight to the essential limitation of the book. That Mr. Thorpe is confident that he has written a constitutional history, and written, moreover, from the one standpoint properly to be taken for such a work, cannot be doubted; and his pages show abundant evidences of knowledge, industry, and zeal. Yet we can but think that his work is, after all, hardly more than an elaborate monograph, a valuable section of a possible larger whole, but wanting in the broad conception of the subject which his title implies. For constitutional history is not merely the record of the struggle of a people to surround their political privileges with suitable documentary safeguards, or to define the immediate relation of the individual to the administrative machinery of government, or to assign to each element of the population its appropriate sphere of action; it is, rather, the exposition and appraisal of every influence which has so far entered into the life and thought of a people as to shape the form of their government and establish its theoretical basis. Curtis, essaying to compass the requirements of so great a task, treated the subject with judicial clearness and precision, though with the limited mental range of the constitutional lawyer. Von Holst conceived of American history as a seething caldron set over the fires of slavery, nullification, and State rights, and studied the conflagration until surrounding objects became somewhat indistinct. Schouler put his trust in a plain, unvarnished tale, left facts to tell their own story, and subordinated reflection to narration. Mr. Thorpe, avoiding direct competition with his predecessors, has fixed his eye on an important and hitherto neglected

part of the administrative organization, and has given us an estimate of it which, if there were nothing more to be said, would stamp the American people as a nation of legalists, to whom the particular method of individual participation in affairs had been the main subject of political concern. The method is novel and the results are valuable; yet nothing can be surer than that, if terms mean anything, this is not, in any but an extremely narrow sense, constitutional history at all.

While, however, we cannot think that Mr. Thorpe's work is what it professes to be, it nevertheless makes important additions to our knowledge of American history. Throughout, reliance has been placed upon primary sources, especially the journals and proceedings of constitutional conventions, and the constitutions and laws of the several States. The accounts of the debates in the constitutional conventions of Louisiana, Kentucky, Michigan, and California are extremely full. Particularly valuable are the discussions of the legal status of the negro, and the issues involved in the various propositions for negro representation in legislative assemblies; while the status of the free negro, the onerous restrictions imposed upon him, and the arguments, especially of the South, for and against emancipation, have nowhere, we think, been so elaborately set forth. To many readers the relative importance of the free negro as an element in the slavery controversy will very likely be something of a revelation. The discussion of State sovereignty gains in freshness, though it loses in completeness, by being carried on mainly from the standpoint of the State conventions. Into the subjects of citizenship, suffrage, and eligibility for office, as we have said, Mr. Thorpe enters at great length; and we fancy that most students will be inclined to accept many of his results as final. The tables inserted at various places, showing the qualifications of voters, Senators, Representatives, etc., in the different States, for different periods, are a form of aid not to be despised.

It is not easy to summarize an author's conclusions where the mass of detail is so great. In the dry and formal record here presented, however, we can see how the notion and practice of universal manhood suffrage gradually emerged from conditions of restriction and limitation. From the time when property-owners and church members were alone thought fit to vote and hold office, to the time when the ballot was given to foreigners not yet naturalized, was a long step, particularly when measured by the degrees of expansion of the intellectual horizon. Upon the developing form of the electoral system deep marks were made, in the North by Native Americanism, in the South by the profound concern over the definition of property in slaves, the right of emancipation, and the adjustment of electoral privileges between slaveholders and non-slaveholders. We recall no writer who has brought out so clearly, from official records alone, the essentially defensive attitude of the South in the whole slavery controversy; a South struggling to maintain an institution the legitimacy of which, in any sound view of developing human rights, could never be assumed, but which must be upheld by more and more elaborate argument and increasing subordination of reason to force. Even to the North, the negro was an object of suspicion and legal discrimination; but to the South his presence, and the apparent impos-

sibility of dealing with him by other than repressive measures, wrought widespread perversion of the moral sense, and made him, from whatever point of view, a stone of stumbling for those with whom his lot was cast.

Granted the limitation already pointed out, Mr. Thorpe has done his work, for the most part, with commendable thoroughness. That the subject does not readily lend itself to entertaining literary treatment is, of course, obvious; but it must be said that large portions of Mr. Thorpe's volumes are hard reading, and that the work, as a whole, is extremely dry. The last three chapters of vol. II., with their summaries of miscellaneous provisions of State constitutions, read like a Stimson's 'American Statute Law' thrown into literary form. A further embarrassment to the reader is the scarcity and incompleteness of dates, those especially in the chapters on the four typical States being at times so introduced as to necessitate a long search through the preceding pages to ascertain either the month or the year. The titles of chapters III. and VIII. of volume II. are hardly appropriate, corresponding as they do with but a small portion of the contents of the chapters themselves. Finally, the restricted scope of the work, together with the amount of previous general knowledge it apparently assumes, would seem to limit its profitable use to relatively mature students, though to the attention of such it is assuredly to be commended.

Three Studies in Literature. By Lewis E. Gates. Macmillan Co. 1899.

Cardinal Newman's rank as a prose-writer, and the position of Jeffrey and of Matthew Arnold in the history of criticism, are in the category of *res judicata*, for the present generation at any rate. Moreover, critical essays on writers of critical essays, unless they display unusual brilliance of wit or insight, are likely to be dull and unprofitable reading. A study of Francis Jeffrey has, indeed, some excuse for existing. The great Whig editor's name stands, in these days, for an obsolete school of literary criticism, and he lives, if he may be said to live at all, in the minds of persons of general information, as a purblind opponent of Romanticism, who compromised himself for ever by the phrase, "stuff about dancing daffodils." Dogmatic criticism, in his person, died hard. Mr. Gates shows clearly where Jeffrey drew the line at Romanticism. Let it be decorative, as you find it in Scott and Keats, and he will recognize its charm; but take it seriously, make your leech-gatherer symbolic, exalt him into a moral type, and you offend the taste of a well-bred Whig reviewer. He erected his prejudices into canons of taste, and in compositions that conflicted with those canons he could see no merit. "England will never admire, nor indeed endure, your German divinities," he said to Carlyle, and he sincerely believed that it was impossible for a scholar and a gentleman to tolerate the realism of Goethe.

Matthew Arnold also was an *arbitrarius*, and not always entirely trustworthy. But when he erred it was on the side of over-appreciation, and the range of his literary taste could hardly have been wider. Mr. Gates makes some nice points in his study of Arnold's style, and illustrates certain faults of manner that were pointed out in passing by the author of

'Obiter Dicta' in his witty essay on Arnold; for example, an irritating jauntiness of style, and an assertion of inferiority so elaborate as to amount to supercilious condescension. This was a pose most calculated to annoy, and was chiefly affected when the author of 'Literature and Dogma' was baiting bishops. Arnold, in his mid-career, as a missionary to the middle classes, is Arnold at his wittiest. Mr. Gates could not resist quoting a famous passage from the preface of 'Essays in Criticism'—nor can we. Arnold relates a conversation between himself and a portly jeweller from Cheapside, who is his fellow-traveller on the Woodford branch of the Great Eastern Railway. The jeweller was greatly disturbed at a murder that had lately been committed in a railway carriage, and Arnold tendered him consolation:

"I reminded him how Caesar refused to take precautions against assassination, because life was not worth having at the price of an ignoble solicitude for it. I reminded him what insignificant atoms we all are in the life of the world. 'Suppose the worst to happen,' I said; 'suppose even yourself to be the victim—*il n'y a pas d'homme nécessaire*—we should miss you for a day or two on the Woodford branch, but the great mundane movement would still go on, the gravel walks of your villa would still be rolled, dividends would still be paid at the bank, omnibuses would still run, there would still be the old crush at the corner of Fenchurch Street.'"

Whatever reservations we may be disposed to make in the matter of the Gospel according to Matthew Arnold, we are all good Catholics over Newman's prose. "You and Keble are the philosophers, I the rhetorician," he wrote to Froude apropos of the management of the Tractarian agitation. Newman was a rhetorician after the manner of De Quincey, whom, according to Mr. Gates, he consciously imitated. Certainly De Quincey might have written the following from the sermon on the 'Fitness of the Glories of Mary':

"But she, the Lily of Eden, who had always dwelt out of the sight of man, fittingly did she die in the garden's shade, and amid the sweet flowers in which she had lived. Her departure made no noise in the world. . . . Pilgrims went to and fro; they sought for her relics, but they found them not. Did she die at Ephesus or did she die at Jerusalem? Reports varied, but her tomb could not be pointed out; or, if it was found, it was open; and instead of her pure and fragrant body, there was a growth of lilies from the earth which she had touched."

Newman wrote the 'Apologia' to prove his love for Truth from the record of his life. And what was the result of this long life spent in the search after Truth? "I think it impossible to withstand the evidence which is brought for the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius at Naples, or for the motion of the eyes of the pictures of the Madonna in the Roman States. I firmly believe that portions of the True Cross are at Rome and elsewhere."

Mr. Gates traces Newman's connection with Romanticism and the charm he found in mediæval Christianity. His conception of Newman as a great mediæval ecclesiastic astray in the nineteenth century is, we think, very just. On the whole, his Essay on Newman is the most suggestive and readable of the three; partly, no doubt, because its subject is, and always will be, something of a mystery to every-day men. Newman saw things not as we see them; everything in him "tended towards the sublime," and it is because of that, and because much of the sublime in his life and motives is so fatally new

to childish absurdity—or seems so to our narrow vision—that he calls for the most delicate appreciation.

Enough has been said to show that Mr. Gates's unpretentious volume, while it makes no attempt at brilliancy or great originality, is a careful, thoughtful performance, containing one or two really valuable hints towards the appreciation of his authors. And it is no slight thing to have achieved so much—at any rate in the case of two men who are still so vividly before the world's eyes as are Arnold and Newman.

The Silva of North America: A Description of the Trees which grow naturally in North America exclusive of Mexico. By C. S. Sargent, Director of the Arnold Arboretum of Harvard University. Illustrated with figures and analyses drawn from nature by C. E. Faxon. Vol. XII. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1898.

The publishers make the interesting announcement that, since it has been found impracticable to include in the twelfth volume of Prof. Sargent's great work the general index to the whole, a thirteenth volume containing this index, together with descriptions and illustrations of recently discovered species, and such corrections of the original volumes as recent explorations have made necessary, will be sent to subscribers without charge as soon as ready. This proposition is in full accord with the generous policy which has marked the progress of the work from its beginning. The illustrations have been copious and of the highest order of excellence in every feature of their execution. Mr. Faxon's drawings have been spirited and lifelike; his analyses have been characterized by accuracy and clearness, and the transference of these to the plates has been thoroughly good from first to last. Taken altogether, the original drawings and the engravings are, from their absolute fidelity to nature, helpful to all classes of students and even casual readers. The explanatory and descriptive text has been carefully considered and judiciously proportioned; the economic aspects of the subject have received adequate and careful treatment.

The nomenclature, to which reference has before been made in this journal, is the only blemish. It is not in accord with generally accepted rules, nor does it keep pace with the innovations; its own changes are not likely to be found to be acceptable to anybody. But it should be said that the author has been scrupulously consistent throughout in following the rules laid down at the outset.

There are two features in the text which characterize almost every page: these are, first, the editorial skill which gives to the separate parts their proper perspective, and, second, the vividness of description which comes from wide and fond contact with the trees themselves. Prof. Sargent's colossal undertaking has already given new hope to the lovers of forests, and it will long continue to inspire enthusiasm in forest culture and conservation. A large part of the influence which it exerts must be ascribed to the felicity of expression of the author, who carries his readers over wide ranges of territory without weariness, because he himself loves the trees and the forests of which he writes.

The present volume deals with larches,

spruces, firs, and the like. They are members of the great group of plants with uncovered seeds, the so-called gymnosperms, and are regarded as direct descendants of the gymnosperms which formed, with the ferns and the allies of the ferns, the bulk of the vegetation in the greater coal period. Some of them have come down with little change during the long time which has passed since the carboniferous epoch, while others have been evolved as if in prompt response to the changes in environment. Hence, for a student of the past history of plants, these groups possess a singular attractiveness. Investigators do not seem to grow weary in conjecturing when and how have arisen the adaptations by which these plants have come to be what and where they are. Therefore, even the thickets of low spruces in the far North, with their monotonous colors and uniformity of shape, are deeply interesting to the thoughtful student of the past, while the towering groves which can yield the loftiest masts, present certain questions in plant-life and distribution which are very difficult to answer, and which are, therefore, all the more engaging.

It is probably known to all our readers that one of the spruces rivals the white pine in value as a timber tree, but perhaps it is not so widely known that its usefulness also as a source of cheap paper-pulp puts it in imminent danger. The regular issue of the newspapers for a single Sunday, in any one of our largest Northern cities, sweeps away not far from ten to twelve acres of this valuable spruce, while the larger issues at Christmas, or in some period of great excitement, go far beyond this conservative figure. And the worst of it is, the clean sweep of the trees in such cases is a prodigal waste, for it does not concern itself, as a sound system might, with the possibility of replacement. It is, however, difficult, if not impossible, to discover any way of checking this spendthrift waste. Without any policy of forest care, and without any present likelihood of the framing of such a policy on an acceptable basis in our North, the question of complete destruction of the spruce appears to be one of a few years only. Certain other conifers are taking the places of their predecessors in small districts a little further south, and in a few limited areas the coniferous forests are even gaining ground. But these are exceptional—hopeful, to be sure, but, from their exceptional character, the more exasperating. In laying down this volume, with its cautious and yet strong statements as to the uses and possibilities of our shrinking forests, we shudder to think how our forest inheritance is imperilled by the shortsighted selfishness of the very men who should protect it. If a wise State and national policy of forest conservation is established in our "North America exclusive of Mexico," within the life of the present generation, it will be largely due to the thoroughly sound influence emanating from Prof. Sargent's work.

William Blackwood and His Sons: The Annals of a Publishing House. By Mrs. Gerald Porter. Vol. III. Scribners. 1898.

It would be idle to expect that the third volume of the Blackwood annals should come up to its predecessors in interest. A success of scandal is seldom followed by a success of merit, and, when it is, one does

not look for excitement. The history of the Blackwood firm is the story of "Maga's" adventures. From the mystery and fun of the 'Noctes' we now pass to sober and responsible reviewers—from the stormy petrels C. North and Lockhart to Mrs. Oliphant and George Elliot. In "Maga's" roystering youth, a review in her pages was likely to contain affronts that could be washed out only with blood; we cannot suppose that the revelation of Mrs. Oliphant's identity as a reviewer can ever have ranked as a question of life and death; and when George Elliot unmasked there was no result more sensational than the discomfiture of Mr. Liggins. The atmosphere of assured success and large checks is the natural atmosphere of the Epitaph, and they find it agreeable; for us the romance of the Blackwood house ceased with its founder.

The list of writers for "Maga" during John Blackwood's thirty years of editorship proves that he possessed the correct literary instinct and the gift of diplomacy which had secured his father's success, while the extracts from his correspondence with Burton, L. Oliphant, Lever, Reade, Kinglake, Lytton, and the rest show that he wrote excellent letters, and that his criticisms were received with patience and profit by his contributors. John Blackwood was an agreeable mixture of the editor and the country gentleman; he was an ardent golfer, and his country-house at St. Andrew's was thronged in the season by his golfing friends. He was proud of "Maga's" military contingent, which included the Hamleys, Chesney, and Lord Wolseley. Lord Kitchener is the last man in the world whom one would suspect of writing for the magazines; yet in 1878 we find him writing of a "Visit to Sofia," and the following year he proposes a paper on Cyprus, where he was engaged in surveying. He says: "We are getting on well, and my baseline came in to $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in four miles. I have had no fever in my party, and am exceptional in that respect." This is "the Sirdar's luck" foreshadowed in the Lieutenant. His "Notes on Cyprus" appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1879. Some further light is thrown on the elusive personality of "Larrie" Oliphant by his lively letters to the editor. In 1866 he wrote that he "never met with a born American of any shade of politics who did not curse universal suffrage, and he did not believe a native-born Yankee existed who was in favor of it, but their blessed Constitution ties them up" (p. 154). Oliphant was, perhaps, the first to exploit the American girl in fiction. "Irene Macgillicuddy" was her formidable name, and Oliphant found the society that harbored the type "ridiculously sensitive." "Irene has kicked up such a rumpus in New York society that we had better leave them a few months to recover their tranquillity before firing our second shot. My clever correspondent, who is herself a 'bouncer' turned traitor, and gave me the points, is in an agony of alarm" (p. 139). It is amusing to find Sir Richard Burton "preparing an account of Mormonism, which, however, is an indelicate subject, requiring to simmer in the mind. Its flavor would evaporate in a decoction."

The Blackwoods published an "Agricultural Journal," and when an inquiry was made into the cause of the potato disease, a number of farmers were asked to give their views. One farmer wrote: "I thoct at first it was a dispensation of Almighty God, but

now I believe it is an insect." John Blackwood, in 1867, attended one of "Jowett's Jumbles," which he politely calls "an intellectual reception—there were ladies, but it was rather slow work."

Throughout this third volume the personality of the genial editor is presented as that of one who was never stiffened by experience. We miss Mrs. Oliphant's hand, of course, but Mrs. Porter has carried on the work creditably enough. On p. 232 we read, "To any one desirous. . . we recommend them to the volume." And "These correspondents . . . was a branch" (p. 315) is another slip that betrays the unpractised hand.

Leibniz: The Monadology and Other Philosophical Writings. Translated, with introduction and notes, by Robert Latta. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde. 1898. 8vo, pp. 457.

That a thorough and critical acquaintance with the philosophy of Leibniz is an indispensable preliminary to a successful study of Kant and to a just appreciation of German philosophy, does not, perhaps, render this publication particularly opportune; for the endeavors that have been made to resuscitate Hegel in English-speaking countries seem for the present to have failed. But, at any rate, it may be considered as opportune on account of the number of ideas, now universally esteemed as highly fruitful, which trace their origin to the Hanoverian philosopher. The Columbus of the subconscience mind, the discoverer of mechanical energy, the joint inventor of the differential calculus, and, more than all these, the great promulgator of the law of continuity (understood by himself to include historical continuity, and, as he was dimly aware, supposing an evolution of all things and all laws from a primal chaos), is a figure to excite the curiosity of thinking men of the present day.

One might, at first blush, wonder that so big a book—though the light Oxford paper makes it easy to hold—should be devoted to a writing which in Erdmann's edition does not fill eight pages. There is, however, ample justification for that. Leibniz is not yet a convenient author to study. Before the completion of Gerhardt's edition of the Philosophical Works in 1890, the state of things was calculated to daunt a pusillanimous student. Even now the philosophical writings are contained in seven volumes; the mathematical works (which furnish the only key to Leibniz's thought) fill seven more by the same editor, and the mathematical correspondence has yet to be printed. The historical and political writings, which ought not to be neglected, are in ten other volumes edited by Klopp; and in order to possess all of Leibniz that has seen the light, the student must procure fourteen additional volumes (seven edited by Foucher de Careil, six by Dutens, and one by Mollat), besides those which are now in course of publication. It was, therefore, a praiseworthy act, as well as a bright idea, to take that unnamed paper known as the *Monadologie*, which compresses the metaphysical system of Leibniz into the smallest possible compass, and make it the subject of a full exposition by means of parallel extracts from other writings of the same author. For Leibniz, as a writer of papers and not of books, often repeats his thought in more

and more developed forms. A true scientific man, he never held to any opinion as final and irrevocable, and he never ceased to learn and to grow.

Dr. Latta's work has been performed with erudition and good judgment. The plan once settled, the only ground of complaint with the manner in which it has been carried out is that the original French and Latin ought everywhere to have been given in place of English versions. As for the plan itself, the chief fault of it is, that, in consequence of the whole commentary being made to refer to an exceedingly compressed statement of Leibniz's metaphysical system, it hardly presents a broad view of his whole thought; and, in particular, it is a pity that the logic of so eminent and original a logician—life and soul, as it is, of his whole philosophy—should not have been more completely illustrated.

The first hundred and fifty pages of the volume are occupied with a general exposition of the philosophy, correct and full, but not deeply critical. An "estimate" thereof fills the next sixty. There will be found historical information concerning the relation of Leibniz to the scholastics and to Descartes, and concerning the relation to him of Kant, Fichte, Schopenhauer, and Hegel. Nothing is said of later German thinkers who, down to Ernst Mach, inclusive, have been influenced in no inconsiderable degree by this philosopher—at any rate, indirectly, whether directly, too, or not. What of criticism this "estimate" contains regards the subject from a Hegelian point of view; for Dr. Latta seems to be one of those Britons who clean forget the thought which is their patrimony, in their admiration for the "profundity" of philosophers who attack the most difficult problems without having had the courage to go through the tedious investigations which should have come first. But it will hardly be thought by anybody that Dr. Latta's criticism of Leibniz is particularly strong or helpful. This is unfortunate, because, while the reasoning of Leibniz was nearly, if not quite, of the highest order, being far more accurate than that of Kant or almost any metaphysician that can be named, and abounding in luminous, simplifying, and fecund methods, yet he seems to have had a sort of blind spot on his logical retina that rendered him capable of accepting tremendous inconsistencies and absurdities. Witness his works upon the "Great Art" of Raymond Lully—a sort of Keely motor for churning knowledge out of ignorance—in which the man who swayed German thought so long maintains that all truths, theoretical and practical, can be mathematically demonstrated from two premises, one that he expresses thus: "Quod est (tale) id est, seu non (tale) vel contra," while the other is, "Aliquid existit."

He is a declared nominalist, and his theory of monads breathes nominalistic individualism. But he strangely fails to see how contrary to all this is his law of continuity; and it is still more curious that he found himself, at last, forced to revive the substantial forms of the mediæval realists. It will occur to almost every mind that for each Leibnizian monad all the rest are superfluous and non-existent—a manifest absurdity; and that so great a reasoner should not have seen the inconsistency of supposing God to be one of those monads, is quite astonishing.

In his fourth letter to Clarke, he offers, as an argument in favor of his logical "prin-

ciple of the identity of indiscernibles," the fact that a nobleman of his acquaintance, on hearing it enunciated, long searched in vain to find two leaves of trees exactly alike—not seeing that this was a much better argument against the principle than for it. For the proposition is that things precisely alike could not conceivably be two. Now, the very fact that one may spend a long time in trying to find such a case proves that it is quite conceivable. Here lies one of the capital errors upon which the Leibnizian metaphysics comes to wreck; namely, that he does not see that existence is no general predicate or intellectual conception, but is an affair of brute fact. Was it not Carlyle who said that the very hyssop that grows on the wall is there only because the whole universe has not been strong enough to hinder it? This falsifies, too, the other principle which Leibniz in the same letter lays down as fundamental, the law of sufficient reason. There is no proving existence, as he himself once remarked; for though a thing be in itself possible, it may not, in his phrase, be "compossible" with other things which have forestalled it in the struggle for existence. Leibniz fancies he answers this objection by saying that God has created the best of all possible worlds; but that this proves itself upon discussion to be a quite meaningless proposition has long been apparent. Nor is this the only such objection to the law of sufficient reason, for nobody has answered the old question what reason there can be why red and blue light should not excite each the sensation that the other does excite. But though the doctrine that everything has a sufficient reason is thus untenable, yet it still may be true that reasons ("raisons"), that is, final causes, should be really operative in the universe. Only, this cannot consistently be maintained by a philosopher who insists upon denying the reality of all generals; unless, indeed, he resorts to the device of supposing a Deity in whose mind those reasons and purposes should reside—his nominalism probably passing to the conceptualistic variety. But what, after all, is such a theological nominalism but the attribution to the system of generals, not only of reality, but also of life?

Such weaknesses of the logic of Leibniz are quite overlooked by Dr. Latta; although it is not easy to comprehend how they can fail to suggest themselves to any mind trained in British strictness of reasoning.

Next in the volume comes the *Monadology*, which copious and pertinent notes, chiefly expository by parallel passages, expand to some sixty pages. The remaining hundred and fifty pages are given to sundry papers of Leibniz allied to the *Monadology*, together with the introduction to the 'Nouveaux Essais.' But we believe we need say nothing of these, since, if our views are at all correct, it must already sufficiently appear what praise and what blame are to be adjudged to this work.

A History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century. By Henry A. Beers. Henry Holt & Co. 1899. Pp. 456.

Professor Beers is always an interesting writer, and his latest volume is a thoroughly readable collection of essays on eighteenth-century literature. We call it a collection of essays, for, in spite of the unity implied in the title, the effect of the book on the reader

is rather that of a series of studies than of an organic history of the subject. The author conceives "Romanticism" in the stricter sense as "the mediæval revival," and to this he confines his attention, with the result of making his work more valuable, perhaps, as a description of materials, but less so as a philosophical account of movements and forces. Such an account could be given only by considering also the general reaction against the spirit of the eighteenth century which for most of us is summed up, vaguely, perhaps, and inaccurately, but conveniently, in the phrase "the Romantic Movement." To most of us, therefore, it will be somewhat disconcerting to read a history of English Romanticism in the eighteenth century and find in it no consideration of Burns or Blake or Cowper. Still, Prof. Beers is quite within his rights, and we shall not further quarrel with him on the score of his self-imposed limitations.

The author commands most, but not all, of the materials of previous workers in the field, from much of which he generously quotes; and he has new material of his own to present. He is felicitous in the use of illustrative matter and of literary gossip. Chapter viii. gives an interesting popular account of the ballad-question and a good history of the eighteenth-century ballad revival; the résumé of the Ossian controversy in chapter x. will be serviceable to a puzzled public; and the chapters on Chatterton, and on the inter-relations of English and German literature in the period, are convenient summaries. The latter, perhaps, is rather more original than any of the other chapters in the book. The work as a whole may be commended as an excellent popular treatment of the special subject of the literary revival of mediævalism in the eighteenth century in England.

The author's uncertainty as to the spelling of the name "Warton" ("Wharton" at pp. 179, 207, etc.) will cause confusion to readers who do not know that the two are variant writings of the same name.

Campaigning in Cuba. By George Kennan, author of 'Siberia and the Exile System.' The Century Co. 8vo, pp. 269.

Mr. Kennan's letters, now collected and republished, are thoroughly trustworthy descriptions of what he saw, told in a characteristically effective way. They will be permanently valuable and authoritative materials for the history of the Spanish war, as well as most entertaining notes of travel and adventure. His picture of Tampa, the camp there, the hopeless overwhelming of the administrative officers, and the insufficiency of the railway facilities for a great military depot, is vivid and carries conviction of its truth in every line. He tells us of Key West what every one will wish to know, and makes us see the harbor and the town, its lazy, tropical sleepiness caught in the rush of the warlike turmoil of a base for fleets and a rendezvous for transports and prizes. So of Santiago when he gets there; we feel the climate, see the unsanitary fever-breeding conditions of the town, and share his relief when he emerges from a nasty alley into the patio of the Anglo-American Club, with its marble pavement, its fountain, and its palms. The actual condition of the camps, the life of the soldiers, the means of supply, the poor apologies for hospitals in the field, the port-no-port of

Siboney which was only an open coast, surf-beaten, without docks or anchorage—all these are shown with photographic sharpness.

The judgments which Mr. Kennan renders are honest, but there is room here for differences of opinion, and we may well receive his conclusions with reserve, till fuller investigation and knowledge may make us more sure we know how to distinguish between the faults of commanders and the necessary hardships of an invasion under extraordinary circumstances. Siboney was evidently no base for continued operations of an army, but might yet be well chosen for a descent upon the coast to be followed by a quick stroke at Santiago. The actual success, even at the cost of great hardship, is not to be ignored in judging the campaign. It would have been more in the line of regular operations to have established a base in Guantánamo Bay, waited for the landing of wagon-trains and of supplies of all sorts, and then to have advanced upon Santiago by the longer route inland. But what was thus gained in one way might have been lost in another, if it was probable that an unacclimated army must soon be depleted by the calenture, to say nothing of the dreaded "yellow jack."

It is not yet easy to discriminate satisfactorily between faults of administration for which the authorities at Washington were responsible, and those for which the general in command of the expedition must himself answer. Mr. Kennan's facts will be an essential part of the whole case upon which judgment must finally be reached, but we can now afford to wait for more light.

The Workers: The West. By Walter A. Wyckoff. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1898.

The author of this book is described as a professor of political economy, and certainly no one will question the propriety of the epithet "dismal" if such matter as is here collected forms the subject of that science. That it does not is easily established. There can be no science without accurate observation, concentrated and directed by theory. There can be no accurate observation under the influence of emotion, and no profitable observation without scientific hypothesis. People say that they tell what they have seen and all that they have seen; but every trial in court proves that witnesses do not tell all that they have seen, nor even what they have seen, even when they try. They attend to a very small part of what they see, and they remember only that to which they paid attention. So in Mr. Wyckoff's case: he is so drenched in the misery of his lot, so inevitably compelled to attend to its doleful features by the recollection of the comfortable life that he has relinquished, that he can see nothing but the wretched side of the laborer's position. From time to time he rouses himself, and protests that there is another side; but these efforts are spasmodic, and rather interrupt than correct the general impression.

The chief reason for distrusting the scientific character of these notes is to be found in the doubt which it is impossible not to feel concerning the genuineness of the writer's emotion. Here is a man, able to live comfortably, who deliberately takes up the life of a tramp, and then moans piteously over its woes. We do not deny its woes, but we deny that anyone can feel them whose circumstances make him independent of his daily

waged. Mr. Wyckoff could at any moment have relieved himself from the agonies of suffering which he describes, and his walls of anguish cannot arouse deep sympathy. We do not feel for sorrows which are sought for and which can be escaped from; even our friend who howls with the pain of an aching tooth, but will not go to the dentist, gets scant condolence.

As to the descriptions of tramp-life here given, they have been so widely read in the magazine in which they appeared as to require no explanation from us. We must protest, however, against the application of the title "The Workers" to the class of people with whom Mr. Wyckoff associated. So far as they are workers at all, most of them are the refuse of the labor market, the men who have been discharged for drunkenness, dishonesty, inefficiency, laziness, and similar reasons. There is a sprinkling of deserving men; but the really deserving men are not often compelled to tramp for work. The existence of such a mass of undeserving men as Mr. Wyckoff describes is one of the difficulties of our civilization; but we cannot say that his observations suggest any means of escaping from this difficulty.

The Last Link: Our Present Knowledge of the Descent of Man. By Ernst Haeckel. With Notes and Biographical Sketches by Hans Gadow, F.R.S. London: A. & C. Black; New York: Macmillan. 1898. 8vo, pp. vi, 156, cuts.

The renowned Jena professor was a great white light among the luminaries of the Fourth International Congress of Zoölogy at Cambridge last August, and this book consists mainly of the address which he delivered on the 26th, on our present knowledge of the descent of man. This confession of faith of a man of science sounds no uncertain note; we hear the conclusion of the whole matter as it appears to the lifelong and foremost champion of transformism in Germany, who early made Darwinism his starting-point in evolutionary studies, not his goal. The "last link" is what has commonly been called the "missing link" between man and apes, requiring the new name because it is now believed to have been found in *Pithecanthropus erectus*, the semi-simian or semi-human fossil discovered in Java by Dr. Eugène Dubois in 1894. Haeckel had long before proposed the hypothetical genus and species *Pithecanthropus alalus* for some supposed speechless ape-man, and his delight at the discovery of an actual organism answering the requirements of this genus may be imagined. His italicised pronouncement is now: "The descent of man from an extinct Tertiary series of Primates is not a vague hypothesis, but an historical fact" (p. 76). The address hits off the whole subject of evolution "from moner to man" in a free-handed, masterly manner, with technical precision where possible, elsewhere with glittering generalities, as in attempts to compute the chronology of 5,375,000 generations of animals from Laurentian times to Adam and Eve. The address will be caviare to the general, but any one can appreciate, for example, the neat score made off "Darwin's point" of the folded rim of the ear. The Greeks were zoologically correct in their representations of the pointed ears of satyrs, and Hawthorne's Donatello, in the 'Marble Faun,' is a modern instance.

Dr. Gadow supplements the volume with brief portraiture of some famous scientists,

as Lamarck, Cuvier, Von Baer, Johannes Mueller, Virchow (who is Haeckel's protagonist), Koelliker, Gegenbaur, Cope, and especially Haeckel himself.

Book Auctions in England in the Seventeenth Century. By John Lawler. A. O. Armstrong & Son.

The present reviewer confesses frankly that he belongs to the hopelessly Philistine class of people who buy books simply because they want to read them, and not because they are old or curious or rare. Having confessed this much, he also confesses that he has read this little book with great interest, and with some stirrings within as of an undeveloped germ of bibliomania.

Long as the method of sale by auction had been known to the world, it was not, it seems, till the beginning of the seventeenth century that this method was applied to book-sales by the Elzevirs at Leyden and Amsterdam, and not until 1676 was it introduced into England, by the bookseller William Cooper. His first catalogue is a curiosity, and so are some of the prices brought. Fancy an Elliot Indian Bible going for 19 shillings, the Homer of 1488 for 9 shillings, and the first edition of Bacon's 'Advancement of Learning' for 1 shilling! The first appearance of the first folio of

Shakespeare in any auction catalogue was at Cooper's sale in 1687, when it brought 14 shillings, and a second folio in 1678 brought 16 shillings. At the sale of Sir Kenelm Digby's books in 1680, the second folio brought 14 shillings; the 'Paradise Lost' of 1633, 2s. 1d.; Lydgate's 'Fall of Princes' (1554), 3s. 6d. Caxtons seem to have been little in demand, his 'History of Troy' bringing 3s.; his 'Morte Arthur,' 2s. 10d.; his 'Book of Chace Moralised,' 1s. 6d.; and many other rarities of the earliest presses of Italy, France, and Germany, which would now bring more than their weight in gold, going at less than their weight in copper at the sale of Dr. Bernard's great library in 1836.

Some of the prefaces to the catalogues are very curious, but for these we must refer the reader to the book itself.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

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The New York Tribune headed its reviews of fiction last Sunday with one of Stacpoole's novels, "The Rapin" (Henry Holt & Co., \$1.25), in which the reviewer said, "It is a captivating book. It is an odd production, freakish in tone, spasmodic in movement, but its very freakishness gives it charm. . . . A book which it would be folly to attempt to remember, but almost folly to leave unread."

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 23, 1899.

The Week.

Formal peace with Spain is brought within reach by the act of the Queen-Regent of Spain on Friday in signing the treaty, and real peace in the Philippines was thought at Washington to be, in the light of Gen. Otis's dispatches, only a matter of hours. What the exact situation at Manila is, and by what means Gen. Otis expects to bring about the submission of the natives, can only be guessed. It is certainly to be hoped, for every reason, that the Philippine Commission, whose membership is now complete with the arrival of Mr. Denby, may speedily be able to secure peace. It is no time to stand on punctilio if there is any chance at all of ending these daily massacres, which shock and shame even the most glory-drunk Americans.

Our Cuban problem grows harder instead of simpler with the advance of the season. The War Department is of course anxious to get the volunteers out of the island before the yellow fever appears. This is a matter of great importance to all our Southern cities, with quarantine in its present disorganized state. If troops are all the while to be coming and going, the danger of a yellow-fever epidemic in the South will be greater than ever before. Yet it would seem that the very first withdrawals of our soldiers from Cuba excite evil-minded Cubans to all kinds of disorder. Brigandage breaks out in Santiago, and the civil authorities in Havana are unable to cope with rioters. That we shall ultimately dominate the situation we do not doubt, but there is no danger that the men in charge will stagnate for lack of difficulties. Gen. Ludlow has already asked for a transfer, which we take to be a sign of breaking health, or else of a feeling that he is not given adequate support.

The conduct of the officers and soldiers of our Cuban war army in regard to the question of bad beef must be extremely annoying to McKinley, Alger, and Egan. At every opportunity they have persisted in saying that the beef which they got in the field was so vile that burial was the only disposition possible to be made of it. When the Court of Inquiry was sitting in Washington, some very nice canned beef was opened and served up in various forms for the soldiers to taste. They tasted, and when asked to say which variety was like what they had in the field, they all said none of it was like what they had. They went on the witness-stand and swore that

what they had in the field was simply loathsome. Then the Court went to Chicago and made an inspection of the canning business, being shown how carefully the beef was canned and how nice it tasted. But more obstinate soldiers went on the stand and said that what they had received in the field was not nice, that it not only smelled to heaven, but had maggots in it. Then the Court adjourned to Omaha, and inspected the canning processes there, finding them agreeable in every way, and the beef itself most delightful eating. Then they called some more soldiers, and these said the same things about the beef they had been supplied with by Egan and Alger that all the other soldiers had said. The Omaha canning methods might be perfect, but the kind of canned beef turned out was not the kind that reached the soldiers in the field. Did anybody ever see such irritating perversity! The President ought to rebuke them in a special proclamation.

It is not only in the United States that anger is aroused "in military circles" by the courageous truth-telling of an honest officer. The last Governor-General of Cuba, Gen. Castellanos, who is now Captain-General of Madrid, spoke last week in high praise of the Spanish private soldier, but intimated that many officers ought to be sent to the galleys. The resulting uproar is naturally tremendous. And yet Castellanos has only said what has been charged openly in the Cortes. One bold Senator declared that many Spanish generals, instead of flaunting their way back to Spain and taking their seats in the Senate, ought to be hung in their own ashes. We believe this heroic man is still fighting duels in consequence of his utterances, but he stands by all he has said. A still more sinister attack on the officers of the Spanish army was made by a Deputy, who demanded that the Bank of Spain be required to publish the accounts of all the generals of the army who had deposits with that institution. The Prime Minister, however, discovered a fatal objection to such a course. One of the rules of the Bank of Spain forbade the publication of private accounts, and the Government could never think of ordering the bank to violate one of its by-laws.

Admiral Walker's testimony before the River and Harbor Committee, in "executive session," throws a weird light on the Nicaragua Canal project. Only by the most desperate efforts was Congress prevented from voting millions and millions for a scheme which, its most ardent promoters were forced to confess, had scarcely got beyond the

stage of guesswork. Routes, levels, number of locks, location and number of dams—all were in the air, while the cost was evidently something of which Admiral Walker had only the vaguest notion. Then there was the highly important matter of diplomatic negotiations. They, too, were all at loose ends. Congress was going full tilt over the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. That is, no doubt, a minor matter. England would, we suppose, cancel that treaty for the asking. In this happy time of good feeling, Lord Salisbury would say to his adored and very useful Columbia, "Do what you will; I can refuse you nothing." But that would be by no means the end of the diplomacy necessary. It is admitted that Costa Rica has rights along the route of the Nicaragua Canal, and that her consent to its construction must be secured. It never has been secured. The concessionaires have always contemptuously assumed that they could get what they wanted by means of bribery, when the time came. When the President of Costa Rica was in Washington last winter, there was much chuckling over his apparent willingness to be corrupted by the Nicaragua Canal promoters. But they were doing their corrupting in other quarters just then, and left President Iglesias severely alone, much to that statesman's surprise, it is said. Still, an arrangement of some kind with Costa Rica is necessary before the canal can be built; but Congress was eager to leap into the dark as respects that difficulty, just as it was in the case of all others.

What Congress finally did, mainly through Speaker Reed's efforts, was to pass a bill calling for the appointment of a new commission, to examine the whole question of an isthmian canal, and especially the comparative merits of the Nicaragua and Panama routes. The President has not yet announced his appointments to this important commission. It is to be hoped that he will see the necessity of securing men of high ability and impartiality, and will not, as it has been reported that he would do, choose a commission packed against the Panama route. At any rate, the thing has now got to such a pass that entire publicity is essential. The new report to Congress cannot be drawn up in a corner. Already it is announced that a large party of Senators and Representatives are to visit the isthmus, to see with their own eyes what is the state of the works. What they will find at the Nicaragua route may be inferred from Admiral Walker's admissions. At Panama they will find a canal one-third done; they will find 4,000 or 5,000 men at work; they will find complete plans

worked out to the minutest details by the most eminent engineers in the world; they will find a company ready to give a bond to complete the canal in ten years without asking the United States for a dollar, while yet giving our Government all the political control of it that is either desirable or possible. We are not committed to the Panama route, or to any other. All that we want, and all that we believe the country wants, is to see a canal built across the isthmus in the best way and at the best place, and with the least cost and embarrassment to the Government.

The undoubted intention of Congress will be carried out by the decision of the Adjutant-General that the sale of intoxicating drinks shall not be permitted in any post-exchange or canteen of the army. The proceedings in each branch make it perfectly plain that the clause on the subject inserted in the army reorganization act was designed to reach this end, and it would have been a strained interpretation of the language employed if the War Department had assumed that some evasion of the intended prohibition was still possible, through the engagement of civilians, instead of soldiers, as liquor-sellers. Gen. Corbin is quite right in saying that "the plain intent and spirit of the law are that intoxicants shall not be sold on a military reservation," and he enunciates the only sound principle when he says that "there shall be no 'monkeying' with 'liberal construction' or other forms of evasion; it is our business to see that the laws are enforced in their spirit as well as their letter, and that ends it." There will consequently be a thorough trial of the abolition of the sale of liquor under the patronage of the Government in the army under the new law; while the same experiment will also be made in the navy, under the order recently issued by Secretary Long, forbidding the sale or issue to enlisted men of malt, or other alcoholic liquors on board ships of the navy or within the limits of naval stations.

It is refreshing to find that six years of Addickism have not demoralized public sentiment in Delaware so much as was to have been feared. On the last day of the legislative session in that State, three Democrats voted to elect Addicks United States Senator under circumstances which left no moral doubt that they had been bribed. From the moment that they responded to their names on the roll-call they have been treated by all with whom they came in contact as men previously supposed to be honest should be treated when they have sold themselves. The President *pro tem.* of the Senate immediately struck off the name of Senator Farlow from the committee of finance, of which he was the

chairman, and also from the other committees of which he was a member, and notified him of the reasons for the action. Farlow is a holding-over Senator, but all his associates, Democrats and Republicans alike, except the few Republicans in that branch who are owned by Addicks, have agreed that, if he shall appear in the next Legislature, they will have no association whatever with him. The two Democratic members of the lower branch who sold out to Addicks were bitterly denounced to their faces on the floor of the House the moment that their associates and outsiders could get at them, and they were advised by the authorities to delay their departure from the capitol until the mob outside should cool off, for fear of violence.

Mr. Bryan's insistence that all banquets which he attends must be strictly "Jeffersonian," has its humorous as well as its politic side, but there is no doubt that he is giving Croker a good deal of trouble. If the Boss's Lucullus feast is to be only the signal for a Democratic war on the banqueters, where will he find even an apparently respectable man to sit down along with him and his fellow-blackmailers? We can imagine a shame-faced aspirant for office consenting to sit down with Croker's pigs in the parlor, but not if he knows that he will diminish his chances for office as well as incur the contempt of honest men. Mr. Bryan, we see, is coming out strong just now on those parts of the Chicago platform which declare for the income tax and other forms of assault on "accumulated wealth." This is the tremendous reaction which Mr. McKinley and his syndicate are preparing for us.

The sensible men and women of this State feel a sense of deep obligation to Gov. Roosevelt for his admirable course throughout the incident which ended in the execution of Mrs. Place on Monday. When clemency was asked for the murderess, he made a thorough investigation of the case, going carefully over the evidence and consulting the District Attorney and the judge who were engaged in the trial. When the question of sanity was raised, he appointed two doctors of the highest standing to examine the convict and determine whether there was any ground for the suspicion that she was not in her right mind at the time of the tragedy. When the judicial authorities confirmed the Executive's own conclusion that the conviction was just, and the medical experts decided that the woman had been sane all along, no question remained except that of interference with the course of the law on the ground of the criminal's sex. This Gov. Roosevelt refused, and in the refusal he has been sustained by the thoughtful people of the State, without regard to sex.

Having done his own duty as regarded interference with the sentence, Gov. Roosevelt went a step further, and took measures to secure the decent and orderly execution of that sentence. He instructed the Warden of Sing Sing prison to have a woman attendant and a woman physician with Mrs. Place at the last moment, to allow the representatives of the two press associations, but no other correspondents of newspapers, to be present, and in every way to carry out the Governor's "desire that this solemn and painful act of justice shall not be made an excuse for that species of hideous sensationalism which is more demoralizing than anything else to the public mind." The result was the most orderly and seemly infliction of the death penalty ever known in the case of a woman in the history of the country. The superiority of the electric chair to the gallows as a means of executing criminals may now be considered thoroughly established. Massachusetts is the first State to recognize the wisdom of New York's example by the passage of a law making this change in the administration of the death penalty, and it cannot be long before the same change will be made throughout the country.

An attempt has been made to discover the attitude of bankers in a Western State towards the question of currency reform, and the results are worthy of national attention. Representative Babcock of Wisconsin is a member of the committee appointed by a Republican Congressional caucus last winter to consider this subject during the recess and report a bill next winter, and he recently addressed a series of inquiries to about 300 representative financial men in his State. Something over 100 replies have thus far been received. There was a close approach to unanimity in the answers to the first question, "Do you favor the increase of national bank circulation to the par value of bonds deposited in the United States Treasury?" 110 saying yes, and only 10 no. There was more division of opinion than was to have been expected regarding the repeal of the tax on national bank circulation, only 63 favoring it, while 33 opposed it, and 16 expressed doubts or favored reduction rather than repeal. So, too, regarding another matter about which it had been assumed that there was little difference of opinion, the question of authorizing national banks with a capital of only \$25,000, so as to increase the banking facilities of small towns; while 88 favored this, 28 were opposed. The next question on the list was, "Do you favor the payment of all the demand obligations of the Government in gold?" A greater percentage of the replies received omitted the opinion of the correspondent on this question than on any other in the list, and a number of the replies were evasive; of

the rest, 70 favored the proposition, while 26 were either directly against it, or qualified by statements like this, "Only when made for gold," or "When demanded."

Eastern people will be most interested to learn the feeling of financiers in a Western State regarding the greenback question. One of the inquiries was this: "Do you favor the President's suggestion that a greenback once redeemed in gold shall not be paid out again except for gold?" There were 113 replies, of which 104 were in the affirmative. The next question, very properly, was as to the disposition which should be made of the greenbacks, and particularly whether they should be retired. It is not surprising to learn that a considerable proportion "approach this proposition rather gingerly." Of the 84 who expressed positive opinions, 47 favored retirement, 25 opposed it, and 12 were for eventual retirement, or for retirement only after a sufficient quantity of national-bank circulation, or other money, has been provided to fill the room of the greenbacks to be retired. There were other questions regarding less important points, one at least of which was too vaguely stated to render the replies of any value. The most valuable information brought out is the almost unanimous opinion among Wisconsin bankers that greenbacks once redeemed in gold should never be paid out again except for gold, and the Milwaukee *Sentinel* considers it "safe to say that a great majority of the business men of the State agree with the bankers in this belief."

The most important development since the war on the baggage abuse began is found in a special dispatch to the *Boston Journal*, from its Washington correspondent. He asserts that the annoyances to which returning travellers are subjected "are making any amount of trouble for the Administration"; and that information brought to Washington by leading Republicans indicates that the complaints which are pouring in on the Treasury Department only partly represent the bitter feeling which has been aroused. There is a very practical side to this bitter feeling which has been brought to light by a Republican high-tariff Senator, who has been making investigations in this city and in Boston. He finds that men who have made large contributions to Republican campaign funds in the past, announce that they will not only never make such contributions in the future, but will do all that they can to defeat the party. The importance of all this can be seen when we learn that the Senator told of one such man who has in the past given \$40,000 to the managers of the Republican campaign. In the light of such a fact, it is

not strange that the senatorial investigator should have warned the Treasury Department that the prospects of the party next fall will be seriously imperilled unless the inquisitorial regulations be revoked.

There was a long and interesting letter in the *Tribune* on Monday, from Dean Lefroy of Norwich, England, on the church crisis in that country. Most of it is historical, and, therefore, only of minor interest to this public. Its importance is mainly in the latter portion, which deals with the remedy. The remedy which Dean Lefroy suggests is the one which for some time past has been suggesting itself to every truly Protestant minister in England; namely, the admission of the laity to their ancient place in church government. This remedy has been staring the English church in the face ever since the Revolution in America, and ever since 1870 in Ireland. The experience of Ireland has been even more remarkable than ours. What the Irish Anglican Church has been to the Irish everybody knows. As Shell once described it, "always the church of the state, never the church of the people; a church which had cost England her millions of treasure, and Ireland her torrents of blood." As to the character of the clergy in the last century, it will be remembered that Swift maintained that the bishops, who were generally Englishmen sent from England, were highwaymen who had met the bishops on their way over and had changed clothes with them and personated them in their dioceses. The church was property in Ireland as well as England. As property it belonged to the landlords, while as church it was governed by Parliament through the clergy. As property the lay owner of the living put anybody he pleased, not openly immoral, in the pulpit. The congregation had nothing to do with the matter, had no power to call the minister to account about anything, not even if he were a persistent absentee. We know the rest.

The effect of the disestablishment in Ireland has been magical. The church government has been reorganized on the American model—government by the clergy and the laity. The liturgy has been revised on the same lines. The result has been, after thirty-five years' trial, we are informed on good authority, a very great revival of religious feeling, which, under the old régime, was nearly dead; a great increase in the amount of money voluntarily contributed for ecclesiastical purposes, and a sense of strength the church has never had since it was established. It is only by a similar process that the English church can be saved, and that the laity can be got to care whether it lives or dies, now that the power of the landlords in the country

districts has waned. Disestablishment is something from which even ardent dissenters shrink. The church must have something to rest on except silly young "priests" or lethargic old ones. We have heard a good deal of the Romanizing movement ascribed by a very competent observer to the want of more work by lusty young ministers in country parishes. In default of full occupation, they invent new ceremonies and new powers and duties for the "priest," and the laity have no legal right to interfere with their antics.

Sir William Harcourt's latest warning to the English bishops is that if they do not put down the Ritualists' "open insurrection against the law of the Church, the insurrection will put down the bishops." Yet he deprecates, or appears to deprecate, the one clear solution—disestablishment. He writes, in reference to the asserted readiness of the Ritualists to accept disestablishment: "When it comes to the pinch, the great body of the clergy will prefer, as they did at the Reformation, submission to the law rather than rebellion with its consequences." But a consequence already realized is the shame and scandal brought on religion, not only by clergy defying their dioceses and the law, but by the unseemly disturbances which are repeatedly occurring at church services. There seems to be a sort of organized band of "Kensit boys," who go about to interrupt ritualistic services. The *London Truth* prints some verses which show how the ungodly grow mirthful over the incessant rows. The lines describe the holy evangelical zeal with which ritualistic practices are put down.

How to finance imperialism is beginning to exercise the English. The estimates of expenditure for the coming year show an increase of nearly \$30,000,000, nearly all of which is chargeable to the growing responsibilities of empire. All authorities agree that there will be a large deficit unless resort be had to new taxation. There will be new taxation, undoubtedly, for English finance pays as it goes, not having learned from us the art of borrowing to cover up deficits. The Conservatives, however, are putting on a bold face, and are saying that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will have a fine chance to show his constructive genius by devising new taxes to meet the enlarged expenditure. Yet it is a maxim, as old, at least, as Burke, that it is impossible to tax and to please. The people who have to pay Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's clever taxes cannot be expected to be lost in admiration of his great talents for finance. Labouchere put the case with inelegant bluntness when he said in Parliament that the British workman would rather have an untaxed pot of beer than all the glory to be got out of all the wars on earth.

THE SITUATION.

On the 27th of June, 1898, Admiral Dewey sent a telegram to Secretary Long, in which, after speaking kindly of Aguinaldo, he said:

"My relations with him are cordial, but I am not in his confidence. The United States has not been bound in any way to assist insurgents by any act or promises, and he is not, to my knowledge, committed to assist us. I believe he expects to capture Manila without my assistance, but doubt ability, they not yet having many guns. *In my opinion these people are far superior in their intelligence, and more capable of self-government, than the natives of Cuba; and I am familiar with both races.*"

Admiral Dewey was then and has been ever since considered our best authority on the condition and capacity of the Filipinos. There was correspondence during the subsequent half-year from several other officials, but from none whose word concerning our new possessions in the East was as much respected as Dewey's, for no other who was consulted had been as long in that region and had had as much opportunity for observation. This is not saying that, in our own opinion, an Admiral who has served off the coast is, as a general rule, the best adviser about the condition and capacity of a people. But concerning the Philippines Dewey has been, since he won his battle, a veritable pope for all American politicians. Any one of them who set himself up against him, would have been visited with popular reprobation.

Six months later—that is, on the 21st of December—before the treaty was ratified by the Senate, before he had any authority under it, except what he derived under the protocol, from his place as a military commander, President McKinley issued a proclamation announcing the cession of the "future control, disposition, and government" of the Philippine Islands to the United States by Spain, knowing well at the time that the Filipinos did not acknowledge Spain's right to cede them, knowing well also that Spain did not possess them *de facto*, knowing from Admiral Dewey's account of Aguinaldo and his countrymen that they were persons worthy to be consulted, and knowing that the step he was taking was important enough to need some formal sign of public assent which it had not received. He then made the comical announcement that though he came to take possession by force, and would kill anybody who resisted him, he came "not as an invader or as a conqueror, but as a friend," well knowing that a man who lands on foreign soil with an armed force against the will of the inhabitants or without the consent of the *de-facto* government, is, in the eye of the international lawyer, and in every other eye, both a "conqueror and invader," and cannot by any sort of proclamation rid himself of that character and take on any other.

After a few days' waiting to see whether he really meant what he had said,

open resistance began. We had to fight for our "cession," and are now daily fighting. We have "victories" every day, and the enemy is being "driven back" in fine style, but he rarely, from the beginning, shows much disinclination to be "driven," and when we capture a "city," he burns it. In short, he gives every sign which a feeble people can give, that he is determined to be free; he despises the great McKinley's proclamation, and imitates fairly well our own performances when we were struggling to be free and George III. was telling us he was no "conqueror," and, though he would kill anybody who resisted him, he would be a father to any one who was obedient to him.

The resemblance goes further. It appears that there was exactly the same sort of people at home in England 100 years ago, hallooing George on to his "victories," that we have here to-day encouraging the great McKinley in his wars. We know it because we have exact descriptions of them from Burke. One was of the Griggs kind, who were sick of an honest, industrious life, and wanted to rule somebody and make somebody unhappy, and strut about as a "sovereign" and "superior," and loaf and cackle on "glory-crowned heights." There was another kind which we have also among us. Here is Burke's account of it. It cannot be printed too often:

"But I cannot conceive any existence under Heaven (which in the depths of its wisdom tolerates all sorts of things) that is more truly odious and disgusting than an impotent, helpless creature, without civil wisdom or military skill, without a consciousness of any other qualification for power but his servility to it, bloated with pride and arrogance, calling for battles which he is not to fight, contending for a violent dominion which he can never exercise, and satisfied to be himself mean and miserable in order to render others contemptible and wretched."

We hate to think it, but this seems to us to recall the Hon. Whitelaw Reid, the "Peace Commissioner," and his young men, exactly. Their attitude towards the poor Filipinos is dreadfully haughty. To their great minds the Filipinos are nothing but "children." Their appetite for "victories" over them is insatiable, and they help our troops by calling Aguinaldo scurrilous names, and yet all the inquiries we have been able to make satisfy us that his career is at least as respectable as that of the Hon. Whitelaw Reid. So the world goes on. From age to age men practise the old rascalities and croon the old fallacies. But, though we have no proof on the subject, we cannot help thinking that George's idiots were more susceptible of shame than ours, probably because they generally read more and knew more, though Burke accuses them of "dull uniformity in mischief."

MR. MCKINLEY AND CONGRESS.

Mr. McKinley has now got his first Congress off his hands, and it is a good

time to ask how his theory of the proper relation between President and Congress has stood the two years' wear and tear. What his theory is he has left us in no doubt. By private and public utterance, by acts which speak louder than words, he has made it clear to all the world. First of all, there was to be, while he was President, none of that incessant disagreement and quarrelling between the Executive and Congress which marked and marred the second administration of Mr. Cleveland. Instead of an irritable and pig-headed President, we were to have one all suavity and of infinite tact; and instead of an Executive and Congress at perpetual loggerheads, we were to see the two moving on in spheric harmony. Distinct notice of the change to come was served in Mr. McKinley's inaugural, when he said: "I do not sympathize with the sentiment that Congress in session is dangerous to our business interests." And there was a veritable cry, "I'm wid ye, me byes!" in his first annual message to Congress, of which the opening sentence was: "It gives me pleasure to extend greeting to the Fifty-fifth Congress, . . . with many of whose Senators and Representatives I have been associated in the legislative service."

There spoke tact personified, but let us ask how much better has tact fared than scolding in persuading Congress to cooperate with the President. People used to point shudderingly to the list of things which Mr. Cleveland asked Congress to do but which it refused to do. That was all to end with the advent of sweet reasonableness in the White House. But did it end? Has not Mr. McKinley as long a list of measures contemptuously flung back at him by Congress as Mr. Cleveland had in the same length of time? To begin with the extraordinary session of the Fifty-fifth Congress, the President was twice rebuffed by Congress in the lamentable Cleveland style. He strongly urged the Senate to ratify the arbitration treaty, but that instrument was as contumeliously killed as if the request had been made by a sour and headstrong Executive, instead of one all compact of sweetness and light. But the most cruel fate befell Mr. McKinley's special message to Congress, sent in on July 24, 1897. In it he appeared to rise to the full height of his constitutional prerogative of recommending legislation, and solemnly said to Congress: "This subject [currency reform] should receive the attention of Congress at its special session. It ought not to be postponed until the regular session." But did Congress heed these words of the oily voice any more than it did the raucous cries which used to reach it from the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue? Not at all; it made haste to adjourn with mocking comments both on the measure and the man who had

urged it. Cross old Cleveland could not have fared worse.

One has but to turn to President McKinley's second annual message to find a long record of measures pressed by him upon Congress only to be ignored or defeated. He confidently called on Congress to pass the War Department's army bill, but had to see it torn to pieces as by wolves. He urged the passage of the Nicaragua Canal bill, but pass it did not. He advocated shipping subsidies, but neither house did him the courtesy to advance the bill as far as third reading. He solemnly adjured Congress to pass a bill for the government of Hawaii, but neither House nor Senate paid any more attention than as if it had been only the sound of the wind blowing over the Capitol. In a last despairing appeal, he besought Congress, in a special message, to lay a cable to the Hawaiian Islands, which he said there was "a paramount necessity" it should do before the close of the session. Again a Republican House told a Republican President go hang, as far as the bill was concerned. We repeat: blundering, irascible Mr. Cleveland did not fall more ludicrously to get Congress to do what he wanted.

But if suavity and gracious blandishments did not wheedle Congress into doing what it was bound not to do, how did Congress succeed in dealing with tact and yielding grace in the White House? Alack, here is a different tale to tell! The first thing Congress extorted from a tactful Executive was a war. This is conceded on all hands. Mr. McKinley's apologists and panegyrists alike have declared that but for Congress there would have been no war with Spain. Congress, as Mr. Boutelle has explained, "held a stop-watch" on the President. It gave him just so many hours to produce a war. It was deal to his entreaties. He might be very suave with Congress, but Congress was inexorable with him. A war in forty-eight hours, was the ultimatum, or we make war not only on Spain, but on you. Never was a tactful President in such distress; but he duly produced the necessary war before the time was up. Since then, Congress has gone on conquering and to conquer. It now knows its man, and knows that it has got him down. Having dictated a war, it is a small thing to dictate all appointments, to make a civil-service-reform President sign a law throwing the census to the spoilsmen, to take everything it wants, and give nothing in return, even burking, in one final kick at the Executive, his whole list of promotions in the army and navy. A tactful President flat on his back, with Congress dancing gayly on his stomach—that is the spectacle we have at the end of the first two years of the new régime. But Mr. McKinley likes it. He boasts himself the "servant" of Congress, and he will not even

insist on having one afternoon a week or on receiving callers in the kitchen.

The simple truth is, of course, that Congress has been engaged for years in an insidious attack upon the Constitutional prerogatives of the President. Just as it tried to break down judicial independence by impeaching federal judges, early in the century, so it began the assault upon the independence of the President by the impeachment of Johnson in 1868. Since then subtler methods have been resorted to. Under Grant and his Republican successors, the contest went on with various ups and downs until finally, under Harrison, Congress had got the Executive about where it wanted him. The veto power was practically abandoned, and the appointing power was practically surrendered. Because Mr. Cleveland reasserted Presidential prerogatives, Congress pursued and vilified him as it did, though it could not bend him. At last he retired, and a man after its own heart came into office. Mr. McKinley and Congress are at one, but Congress is the one. The record we have cited, and the facts open to the knowledge of all, make that plain. By the time President McKinley has got his buffeting from another Congress, even he may begin to perceive that the only safe course for the President is to follow the clear directions of the Constitution; to insist upon his own rights and powers, and to respect those of Congress; very sure all the while that the only result of trying to make the Congressional lion lie down in peace with the Presidential lamb is to place the latter snugly in the stomach of the former.

GET THE BEEF CONTRACTS.

Every day's results in the beef inquiry make it imperative that the court should not cease its investigations till it obtains the contracts which Alger and Eagan made with the beef-packers and canners. Let us see what these contracts contain and what the dates of them are. As to the quality of much of the beef, there is no longer any doubt. The testimony taken on Saturday and Sunday greatly strengthened all that had preceded it. A former employee of one of the canning firms testified that he had seen two carloads of canned beef which had been returned some time in May as unfit for use. "When the cans were opened," he said "many of the cans were found to have burst. Maggots were crawling everywhere. The stench was so bad that ammonia had to be used to kill it." The same witness also testified that no Government inspectors had ever examined the canned beef, but that he and other employees had themselves put on inspection-labels. Other witnesses in the employ of the packing company corroborated this testimony.

At Sunday's session of the court, at

Leavenworth, Kan., the first direct testimony was given that chemicals were used in preparing some of the canned beef. Sergeant Edward Mason of Troop A, First United States Cavalry, who served as regimental commissary-sergeant in Florida and Cuba during the war, testified that some of the refrigerated meat which he drew for rations looked "as if it had been painted over with something like paraffine wax; had a light coating on the outside"; that he objected to the color of the meat, and refused to accept it; and that the agent of the packing company told him that it had been treated with "preservatine," a chemical which the company used to preserve its meat. He testified further that the meat smelled bad, had a bad appearance, and was undoubtedly spoiled; and that the agent assured him that the "preservatine" did not hurt it, and advised him to cut off the outside, since the inside, near the bone, would be all right.

No one who has followed the testimony to the present point can question the accuracy of the statement by a prominent army officer, cited in the *Tribune's* Washington correspondence on Sunday: "I think the people of the country are satisfied that the truth of every one of Gen. Miles's allegations has been more than proved." If the President or Secretary Alger has any doubts on this point, he need only to sound public sentiment a little to have them removed. So far as the quality of the beef which our soldiers received is concerned, there is little need of further testimony. That part of the case is proved. But there are other points upon which light is needed and should be forthcoming. The prominent army officer quoted by the *Tribune* makes other statements in its columns which are more serious than any which have yet been published. He declares that in May and June last "a number of contractors proposed to the Commissary Department to furnish beef on the hoof in Cuba and Porto Rico, the same as every other army had received"; that one contractor had been in Cuba and Porto Rico, and had learned that beef on the hoof could be supplied without difficulty; that he went to the Commissary-General with this information, and was informed by him that "he had to give the contract to Swift & Co.—mark this, had to give the contract to the Western firm"; that he told the Commissary-General that refrigerated beef could not be used in Cuba unless it was artificially preserved, and the latter replied that a way had been found by the Chicago contractors to preserve it so that it would keep for seventy-two hours.

Here are several points which should be thoroughly investigated. Why was it that Eagan "had to give the contract to Swift & Co."? Who was it that assured him that the contractors had dis-

covered a process which would preserve the meat for seventy-two hours? Why was it that the contracts said only twenty-four hours? We are glad to see that Eagan has changed his mind about going to Hawaii, and has stopped at San Francisco. He should be summoned again by the Court of Inquiry and given an opportunity to tell all he knows about these matters. The identity of the *Tribune's* prominent army officer should be disclosed, and the witnesses he mentions should be summoned. Eagan swore that the twenty-four-hour limit was an "error" in the contracts, but the packing firm has sworn that this was not the truth; that seventy-two hours was never thought of. Let us get the two parties together and see which is telling the truth. Let us also have the contracts produced and all the correspondence between the contracting parties. It is very plain that only the surface of this infamous business has been disturbed. The country will be satisfied with nothing except the whole truth.

It should be noted that the Court of Inquiry is confining its attention to the beef supply only. It does not investigate any other branch of the commissary service during the war. It does not go into the question of transportation, of camp location and equipment, or into the quality of other provisions than beef. We are assured that if the quality of the flour which Alger and Eagan furnished were to be investigated, results not unlike those obtained in the beef matter would be achieved. As to camp location and equipment, nobody has any doubt about a great mass of scandal existing there. We are able to understand now why the President did not wish to have Congress conduct an investigation, and why he appointed his absurd War Investigating Commission. He did not desire to reveal the truth, but to smother it, and he would have succeeded but for Gen. Miles. Had Miles not collected evidence on the beef question, and had he not forced its publication in spite of army etiquette, we should not have known what we know to-day about that outrage upon our soldiers. But is not the truth about Alger's and Eagan's operations in other directions to be brought out? Does the President still think that the truth can be concealed; that his treatment of Alger and Eagan is a sufficient answer to all evidence that can be brought against them? What he ought to do is to call for a court of inquiry upon Eagan's whole conduct by a body which should command the confidence of the country. Will he do this? Will he stop thinking about delegates long enough to think about the soldiers to whom Eagan and Alger caused suffering and death by their foul and poisoned beef? Delegates are all well enough, but they can only give a nomination, and a nomination which does not

receive votes on election day is a worthless thing.

THE CUSTOM-HOUSE VEXATION.

Shayne, the furrier, delivered an address on Thursday afternoon in which, among his numerous admissions, he confessed that he had put detectives on the docks to see how his "regulation" was enforced, and that his recommendation to the Treasury to provide a decent place for the examination of his victims was not attended to. He says:

"The matter of proper facilities for examining the baggage has received the attention of the committee, and it recommends that a system similar to the one in operation at Liverpool be inaugurated, and that a room be set aside upon the steamship dock where trunks may be examined without danger of injury to their contents and for the comfort of the passengers."

To this, probably the only civilized, rational remedy Shayne has ever suggested, the Treasury, we know, pays not the slightest attention. The examination continues with the increased stringency recommended by Shayne, but in the old place and in the old way. Shayne knew well that it was not attended to, but that the examination had been made more exasperating—that is, that the Treasury promptly altered its regulation to oblige Shayne, but made no alteration to oblige the passengers; and the brave Shayne, knowing well what was going on at the wharves on the arrival of every steamer, and what influence he seemed to have with the Treasury, said never a word.

Now what kind of place is it on which American ladies are obliged to submit lists of their gowns and underclothing to Shayne's detectives and to custom-house inspectors? It is an open wharf, swept by the prevailing winds, traversed from end to end incessantly by furious trucks wheeled by the stevedores unloading baggage and freight from the ship by which these passengers have arrived, with a floor whose only cleansing, after a hundred cargoes have been discharged on it, consists in a sweeping by a 'longshoreman. The greatest confusion prevails on it after the arrival of a passenger steamer, owing to the long detention of the passengers by the custom-house. There are rarely enough inspectors after one of the crowded ships comes in. They not only examine baggage, but they find contraband or dutiable articles, "declared" or not "declared." They value them, and accompany the passenger to the office on the lower end of the wharf to see that he pays the duty. This all takes a great deal of time. To find his baggage, to see that it is got together, to find an officer to examine it, to have it examined, requires an able-bodied man in rude health. For a lone or delicate woman it is almost as terrible an ordeal as landing on a piratical Moorish coast. We have known a case

in which a passenger reaching the wharf with an ordinary amount of personal baggage at eight o'clock in the evening, did not get to his bed until 2 A. M., and he was a vigorous man.

And how is the work of examination done? Some of the inspectors are, of course, men of natural politeness, who dislike their work and make it as little disagreeable as possible, but the proverb, "Like master like man," applies to the custom-house as well as to other places. We doubt if any officer is ever exhorted by his superior to be polite or considerate, or to consult the sex or character or place of a passenger in the community. The whole tone of the service is rude and barbarous and uncivilized. The lesson the officers are taught is constantly to be rigid, to be suspicious, to see in every passenger a possible smuggler, and treat him or her accordingly, in manner and action. The spirit of the custom-house is the most "un-American" we know. If we wanted to give a foreigner a good idea of what is meant by the word, we should advise him to frequent the wharves on the arrival of steamers. It is not surprising that this is the way of the inspectors. They know perfectly well that Shayne and his tailors are more influential with the Treasury than any number of travelling American citizens, and last year they found that this man had actually succeeded in getting the law altered for his own benefit, and they found his detectives on the wharf seeing that it was enforced with vigor; in other words, he had had a share in the government handed over to him. Mr. Howell's denial that the Treasury had framed the regulation for the benefit of a class was plainly not as veracious as the average custom-house oath.

It must be borne in mind that the law nowhere hints that it is a criminal or even immoral thing to go to Paris or London, and while there to make purchases. Both the McKinley and the Dingley tariffs are meant simply to collect revenue, not to reform manners. Therefore, it is not an offence in law or morals, as Shayne not unnaturally tries to believe, to purchase things abroad as long as you pay the legal duty on them when you bring them home. If large numbers of people, including the "merchants and manufacturers," did not buy things abroad, neither McKinley nor Dingley would have any revenue at all. Therefore all treatment of decent people who travel as in any sense bad citizens because Shayne and his gang do not make more money out of them, is simply ludicrous. The proposition that his neighbors owe Shayne a living in the way he chooses himself, may do for a Shayne lecture, but Mr. Dooley is the only proper person to deal with it.

Another feature of the examination must not be passed without notice. Things purchased abroad continue to be

property in the eye of the law, even if Shayne does not like them. In collecting taxes on them, therefore, the infliction of damage on them that can be avoided is illegal, besides being Turkish or Moorish. It is from these great principles a fair inference that when ladies arrive at our wharves with expensive dresses purchased in Paris or London, packed carefully by a professional packer, a functionary whom Shayne probably thinks a vicious person, to let a man plunge his hands into them, and possibly turn them out on the dirty wharf under the feet of the stevedores, although the owner may still have to take them to Chicago or San Francisco, surely should be a thing to be avoided somehow by an honest Treasury. And yet the occurrence of this sort of thing nearly every day does not seem to attract any attention. No civilized building is provided for the examination, no counter to put the baggage on, no numbered compartments to assist the passengers to find the baggage, no privacy for those whose underclothing is turned out, no protection from draughts or observation. Every alteration or change is to please Shayne, the furrier, although he would doubtless be just as well satisfied if a collection for him was taken up from the passengers.

REMBRANDT AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

LONDON, March 3, 1899.

In writing of the two recent Rembrandt exhibitions, I pointed out that at Amsterdam and in the Royal Academy the etchings were not included, and that, therefore, the collections could not be considered completely representative. Rembrandt had his rivals among painters in his own day, but never among etchers until the present century, so that to omit his prints is to leave out perhaps his most important work. Now, however, Mr. Sidney Colvin of the British Museum has supplied this omission by a special show of all the etchings, and the drawings, too, belonging to the print room.

When a special show is held at the Museum, it is usually many long months in the preparation, and, that the care and pains bestowed upon it may not be wasted, it remains open for a still longer time. I believe the Rembrandts will be on view in the white room where they have been arranged for a couple of years. Consequently, many an American, forced to miss the paintings in Amsterdam and London, will still have an opportunity to see the prints. And it is an opportunity not to be lost. It is one thing to dive into portfolios and volumes of etchings, quite another to find the work you want to study excellently hung, according to dates and periods and states, on the wall before you, where, if you are an artist, you can really look at it at your ease and leisure; if you are a collector, you are furnished with all possible and available information. Besides, nowhere is there a more complete series of these prints than in the British Museum, and nowhere, perhaps, so many fine impressions. In the notes to the

catalogue, Mr. Colvin explains that the collections at Amsterdam and the National Library in Paris are as complete, and that "those of the Albertina and the Royal Library of Vienna, taken together, may be regarded as constituting a fourth public collection of equal rank; while scarcely less rich than any of them is the private cabinet of Baron Edmond de Rothschild in Paris. Both Amsterdam and the Paris Library possess a few unique prints, or states of prints, which are not in London; but on the whole the British Museum stands probably first of all in the quality and high preservation of the specimens which compose it."

This, really, is what strikes you above all else, the wonderful beauty of by far the greater number of impressions. Indeed, it is impossible to quote any examples in particular where such a high average is maintained, and, unless you happen to be a collector, the quality of a print will be of more importance to you than its rarity. But in studying a certain master's work, it is interesting to be able to follow the gradual development of his genius and the accompanying changes and modifications in his method and technique. And Mr. Colvin has adopted the one arrangement that can help you to do so. He has grouped the prints in three divisions, corresponding to the three periods usually accepted; the first, when Rembrandt depended chiefly upon the acid; the second, when he worked more and more in dry point; and the third, when the acid was given up almost entirely for dry point. Each group is hung chronologically, as well as can be, when dates are not always known. States and impressions are placed side by side. And you have put to turn to the catalogue for every fact, authority, and reference in connection with each. Altogether, the arrangement and the catalogue could not easily be better, and I am sure Mr. Colvin will not be disappointed in his hope that the present opportunities for examination and comparison "may enable students to come nearer to a complete agreement than has hitherto been possible."

But the agreement of students, after all, means less to the artist than the actual work before him, upon the merit and perfection of which he decides for himself without the aid of catalogues and compilers. And to follow the series from the first little heads, mainly of historic interest, to the last incomparable portraits, is to feel, with something of exultation, the greatness of the master who, in his etching as in his painting, steadily progressed, steadily developed and strengthened his powers, reserving his masterpieces for his old age, when lesser men would be content to think their life's task done—for the years during which Fate was most cruel to him, and he was all but forgotten and his work no longer in demand save with the few. It is to learn, too, that it was by the same means as in his painting that he achieved perfection: by the same tireless work and industry, the same close study of the life about him, of the *thing seen*, the same restless experiment. He began by etching the old, familiar sitters for his early portraits; his father, his mother, sometimes Saskia, himself again and again and ever again, under every aspect and in every costume or disguise; little plates that are often dry and cold and tight, with not a suggestion of the flame, the ardor, Fromentin thought he had always difficulty in suppress-

ing, but that led him to the knowledge, the freedom, the distinction of the great plates of this period—the "Good Samaritan," the "Raising of Lazarus," the "Descent from the Cross." Then came the period when, just as he was becoming keener and keener about dry point, he turned oftener and oftener to the country, with its windmills and canals and old farmhouses and little towns, for motives, and produced the larger number of his landscapes—the "Three Trees" among them—landscapes in which you see all Holland, and for which some authorities account by imagining a flight to the country as a refuge from the sorrows and troubles that crowded upon him after the death of Saskia. This was the period of the portraits of Jan Six and Ephraim Bonus and Cornelis Anslu and Jan Asselyn, the period of the "Hundred Guilder Print," of which the British Museum boasts two unrivalled impressions in its two early states. And then come the perfect plates of his later years, the marvellous group of portraits of Jan Lutma, of Arnold Tholinx, of Thomas Jacobsz Haaring, and, supreme even among these, of Jacob Haaring; and also the large religious subjects, the "Christ Presented to the People," in no less than six states (one of the plates, it seems to me, he did not improve by working on it), and the "Christ Crucified between the Two Thieves," in four states, showing the differences that have been such a source of discussion among the authorities. I think most artists must agree with Sir Seymour Haden that the later states, with the mystery and gloom and tragedy of the deeper shadows—of the darkness that fell upon the earth with the consummation of the great sacrifice—represent the true and ultimate effect which Rembrandt had in view from the first, and were not the result of caprice or of the interference of another and inferior hand. The series ends with those final studies from the nude which rely upon even nobler qualities than realistic truth for their beauty.

The collection alone would be sufficient to establish Rembrandt's preëminence as an etcher. But, to emphasize his supremacy, Mr. Colvin is also showing, in the same room, the work of his contemporaries, and some of his immediate predecessors—a series which is notable enough in itself. There are the "Beggars," the "Nobility of Lorraine," and the "Miseries of War," by Callot; the classical landscapes by Claude, the portraits by Van Dyck. There are the prints of the Dutchmen who were more or less under his influence, Livens, Van Vliet, Ferdinand Bol, and of the Dutchmen who reveal small trace of having studied him, Ruysdael and Albert Cuyp, Paul Potter and Van der Velde—prints of unquestioned interest: some too well known to need detailed description, others not so well known, but curious historically. For instance, the color prints of Hercules Seghers, who was the first to experiment in color-printing from a copper plate, using, however, but one color in the printing, and tinting the paper either before or after the impression was taken, with sometimes delightful effect; and whose etchings were not only studied by Rembrandt, but, in one case certainly, altered and worked upon by him. Rich in interest as this collection is, however, there is not one of the artists who can stand the test of comparison with Rembrandt. The elegance of Van Dyck is overshadowed by the simplicity and dignity of the "Lutma" and the two Haarings; the stateliness of Claude

seems stilted and artificial by the side of the spontaneous little impressions of quiet Dutch waters and pastures; the animals of Cuyt and Paul Potter are wooden and lifeless when you come to them from Rembrandt's amazing rendering of "The Hog." I think Mr. Colvin would have given a still more useful comparative study had he hung one or two modern masters instead of Rembrandt's contemporaries.

Of the drawings I have said nothing, because I have already written of those exhibited at Amsterdam and the Royal Academy. Of course, the British Museum collection is quite distinct, and if, in certain single examples, it cannot compete with the treasures of Mr. Heseltine and M. Bonnat, in others it far surpasses them. But the main characteristics are always the same. Here, again, you find Rembrandt working in all sorts of mediums—in chalk, pen-and-ink, pencil, sepia; and here again you find the drawings falling, naturally, into two divisions: the studies from life and nature, the sketches of preliminary notes for his etchings and paintings. They also follow a chronological order as far as is possible, for he seldom dated his drawings, and they also point to continual progress, and explain the means by which he achieved it. In them, perhaps more than in his paintings and prints, you are conscious of his indefatigable, his ceaseless habit of work, his constant observation, his uninterrupted concern with the life about him, and his quenchless love for the beauty of the commonplace. You have once more a series of portraits; once more his renderings of animals—for one, that incomparable elephant with all its clumsiness, its modelling, its loose, flapping hide, expressed in a few lines in black chalk; once more his landscapes, a whole countryside in its infinite variety put down with a few strokes of the pen. And, when he was not going direct to nature, he was learning all he could from other masters, as is explained by his copy of Mantegna and his facsimiles, you might say, of the designs of Persian artists. Of all men, Rembrandt seems most to prove the disputed truth that genius is but the genius for industry.

I have given a mere outline of the exhibition, but you cannot in one short letter dispose of work that offers really a study for a lifetime. I have, therefore, endeavored merely to give some slight idea of the completeness of the British Museum collection, and the admirable manner in which it is now arranged for the benefit of the public, and to remind the American coming to London within the next year or so of the pleasure and the unparalleled opportunity for the study of Rembrandt that await him. As for the catalogue prepared by Mr. Colvin, it will be in its way as indispensable to future students of the etchings as the works of the authorities whom it so freely and appropriately quotes.

N. N.

ONE LETTER MORE FROM "ROBERT."

FLORENCE, March 2, 1899.

My letters! all dead paper, . . . mute and white! And yet they seem alive and quivering Against my tremulous hands which loose the string And let them drop down on my knee to-night. This said, . . . he wished to have me in his sight

Once, as a friend: this fixed a day in spring To come and touch my hand . . . a simple thing, Yet I wept for it! this, . . . the paper's light, Said, *Dear, I love thee*; and I sank and quailed As if God's future thundered on my past. This said, *I am thine*—and so its ink has paled With lying at my heart that beat too fast.

And this . . . O Love, thy words have ill availed If, what this said, I dared repeat at last!

Thus wrote and felt Elizabeth Barrett in those "finest sonnets ever penned," which only long after they were married did she ever show to Robert Browning, such being the intense reticence of her love that all of it could not be told, even in her letters to him—those letters which we, and you too, of course, have now all in full—not "dead paper," but alive with burning words; not mute, but assuring every heart that can rise upwards for a moment, that love is a holy, perfect, lasting thing, "the beginning," the doing, the being, the end of life. The first feeling on taking up the volume was an irresistible shudder at what she would feel—if those lonely ashes, weighted with that pompous marble cenotaph of Leighton's, protected by the cypresses, sheltered by the soft, watching hills, could feel aught of earth's toil and turmoil—to see their two hearts turned inside out for the public gaze. Very bitterly, indeed, I fear, if she were mortal still; and Robert would be bitterer and more savage, for he distinctly forbade all friends to publish a line of her letters, even to themselves, and I for one have strictly obeyed him, even to the point of burning many which he wished to be burnt, and of never printing one and more intrusted to me by the dear, good, noble niece of Mrs. Jameson, "Geddie" Macpherson, to whom, when publishing her aunt's life, Robert refused permission to give the letters written after his beloved became his own.

One of his, at least, I shall give you now, for certainly the United States is worthy of everything that belongs to the Brownings. There she was loved and appreciated far more than in England; and as for Robert, it does not seem to me that he was ever appreciated at all in England, save by a chosen few—Miss Barrett among the first—until after her death. After the first horrified feeling of what seemed a desecration and a sacrilege, and a fearful hunger to possess the volumes and a quiet place and time to savor them, came a more reasonable feeling. If, as they both so intensely believed, there is a world beyond the grave where lovers reunite, and if they knew how many hearts are and will be gladdened by their words to one another, would they, indeed, be vexed? No, they would be—are too happy to grudge such joy to mortal misery. So we may read and enjoy, I think, without remorse. To those who knew the Brownings intimately, in their own loved home here in Florence, or even during their sojourns in London or in Paris (it was always home, for they were never divided save in death), these letters will teach little as to their mutual relations one to the other; but to those to whom this rare privilege has been denied, the letters, read together with their scant biographies, will teach that where great, pure, and noble souls do find their "other half," their lives and works run harmoniously, and rise soaring towards the sun on love-sustaining wings.

The marriage took place at Marylebone Church, on the 12th of September, 1846. The bride returns alone; they are not to meet except at the railway station. Every hour comes a new fear lest the newspapers may publish the marriage and she be yet carried off. Robert has made a mistake in her name; he, who never made any mistakes afterwards, made several then, in trains and steamer time-tables. Finally, the last day but one

comes: "September 19th. By to-morrow at this time I shall have you only to love me, my beloved!—you only, as if one said *God* only. And we shall have Him beside, I pray of him!" And the prayer was answered. They met, started, and Mrs. Jameson, in Paris with her niece, "who had left the invalid in London satisfied with the sofa and silence," receives a note to say that they are in Paris en route for Italy. They stay in Paris a fortnight, then travel all together to Pisa, where BA, "not only better but transformed," is to spend the winter alone with her beloved. And now I think all readers of the entrancing correspondence will like to have Robert's first letter to Mrs. Jameson, the kind soul who so rejoiced in their union:

PISA, November 30, 1846.

DEAR, GOOD AUNT NINA: Your note properly ushered in the sunny day, this morning. I fully meant to have written to you, but this is better fortune, to get an answer first (hibernal!); so on the strength of the continued gladnesses of the weather and the letter, we have just been driving for *due ore* round the city and suburbs, and BA comes in with an appetite for dinner, *she* says, and I am not so inclined to doubt it as usually. Did she tell you that I discovered the famous walk on the dyke, and that it is really worth its fame, being very pretty and characteristic, and extending quite to the foot of the mountain? We got out of the carriage and climbed on to it just now, but were too far from a curious old church and tower I wanted to reach. Well, you seem to be enjoying Florence, which is quite right—we and everybody shall have our share of whatever you get there; but if we are the more happy that you remember us in the midst of your especial good, we are not at all surprised, I beg you to know, for we have long since made up our minds about the nature of your attachment to us, and having taken up BA, and me on account of her a little (I go with her, observe, as a serious makeweight), we feel more, that you will not let us go, now, after these travels and trials—no, not for ever so much; but even if you tried to do so, you would find it a hard job, so tightly we will cling!

The day before yesterday we got the kindest of notes from Mr. Kenyon, in which he speaks with great satisfaction and delight of the letter he received from you. He was, at the time of writing, engaged in all sorts of good offices on our account. I also was favored with a letter from Procter. We have been found out here by one or two people, but by Providence's help they don't much disturb us; one of them informed us that Pisa had never been so void of strangers as at the present time, at least within his recollection, while the two last seasons were "prosperous of English" beyond example; hence the additional numbers of apartments to let, and the increased price of them. It is very soothing on a rainy day, when one happens to suffer from bile, to see every blessed board about *appigionarsi*, etc., etc., still dangling in the wind. Here we go on very well, certainly very quietly, although Wilson [the maid] makes from time to time a discovery that sets one's hair on end—about ways of living and sleeping, *e sopra tutto* cooking; all very new and dreadful. M. Verrucci called once and means to call again. These are our events! or no! for another event is the opening of the completed railway to Lucca from this place, so that one may go without any trouble whatever, and had the weather been less outrageous on Monday or Saturday, now I think of it, we meant to go and assist at the exposition of the "volto sacro." Next week perhaps we may manage a trip there. Meantime, we shall wait your letters with a modified impatience (don't you know that a professor in the quadrant issued prospectuses engaging to teach people, at so much per head, "dancing, deportment, and a modified gallantry to the fair sex"?). Seemingly the list you promise will be of the greatest service to us, and pray let me know when you mean to leave Florence for Rome, as you must do, must! I spoke at the post-office about your letters (one was forwarded to you a week ago or a little more), and shall continue to speak.

Dear Geddle is the best, most affectionate girl in the world. BA tells me to say she thanks and loves her heartily, and I put my love into the parcel whether she notices or no. Have I told you in all these words, directly and not by implication, that BA is admirably well, and more and more inclined to sleep after dinner? She desires me to give, first, her whole love, and, next, the good news that your strap is found in Wilson's baggage. I am sure I shall not object to such an article being got quietly out of the house, for there are certain uses to which BA might turn a strap; but I need not tell you she shall not see this letter. God bless you and your dear Geddle, on account of BA and your ever affectionate R. B.

Mrs. MacPherson, the "Geddle" of her aunt and friends, spent the last year of her checkered life with me in Rome, and died in my arms on the 24th of June, 1878. She had just completed the life of her aunt, Mrs. Jameson, and was much disappointed that Mr. Browning would not allow her to publish his wife's letters to Mrs. J. She gave them to me, with his, and this is the first to see the light. J. W. M.

Correspondence.

THE PRESIDENT AND HIS "ORDERS."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is to be hoped that President McKinley will, as soon as he is rested, take prompt steps to have his "order" respecting removals from the classified service complied with by his subordinates. They have shown their admiration for his foreign policy, and extolled his wisdom and courage in general as an administrator, but they have not hesitated to ignore the proclamation of policy made by him in July, 1897, that "no removal shall be made from any position subject to competitive examination except for just cause, and upon written charges filed with the head of the department or other appointing officer, and of which the accused shall have full notice and an opportunity to make defence." The last report of the Civil-Service Commission shows that employees turned out of their places in spite of this order have been importuning the courts of the country—but generally in vain—for "injunctive relief."

Their remedy, as the judges have been obliged to tell them, can be obtained only at the White House. "I have no doubt," said one of them, "that the President may lay down rules for the internal policy of his administration, and may require his chief executive officers, dependent upon his pleasure for their tenure of office, to conform to them, or else to sever their official relations with him. . . . But the enforcement of such rules is a matter between the President and his cabinet, and not a matter for the courts."

The "disciplinary" method of enforcing such a rule is, of course, the only method, and President McKinley must have known this when he issued the order in question. If he did not intend to enforce it, the pity is that he promulgated it, for its frequent violation has brought reproach upon the act itself which every one supposed it was meant to render more efficacious. The Civil-Service Commission print in full case after case of the arbitrary dismissal of those who were protected by the terms of this rule. With most commendable courage they have promptly and earnestly protested against

these illegal acts, and have brought their complaints, and ample evidence sustaining them, to the Secretaries in whose departments the outrages were committed, but in not a single case has punishment been administered, the wrong righted, or even the protest answered. Instead of resigning in a body, as they might with great propriety have done, the Commissioners have printed the whole correspondence, showing an invariable ignoring by the departments of their requests and protests, thereby in effect appealing to a sound public sentiment for their support.

It is not necessary to discuss here the legality of the executive orders placing restrictions upon the right of heads of departments to remove subordinates whom they are authorized by law to appoint. That point may be made by the cabinet officer himself when the promulgation of such orders is in contemplation. Courts, too, must necessarily consider it when they are asked to enforce such orders. But the refusal of bureau officers to require compliance with an order of the President of this character, because not convinced of its constitutionality, is so grossly impertinent and destructive of all order and discipline that one cannot understand how it can be endured for a moment. The Civil-Service Commission show in their report that this high ground is taken in the Treasury Department.

The Grosvenors in Congress have raged because President Cleveland waited until May, 1896, before he extended the classified service so as to include as subject to competitive examination the great bulk of Federal employees, inside and outside of Washington. But that genuine friend of civil-service reform, as is well known to many, was ready for this enlargement long before 1896. He was, above all things, however, regardful of the law, and had no intention of imposing upon the heads of the Washington departments restrictions which they were not inclined to accept. It was in 1896 that, by their coöperation, the various employees were classified who had not been classified by the civil-service act. In this revision that act requires their agency.

It was naturally supposed that President McKinley had in the same way secured the concurrence of his cabinet when, in the following year, he extended to all those embraced in his predecessor's classification a solemn exemption from the menaces of arbitrary power. But though Secretary Gage—to mention but one case—repeated this order to the various bureaus and branches of his service, it is almost an every-day occurrence that his collectors of revenue impudently thrust out Democrats and replace them with men of their own choice, in utter disregard of rules, orders, and department regulations. And when the Commission run to him with a full account of the violation, he remains silent and smiling. I. E.

March 15, 1899.

VIRTUE ENOUGH FOR ALL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Of "the revered McKinley" and his Philippine policy, may it not be said, as Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, said of George the Third: "Let us private men preserve and improve the little we have left of private virtue; and, if one of those infected with the influenza of politics should ask me, 'What

then becomes of your public virtue?' I would answer him with an old Spanish proverb: 'The King has enough for us all'?"

Respectfully,
ALFALES YOUNG.
SALT LAKE CITY, March 15, 1899.

JUDGE KOHLSAAT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I regret to find in your columns of March 9 a statement to the effect that Judge C. C. Kohlsaas would not have been heard of in connection with the United States district judgeship had it not been that Mr. H. H. Kohlsaas had insisted on his brother being recognized.

You do a wrong to two men. No man on the local bench has stood higher in public esteem than Judge Kohlsaas of the Probate Court. This was recognized by the way he ran ahead of his ticket when reflected last fall. Mr. H. H. Kohlsaas has consistently refused to ask any favors or patronage of the President. This I know.

Judge Kohlsaas was recommended, and his appointment urged, by many leading members of the Chicago bar. He is a man who would do honor to any position of trust and to any man appointing him. His appointment must have been a pleasure to the President, because of his personal and professional fitness. No rival for the position had the combined experience and character that were possessed by the appointee.

As a rabid civil-service-reform advocate and an anti-expansionist "to the limit," I hope you will correct your editorial.

Yours truly, WM. KENT.

MUNICIPAL VOTERS' LEAGUE,
CHICAGO, March 12, 1899.

"LEST WE FORGET."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: That the new revelation as to our manifest destiny is but little in accord with the second sober thought of a majority of our people, is hardly to be questioned. Our late wholly exceptional conjuncture being past, we naturally incline to return to our normal condition, without sacrifice of substantial principles, the inheritance of an Anglo-Saxon race. These principles are not so modern as may be supposed. They found voice at a very early period of our history, when Spain was civilizing with slaughter and under the emblem of the cross the territories of northern South America (Guiana); and this is what Sir Walter Raleigh announced as the English Christian method of dealing with the people and territories of uncivilized regions. (The extract is from Hakluyt.)

"This much of subduing the Guianians: the means of procuring this come next to be considered, which ought to be just before God, according to our Christian profession and honorable among men according to the proceedings of our English nation. For it were far better with the help of our confederates under the defence of the Almighty to strengthen in our own countries, than to purchase our security by such practices as the Spaniards used in the conquest of the Indies. Therefore the president [precedent] of their dishonorable actions may not serve for our instructions.

"For which purpose I lay down this as a maxime (which yet upon better advice I am ready to retract). That no Christians may lawfully invade with hostility any heathenish people not under their allegiance, to kill, spoil, and conquer them, only upon pretence of their

[In]fidelity. My prores and reasons be these. In the beginning God, having made the World—reserving the heavens for his throne of Majesty, gave the earth and all therein, with the benefit yessuing from the sunne, the moone, and all the stars, to the sonnes of men as is manifest by the blessing of God upon Adam afterwards renewed unto Noah and his descendants, confirmed in part by God, himselfe to the posterity of wicked Ishmael afterwards to Nebuchadneser in these words. I have made the earth, man and beast upon the ground by my great power, and have given it to whom it pleaseth me: But now I have given all these lands into the hands of Nebuchadneser the King of Babel my servant, etc. To the like effect sayeth Daniel to Nebuchadneser: O King Thou arte King of Kings, for the Lord of Heaven hath given the a Kingdom power strength glory &c. By all of which it seemeth to me very liquid and clear that by Gods ordinance the *belevers* are not the only lords of the World, as being not able to people the 20th part of it, but that by the gift of God, Idolators, pagans and Godlesse persons bee intituled to the possession, and have a capacity to take, and an ability to hold a property in lands and goods as well as they, which being manifested by the former allegacions, it is against the rules of Justice (which giveth to every man his own) to deprive them of their goods, lands, libertyes or lives without just title thereunto. When Jepthe by his ambassadors showed to the King of Amon the righte that the Israelites had of invading the possessions of Amon he maketh not the pretence of their idolatry or Gentileisme, but because the God of Israel had given those lands unto them. The God of Israel (sayeth he) hath cast out the Amorites before his people of Israel, and wouldst thou possess it? Wouldst not thou possess that which Chemaath thy God giveth the to possess? So whomsoever the Lord God driveth out before us, them will we possess. But God hath given no Christians any such warrant, therefore thei may not do the like: as nether the good Kings of Israel or Juda unless just cause of wrongs from the Idolators received.

"Christians are commanded to doo good unto all men, and to have peace with all men, and to do as they would be done unto: To give none offense to one or other: And lastly Christ willed the disciples to pay tribute unto Ceasar, an infidell. He refused a Worldly Kingdom as not pertaining unto him—he reproved his disciples when they desired that fire might come down from heaven and destroy the Samaritans who refused to entertain him—Saying you know not what spirit you are of. The Son of Man is not come to destroy mens lives but to save them.

"Therefore no Christian prince under pretence of Christianity only, and of forcing of men to receive the gospel or renounce their impieties may attempt the invasion of any free people not under their vassalage. For Christ gave not that power to Christians as Christians, which he himself as sovereign of all Christians neither had or would take.

"By the Law of Nature and nations we agree that prescription or priority of possession only giveth right unto lands or goods against all strangers, indefeasibly by any but the true owners.

"This mugh to confirm that opinion before delivered that Christians may not warrantably conquer Infidels upon pretence of their infidelity. But I hold it very reasonable and charitable to send preachers safely guarded it may bee to offer Infidels the gladd tidings of the gospel, which being refused by them (or peradventure the Infidels giving hard measure to the Preachers), this can ground no sufficient quarrel to overrun their countries."

Are the American people to accept the conclusion, now apparently just discovered, that we had not reached national completeness until the finishing stroke was to be accomplished by uniting the ship of state to a

flotilla of Malay dependencies whose crew were resisting the encroachment?

C. H. MINER.

NEW LONDON, CONN., March 14, 1899.

"THE LAW OF THE ROAD."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Had your correspondent, in the issue of March 9, 1899, writing on "The Law of the Road," consulted a file of *Notes and Queries*, he would have found two discussions of the question, the first in vols. 9, 11, and 12 of series 3, and the second in vols. 3, 4, and 5 of series 6. In one of the first will be found the original and best version of the rhyme your correspondent quotes, which is there credited to Henry Erskine.

The encyclopædias merely state the fact that the rule is to keep to the right in nearly all civilized countries, except Great Britain and its colonies, without explanation. While the writers in *Notes and Queries*, curiously enough, are diametrically opposed to each other. One writer (series 6, vol. 4, page 34) suggests that the English rule is due to the fact that the wagoner, walking on the left of his horses, does not want to be caught between the wheels, and, therefore, pulls his horses towards him, thus turning to the left; while in other countries persons driving with reins are indifferent in the matter, and follow their "natural preference" for the right hand.

This view, however, is opposed by a subsequent writer (page 154 of the same volume), who is of the opinion that coachmen, and not wagoners, made the rule, and the advantage in turning to the left for the coachman is obvious. This agrees with an earlier and more complete explanation (series 3, vol. 11, page 531), which accounts for the English rule in the same way, and for the French rule by the fact that their stages were driven by postillions sitting on the left horse. It also agrees in principle with the explanation which I have heard assigned for the rule adopted in America, viz., that the convenience of the drivers of ox-teams (that being the chief mode of transportation) decided the question. It seems reasonable that they should wish to pass, especially on narrow roads, to the right in order that they might better judge the distance between wagons, that they might avoid being crushed out into the gutter or into deep snow, and that they might greet each other most conveniently.—Yours truly,

C. W. A.

THE JOHN CREEAR LIBRARY,
CHICAGO, March 16, 1899.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A correspondent of your paper, last week, in writing about "The Law of the Road," seeks to find a reason why, in New England, it is the custom, as well as the law, to turn to the right in passing. I can tell him what my father, more than sixty years ago, gave me as the reason. At that time nearly all the teaming was done by oxen. They could not be as accurately guided as horses, and turning to the right brought the drivers, who usually walked beside the team, on the inside, so that they could be sure not to come in collision.

As I drove, when a boy, a great deal, and could not see over the oxen to know how near the wagons were together, I could realize the reason, as well as advantage, of the

practice, and I have no doubt that was the cause of turning to the right.

Respectfully yours, H. A. STEARNS.

PAWTUCKET, R. I., March 14, 1899.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The origin of our different custom, I believe, is to be found in the almost universal use of oxen for draught purposes throughout this country in the earliest days of its settlement. With them no reins were employed; the guiding was by voice and whip. The right hand being the natural whip hand, it was most convenient that the driver should walk on the left of his oxen, the better to guide them by the whip; and, being on that side, he naturally turned his team to the right, as the English reinsman had turned to the left, in order that he might more surely avoid the danger of collision. The men on horseback, who would otherwise have continued to turn to the left if they had been free to follow their own convenience and their inherited English custom, could readily turn their horses to either side of the road, and thus adapted themselves to the requirement of the primitive American ox-team.

This rule of turning to the right became more firmly fixed when, later in the development of our country, especially in the South and West, the custom arose of driving several pairs of mules or horses to one vehicle or train of vehicles, by means of a single "jerk-line," as it was called, leading from the nigh horse of the front pair of mules to the driver, who rode the nigh wheel-horse. From his position he, like the ox-team driver, could best avoid accident by turning to the right. The very terms "nigh" and "off" horse which still prevail are the survivals of the same early ox-driving period, and designate the position of the horse with reference to the ox-team driver. Now that ox-teams and single-rein mule teams have for the most part disappeared in the United States, our custom of turning to the right might well be replaced by the safer and more convenient English rule, "Keep to the left."

IRVING ELTING.

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y., March 14, 1899.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have heard my father say that the change from the English custom of turning to the left was one of necessity, on account of the difficulty of turning out in the deep snows. In the early days, when America was first settled (and even now one sees it in farm sleighs in the country), the horse was harnessed to the sleigh a little to the right and directly in front of the right runner—in front of the right in preference to the left, because it brought the horse in front of the driver, who sat on the right. Harnessed in this manner, the horse broke the way through the deep snow for one of the runners, and in meeting another vehicle, by turning to the right the horse could break the way for the runner that had to be turned into the deep untrodden snow at the roadside.

Different customs prevail in different parts of Germany and Austria. When I was driving from Salzburg to Berchtesgaden, we had to change at the frontier from left to right.

W.

BOSTON, March 20, 1899.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Judge Nott's explanation of the change

in the rule of the road, in the *Nation* of March 16, agrees in part with tradition. His one difficulty may perhaps be solved by substituting bank for snow. When a boy in Massachusetts, I once asked why people turned out to the right. After telling me that there had been a change in the custom, my father said: "I, too, once asked my father this, and it is a question all boys must put, I think, for he told me what he said his own father had told him. In old days, he said, one seldom met another wagon on the road, but one always had to look out for the bank; and even when one met another it was more important to look to the lift of the wheel than to the passer-by." A drive through the woods of eastern Long Island or Cape Cod will illustrate the verisimilitude of this explanation, which, on account of the odd expression, "look to the lift" (instead of look to the left!), has always remained in my memory in its original verbal form. Trees are felled and then the wagons make the road deeper and deeper, grinding down sandy soil till high banks are left on either side. In passing, one's chief care is not to avoid wheels, but to keep balanced one's own wheels, as the road is narrow, being half on the bank.

The explanation given would date from about 1750. WASHBURN HOPKINS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your correspondent, Mr. H. M. Doak of Nashville, Tenn., in writing on this subject in your paper of March 9, seems not to be aware that in Canada the English custom of keeping to the left is retained. In towns separated by an imaginary line only, but belonging in Canada and in the United States, drivers change their practice at once on crossing the boundary.

It has occurred to me that if the English custom of passing to the left of the road arose from the desire to keep the weapon-hand next a possible enemy, the custom may have been reversed in our earlier settlements because of the fact that the enemies to be guarded against were found, not in persons met on the road, but in savages lurking in the forests on either side of the way. If this supposition is correct, the custom of passing to the right arose from the same source as our peculiar custom of the head of the family sitting at the foot of the pew in churches. Our forefathers sat next to the aisle, with musket in hand, during service, to be in readiness to repel sudden attacks from the Indians.

The persistence in these practices so long after the perils which caused them have passed away, is a curious illustration of that unreason which lies at the bottom of many of our customs. E. F. MERRIAM.

SHARON, MASS., March 14, 1899.

Notes.

William R. Jenkins, New York, announces for publication in September 'The American Cicero,' a guide to the Paris Exposition of 1900, compiled under the direction of Vicomte de Kératry.

Cassell & Co. are about to reissue their National Library, the older volumes from new plates, and to extend it. The price will still remain at ten cents.

Benj. R. Tucker, New York, has nearly ready 'The Ballad of Reading Gaol,' by Os-

car Wilde (*alias* C. 3. 3, his prison number).

Doubleday & McClure Co. will publish at once 'The United States of Europe,' by W. T. Stead.

'Contemporary Spain, as Shown by Her Novelists,' edited by Miss Mary W. Plummer of Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, will presently be issued by Truslove, Hanson & Combs.

Preston & Rounds, Providence, R. I., will make a limited edition, from type, of 'The Diary of Col. Israel Angell, of the Continental Line,' 1778-1781, with annotations by Edward Field, a map and two plates.

The Dominion Co., Chicago, will publish a 'Full Official History of the War with Spain,' by Murat Halstead.

Herbert S. Stone & Co., Chicago, include among their spring publications 'A Short History of the United States,' by Justin Huntly McCarthy; 'The Spanish-American War,' by eye-witnesses; 'Can We Disarm?' by Joseph McCabe and George Darien; 'The History of Gambling in England,' by John Ashton; 'Robert, Earl Nugent,' by Claud Nugent, with many family portraits; 'Successful Houses,' by Oliver Coleman; 'The Perfect Wagnerite,' by G. Bernard Shaw; 'Lucifer: A Theological Tragedy,' by George Santayana; 'After-Supper Songs,' by Elizabeth Coolidge; 'Dross,' by Henry Seton Merriman; 'The Wolf's Long Howl,' by Stanley Waterloo; 'The Cougar-Tamer, and Other Stories of Adventure,' by Frank Welles Calkins; 'The Awakening,' by Kate Chopin; and 'Stories from the Old Testament, for Children,' by Harriet S. B. Beale.

In the press of Macmillan Co. are 'Old Cambridge,' by Thomas Wentworth Higginson, first of a series of "National Studies in American Letters," to be edited by Prof. George E. Woodberry of Columbia University, who, by right, reserves for himself 'The Flower of Essex'; and 'Letters from Japan,' by Mrs. Hugh Fraser, in two volumes, with plentiful illustrations.

Gen. M. F. Force's 'General Sherman,' in the "Great Commanders Series"; 'The Story of Geographical Discovery,' by Joseph Jacobs; 'Letters to a Mother,' by Susan E. Blow; 'Love among the Lions,' by F. Anstey; 'A Duet,' with an Occasional Chorus,' by A. Conan Doyle; and 'The Mormon Prophet,' by Lily Dougall, are some of the March issues of D. Appleton & Co.

Notable among the undertakings of the Oxford Clarendon Press (New York: Henry Frowde) is the "British Anthologies," edited by that veteran reprinter, Prof. Edward Arber. Ten volumes are already projected, bearing, respectively, the title of the leading poet in each, as, The Dunbar Anthology, 1401-1508; The Cowper Anthology, 1775-1800. Shakspeare, Jonson, and Milton lead off. The collection will be distinguished for consisting almost exclusively of entire poems, and for its cheap price, 2s. 6d. per volume. The editor has taken extraordinary pains to verify at the sources.

Among the works announced for publication next year by the Hakluyt Society are 'The Journeys to Tartary of John of Plano Carpini and William of Rubruk,' translated and edited by W. W. Rockhill, United States Minister at Athens.

Somewhat more than three years ago we welcomed the advent of a singularly original and charming book of impressions of Italy by Maurice Hewlett, under the title, 'Earthwork Out of Tuscany.' The author has since become known by other writings, and

won a fresh audience who will be glad to make acquaintance with this work in a second, revised edition (London: Dent; New York: Putnams). The typographical elegance of the first edition is repeated, but wholly new are eighteen rather unsubstantial illustrations by James Kerr-Lawson, amateurish by turns and clever, but only occasionally answering to the praise which Mr. Hewlett bestows upon them. They serve sometimes, in copying statue or painting, to explain the author's allusiveness; but is this not rather to mar our enjoyment than to increase it?

In 'The Emperor Hadrian: A Picture of the Græco-Roman World in his Time' (Macmillan), Miss Mary E. Robinson gives us a translation of the well-known work by Gregorovius, and the University Press of Glasgow furnishes a beautiful specimen of what it can do with the types. The book itself (as Gregorovius seems to have recognized in adding the sub-title, when, in 1883, he recast it from one which he had written in 1851) is really less valuable as an account of Hadrian than as a description of the literary and religious movements and the general culture of the day. As such, it was worth while for Miss Robinson to dress it up in its present attractive English form; but for a proper appreciation of the Emperor, and for satisfactory treatment of the politics of his time, one must look elsewhere.

Dr. T. Stanley Simonds, now assistant professor in the classical department of Hobart College, has published, at the Ld. Baltimore Press, Baltimore, Md., his thesis for the doctorate in philosophy (J. H. U., 1896) on "The Themes Treated by the Elder Seneca." After sketching, in a careful and scholar-like way, the history of Rhetoric and the Rhetorical Schools of Greece and Rome, the life of the elder Seneca and the character of his extant works, he discusses more fully the nature and origin of the subjects used as themes in those schools. The ultimate sources of those themes are shown to be, in most cases, extremely difficult to trace; but they have been sought with great diligence, and when they have not been found, the question is left in a state not likely to tempt any one to a further search. Dr. Simonds has produced a work which cannot fail to interest classical scholars everywhere, blending, as it does, the analytical research of the German student with the freer, broader, and more pleasing manner of modern English scholarship.

The latest volume issued by the Selden Society (vol. xii., for 1898), is entitled 'Select Cases in the Court of Requests.' Its editor is J. S. Leadam, who prefixes an interesting introduction dealing with the history of the court and commenting on the more significant cases.

The latest issue in the "Land und Leute" monographs is 'Cuba,' by E. Deckert (Leipzig: Velhagen & Klasing; New York: Lemcke & Buechner). Its most attractive feature is a profusion of illustrations—sketches and manners in city and country, after photographs and sketches. With it goes an account of the island based on thorough historical research and on travels of the author. A condensed sketch of the colonial development, down to 1850, is followed by a chapter on the successive native struggles for independence, and another on the steps leading to outside interference. As to the predominant motive of our war to free Cuba, Dr. Deckert charitably leaves it open to the reader to judge whether the result was

more due to "the great sugar and tobacco speculators and the professional politicians," or to "the class of upright idealists who believe in the educational mission of their great republic." Detailed descriptions of the various regions of the island help to make up an agreeable and timely number of this interesting series.

The defence of Boston in the war of 1812, a paper by Mr. W. K. Watkins, published in the Proceedings of the Bostonian Society, is of more than local interest. It is devoted largely to an account of the measures taken in 1814 on occasion of the alarm felt by the presence of British vessels on the coast. It includes a list of the troops from the neighboring towns, a statement of voluntary labor performed on the fortifications, a roster of the militia officers engaged, and a partial bibliography of the literature of the war.

The Bulletin of the Boston Public Library for March contains some useful lists of works, articles and documents on water supply, civic architecture and passenger transportation, compiled for use in connection with the free municipal lectures given in Boston.

In the January Bulletin of the New York Public Library will be found the generous letter of gift from Messrs. Worthington Chauncey Ford and Paul Leicester Ford for the splendid library of Americana amassed by their father, numbering about 100,000 pieces. Even the autographs and manuscripts of this collection will partly revert to the Public Library as the gift of their purchaser, Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan.

The interest of the March number of the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* is, as usual, above all personal, and reaches its climax in obituary notices, with portraits, of "Three Worthies," namely, Henry Lee, by President Eliot; David A. Wells, by E. L. Godkin; and Henry Clarke Warren, by Prof. Lanman. These three characters happily represent in as many generations the influence of a great university on public spirit. Of innovations in the University régime none is more striking than the vote of the Board of Overseers on December 7, 1898, that "it is desirable" to place women on the committees "to visit the departments and courses of instruction"; and the consequent appointment of Mrs. Henry Draper for the Observatory, Mrs. Potter for the Veterinary Department, and Miss Ware for the Botanical Gardens and Museum. Significant in another way is a new course in military and naval science, propounded as tending to preserve the peace. The late war has, for the practical-minded, turned attention away from the Italian to the Spanish courses, in the proportion of 150 to 40.

Africa holds the chief place in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for February, which opens with a description of the Egyptian Sudan, its geography, climate, fauna, flora, and tribes, together with a brief sketch of its exploration, accompanied by a valuable and beautiful map. Mr. H. C. Angus describes a recent trip to northern Angoniland in British Central Africa, a region settled a comparatively few years ago by an offshoot of the Zulu race, who have made astonishing progress in agriculture. "Village after village," says the writer, "surrounded by waving cornfields and green plains dotted with herds of cattle, stretched away into the distance. . . . The cornfields seemed unending, and the size and number of the

villages fairly astonished me." There is also the first part of an article which aims to show the limits of the Egyptian, and hence English, claims to the territory west of the Equatorial Province in the basin of the upper Ubangi, a branch of the Congo and for a long distance the boundary between the French and Belgian possessions.

The *Geographical Journal* for March contains a paper on "The Plan of the Earth, and its Causes," by J. W. Gregory, in which he supports the theory "that there is a hidden continental symmetry which, when discovered, will explain the law that has determined the distribution of land and water on the globe." This distribution, he holds, "has been determined by the tetrahedral arrangement of the elevations and depressions in the surface of the lithosphere." There is also a summary of the results of seventeen years of exploration and study in Iceland by Dr. Th. Thoroddsen, and an abstract of a paper on the sub-oceanic physical features of the coast of western Europe, by Prof. Edward Hull, together with the discussion upon it by Sir A. Geikie, Admiral Wharton, and others.

The last *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* for 1898 contains an account of the French expedition, 150 strong, which, starting from Abyssinia, was intended to meet, at the Nile, that of Major Marchand coming from the west. For a month it struggled amid the swamps through which the Baro, a tributary of the Sobat, flows, and then was obliged to return with a loss of nearly half its numbers. The leader, M. de Bonchamps, closes his narrative with a characteristic "pin-prick": "Although unable to reach our goal, . . . our attempt was not in vain [useful]. It opened to the Abyssinian army that unknown and mysterious western route which had hitherto been veiled to them." A general summary of the scientific results of his explorations in Somaliland is prefaced, by the Vicomte E. de Poncins, by a most interesting description of the natives, whom he regards as among the best of the African races, and "incomparably superior to the Abyssinians."

Petermann's Mitteilungen, number one, contains notes with a map of a journey in the western part of German East Africa, and a brief discussion of the physiographic problems, the salinity and temperature of the Pacific Ocean, by A. Lindenkohl of the United States Coast Survey. A relation of extensive journeys in eastern and northern China, by E. von Chelnoky, closes with some arguments for the theory that Chinese architecture is derived, not, as is commonly held, from the hut, but from the bamboo. There is also a summary of the work of the International Glacier Commission appointed at the geological congress held at Zurich in 1894.

The *Consular Reports* for March contains valuable and suggestive information in regard to our trade with Mexico, Turkey, and Russia. What is told of an institution in Odessa for the training of young men in the theory and practice of navigation, will interest all who would encourage the growth of our merchant marine. The consul at Liverpool calls attention to the great decrease in the trade of that port since 1891, amounting to over \$150,000,000. In some statistics in regard to the use of telephones throughout the world published by the Swedish Government, it appears that this country leads, with three-fifths of the total of one and a

quarter millions, and Germany follows, at a long distance. Next to her are Great Britain, with nearly 70,000, and Sweden with 56,500. Switzerland has more than France.

A relative on the mother's side contributes to the *Rundschau* for March an account of Carl Schurz's life, of which the portion covering his public career in this country is no doubt familiar to most American readers. But the story of his childhood, from his birth "in a castle," and of the earlier years of boyhood, has, as far as we know, never before been told, and will be read with affectionate interest by the friends of the septuagenarian, who has just been fêted in this city. The writer has evidently had access to memoirs the time for whose publication has not yet arrived.

The conservative spirit of the medical State authorities in Germany shows itself again in certain conclusions, as announced by the press, of a conference recently convened in Berlin for a revision of the medical examinations. The representatives of the principal States of the Empire at this meeting did not deem the question of admitting women to medical studies sufficiently ripe for decision (*spruchreif*). The admission of real-gymnasium *Abiturienten* to the study of medicine was, for the present, denied. Both of these measures have for some years been advocated by many of the foremost university professors. On the other hand, it is proposed to extend the regular university course in medicine to ten semesters, and in regard to foreign students it was decided that the same conditions shall hold for them as for native students. The attitude of the conference towards these questions is very likely due in part to recent statistics, which show a continued rapid increase in the number of practitioners, especially in the larger cities. In the year 1897-'98 this growth amounted in the Empire to 785, or 3 per cent. of the whole number. Meanwhile, the Secretary of State, Count Posadowsky, has announced in the Reichstag that the Imperial Government intends to admit women to the medical examinations on the same conditions as men, and the prospect is that the several State governments will give their consent to this measure, notwithstanding the opposition of the majority of medical practitioners and professors.

Mr. Jacques Reich, whose progress from admirable thumb-nail portraiture in pen-and-ink to etching on a grand scale has been very interesting, sends us from his studio at No. 2 West Fourteenth Street proofs of his large etchings after Collins's oil-painting of Judge Van Brunt and a photograph from life of the late Mrs. Stowe. In the case of the Judge, the original was none too good, but the print will, we think, give general satisfaction as a representation of the man. In the case of Mrs. Stowe, one is perforce led to compare this copper with the wood of Gustav Kruehl, whose portrait of the author of 'Uncle Tom' is one of his masterpieces. Mr. Reich has not reached that high level in his technique or in his interpretation, but he gives rather austere the external character at least of the novelist of freedom, and offers the collector one more option. It were worth an essay to explain why, hitherto, there has been so little demand for the likeness of one whose readers are still to be reckoned by the thousands if no longer by the millions.

Mr. F. Gutekunst, Philadelphia, upon the sad occasion of the death of the late Lord Herschell of the High Joint Commission,

publishes an imperial panel-photograph likeness of characteristic excellence.

It is announced that there remain in the hands of the heirs of the late George Brinley some copies of all the parts of the Brinley Catalogue, with the exception of the first; also, some copies of the index and of the price-lists. So long as they last, these will be sent gratuitously to any public library making application for them, specifying the parts required, and enclosing fifteen cents for each part (five cents for price-lists), to cover postage and mailing expenses. Applications should be addressed to W. I. Fletcher, Librarian of Amherst College, Mass.

—The Annual Reports of the President and Treasurer of Harvard University lack none of their customary distinction as the most interesting educational exhibit in the country. Pioneer innovation and invention go hand in hand with readjustment of old conditions, with dogged persistence in old ways. New statistics are still laboriously devised for practical guidance or philosophic conclusions. President Eliot toys with the subject of the war, among other topics peculiar to the past academic year. As the spiritual head of the University, he finds "at least 82 per cent. of all Harvard College students and young graduates physically fit for the service of the country in time of war," and "the men who take part in the highly competitive athletic sports" not on that account "more inclined to enlist as soldiers or sailors than the ordinary student who is physically sound enough to pass the medical examination." He denies that football is a special training for actual fighting, in which bodily collisions are nowadays anything but the rule. On the other hand, he seems to look back complacently on the Harvard enlistment when generalizing that "so long as there are wars, it will be expedient, especially in democracies, that the best-educated young men bear their full share in war's hardships and dangers." Dean Briggs, on his part, would—even in the hypothetical character of "the most resolute opponent of the war, the most cautious counsellor of young men"—"have felt some shame had there been in the front ranks [i. e., in a bad war] no son of Harvard College." He admits that "it was one thing to offer a life for the Union in 1861, and another to offer it for a war with Spain in 1898; yet if offering life seemed a duty, the very absence of a cause that every man could recognize as great enhanced the self-sacrifice." Surely this is the very bathos of extenuation of faulty action.

—The publication of records of births, deaths, and marriages from official records, which originated in New England some five and twenty years ago, has reached Old England and is growing in favor there. The Harleian Society began the good work by printing the records of London churches, and local societies are springing up in the counties. The Lancashire Parish Register Society, formed for local purposes, reports that in that county there are 106 parishes whose records begin not later than A. D. 1700. Of course none are earlier than A. D. 1538, four years after the Reformation, when, by a royal injunction published by Cromwell, the Vicar-General under Henry VIII., the parochial clergy were ordered to keep registers of all christenings, burials, and weddings. This act was not generally obeyed, and in 1597 the Convocation of Canterbury made an ordinance, approved by Queen Elizabeth,

that every minister should agree to keep the register, that every parish should provide a parchment book, and that a copy of entries should be sent annually to the bishop of the diocese. It is distressing to find that, despite these wise laws, not a tithe of these registers now exist. The last century was, indeed, the Dark Age of local history, and not until the reign of Victoria has there been any revival of interest in the preservation of these invaluable records. We hope now that the interest, once aroused, will not subside.

—The Lancashire Society has selected for its first publication the records of the old parish of Bury, a place of 25,000 acres, whose records, beginning in 1590, are in fine condition. This book of 247 pages covers the period from 1590 to 1616, being about one-half of the first volume of records. It is edited by Rev. W. J. Löwenberg and Henry Brierley, and is a plain transcript without notes. For the benefit of genealogists we make a list of the names most frequently occurring on the records, and also of those unusual names which will add to our knowledge of English nomenclature. The latter list we especially commend to the attention of our novelists and dramatists: (1.) Commoner names—Ainsworth, Allen, Anderton, Ashworth, Asmall, Bamforde, Barlow, Battersby, Birch, Blakeley, Booth, Bridge, Brook, Bury, Butterworth, Byrome, Chadwick, Cowpe, Cowper, Crossley, Dawson, Duckworth, Dunster, Fenton, Fieldes, Fletcher, Garside, Greenhalgh, Grime, Hamar, Hardman, Harper, Haslame, Haworth, Halliwell, Hey, Heywood, Hinde, Holliley, Holt, Hopwood, Hunt, Hutchinson, Kay, Kirkman, Leach, Livesey, Lomax, Longworth, Makin, Marcroft, Mather, Meadowcroft, Nabb, Nuttall, Openshaw, Peacock, Ramsbotham, Ridings, Rothwell, Scholfelde, Seddon, Shaw, Shepard, Shipbotham, Siddall, Smethurst, Steele, Symons, Tattersall, Taylor, Unsworth, Wallwark, Warberton, Watmough, Whitaker, Whitehead, Whittle, Whitworth, Wild, Wolfenden, Wolstenholme, Wood, Wrigley, Yate, and Usherwood. (2.) Of unusual names we cite—Accroyd, Amfidsy, Amon, Barres, Baule, Beawick, Bicrofte, Brindle, Bromhead, Brercliff, Bruntliffe, Brusame, Butson, Casson, Cheesden, Clegg, Cokahot, Cowburne, Cowdrell, Croichlawe, Dewherste, Digle, Ekernall, Elcock, Emott, Gabbit, Garstange, Gie, Gillibrand, Gollitey, Gorrell, Grundy, Habergam, Haddocke, Hallowes, Halton, Hambage, Haneworth, Heape, Hiptrotte, Hobken, Hoyle, Hyndleye, Janian, Jollie, Kelshaw, Kenion, Kirshaw, Kitchyn, Lenisel, Lightollers, Linney, Loynes, Magnalles, Mankenols, Marcroft, Meller, Moreleye, Oldame, Openhard, Orred, Partington, Pats, Pêche, Piccop, Pillinge, Rawnsleye, Redferne, Redforthe, Roileye, Ryves, Saxonn, Scholes, Shakleton, Shorrok, Shriglay, Skarington, Smither, Soar, Stanneringe, Staulman, Stopporte, Stranguishe, Strikeland, Styne, Tilsey, Tonge, Top, Turnaghe, Twyste, Tyttertton, Wardle, Waules, Wawan, Wrennoughe, and Wroe.

—A new French review was established in Paris in January, 1897, under the name of *Revue du Palais*, changed last November to *La Grande Revue*. Unlike most of the leading French reviews, it is published monthly. It has achieved a rapid success under the management of M. Labori, who became famous as Zola's defender, and who has proved to be an able editor as well as an eloquent advocate. Each number contains 250 large

octavo pages, embracing not more than eight or nine articles, thus affording opportunity for fuller treatment than is possible in most of the periodicals familiar to American readers. Thus, the number for last June contained an article of forty-two pages, by Georg Brandes, on Björnstjerne Björnson; in the November and December numbers M. Émile Faguet, who is almost as industrious and as ubiquitous as Andrew Lang, had an article on "Socialism in 1898," covering altogether 110 pages; in the January number "The Ideas of M. Brunetière" were discussed in 50 pages; in the February number, 55 pages are occupied by part one of a review of Tolstol's book, 'What Is Art,' by a number of French critics, whom M. Halperine-Kaminsky, the translator of Tolstol, inveigled into giving their opinions. Each number also contains a large instalment of one or more new novels. Among the contributors are many well-known names. In addition to those already referred to, it will suffice to mention Jules Claretie, Ernest Daudet, Gaston Paris, Joseph Reinach. The last-named contributes to the February number an account of Gambetta's first case, giving his speech first as written out and committed to memory, and secondly as actually delivered.

—The last number of the *Zeitschrift* of the German Oriental Society completes the fifty-second annual volume of this oldest medium of Oriental scholarship and research. It is a notable issue, largely an account of the abundant details it furnishes concerning the present status of the Society, its membership, the additions to its library, as well as a complete list of the publications toward the preparation and issuing of which the Society has, during the last half-century, furnished financial aid. These particulars fill fifty-eight pages. The *Zeitschrift* was the first learned journal in the Fatherland to admit articles in other tongues than the German. It is a rather remarkable phenomenon that while the whole department of Oriental research has developed to an extraordinary degree in recent decades, the sphere of the *Zeitschrift* has constantly become more and more limited, and it is a question whether the day will not come when there will no longer be any room for a general journal of its kind. One need not be elderly to remember the time when this journal covered practically the entire field of Orientalia, both Semitic and Indo-European. Presently, keeping step with the specializing tendencies of the age, journals narrowly devoted to Egyptology, to Assyriology, to Old Testament criticism and kindred subjects began to appear, thereby depriving the *Zeitschrift* of its position as the chief depository of all these researches as it had been in the beginning of its career. Now there is little left to it except the researches in fields not covered by the specialist periodicals. Only in those lines in which pioneer work is still being done, as, e. g., in reference to the Hittite and the Sabaean inscriptions, is the *Zeitschrift* still in the nature of the case the great organ. This newest issue is fairly indicative of the present sphere and province of the journal. The leading subjects of discussion are the Theological Movements in Islam; Contributions in Explanation of the Persian Inscriptions of Susa; Buddhistic Studies; Grammar of the Vulgar Turkish; and Veda Studies. The

present editor is Prof. Dr. E. Windisch of the University of Leipzig.

—The Mexican State of Oajaca, on the isthmus of Tehuantepec, harbors many populous Indian tribes, as Zapotecs, Mixtecs, Zoques, Mijes, and others, all differing largely in race, language, and customs. Both of the last named occupy mountain tracts, the Zoques also extending over parts of Chiapas and Tabasco, with their main seat in Oajaca at San Juan de Guichicovi. The Zoque and the Mije Indians speak languages related to each other, and, to judge from the grammars and other material recently published of them by Raoul de la Grasserie, their structure is rather simple and easy of comprehension. The oldest writings in Zoque date from the latter part of the seventeenth century, whereas Mije was not studied by the missionaries till during the eighteenth. From these crude and unscientific attempts we may gather that where both idioms meet, Zoque has the more complete, longer, and more archaic forms, whereas Mije has a strong tendency to contraction and abbreviation. As a rule, the noun is not inflected for number and case, but a substitute for our cases is formed by postpositions. All the inflection is done in the verb, and here polysynthesis reigns supreme; particles of material significance being brought into the body of the verb in profusion, while the root itself is monosyllabic. An objective pronominal conjugation does not exist, but personal subject-pronouns are in Mije placed before, in Zoque after, the verb. In the first person of the verbal plural there is an exclusive as well as an inclusive form, which points to an archaic condition of the language. No relative pronoun exists, but there is a relative particle, *p'hec*, which is placed after its verb, and it is remarkable that the verb *pots*, 'to be,' figures in many verbs as a suffix. In Zoque the personal pronoun resembles closely the possessive pronoun, but is not identical with it as in the Algonquin languages. The numeral system is the quinary one, and in Mije all numerals from one to ten appear to be dissyllabic. The able editor has been at great pains to elucidate the verbal forms by hyphenizing their component parts, but in the devotional pieces appended as texts this has not been done so extensively. The Zoque vocabulary is more copious than that of Mije, and contains several thousand terms of the language. The book is entitled 'Langue Zoque et Langue Mije; Grammaire, Dictionnaire et Textes, traduits et analysés par Raoul de la Grasserie, lauréat de l'Institut,' etc. It forms the twenty-second volume of Maisonneuve's well-known "Bibliothèque Linguistique Américaine."

—The post-office of India has to contend with difficulties of which we have no conception. The matter-of-fact *Report* of the working of this magnificent establishment for 1897-98 is not without its touches, now of humor, now almost of romance or of tragedy. The postal-runners climb the lofty Himalayan snow-passes and traverse the dangerous jungle. River squalls, cyclones, and earthquakes bring destruction to mail-boats and offices, and death to the messengers. A swinging bridge over the Chenab gives way, and down falls the village postman, never to emerge alive. Yet, in spite of all, the department handled in the year some 460 million pieces of matter, an average of 1.63 pieces per head for the general population, or of 39.58 for the literate population.

Human nature vies with inanimate nature to increase the tribulations of the Director-General. A tremendous pother was raised by a local magnate in Bengal over the behavior of a village postman. The ponderous machinery of investigation was set agoing, and it transpired that the humble offender had handed the big man a letter with the left hand instead of the right! The post-card is becoming exceedingly popular, and, strangest of all, telegraphic money orders are coming widely into vogue in Burmah, being used by the emigrant laborers there, who often wire money to their distressed kindred at home during the famine. The "value-payable post" is an institution which we Americans might well adopt from India.

LONGFELLOW'S COLUMN AND THE ARCH.

The Column and the Arch: Essays on Architectural History. With illustrations. By William P. P. Longfellow. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899. \$2.

The author of this book is known to scholars better than to the large general public which is in need of this volume, and which should be ready to buy it. He is the editor of the 'Cyclopædia of Architecture' in course of publication by the Messrs. Scribner, one part of which is already on sale—a large quarto volume devoted to Italy, Greece, and the Levant. He has been a contributor to the *Atlantic Monthly* and other journals, to the *American Architect* of Boston and the *Architectural Record* of New York, as well as to our own columns. He is one of the small band of writers in the English language who devote themselves to architecture and its correlative subjects, and who write more or less frequently as there seems something important to be said in print upon those subjects. Mr. Longfellow has had less opportunity or less occasion to go far afield in travel or in study. He offers no new discoveries; his work is rather conservative than radical, and he is rather the careful man who holds by the traditional beliefs until they must be abandoned, than the eager student who finds himself unable to believe that which is general belief, and seeks energetically for new theories which will account for all the phenomena.

This book, therefore, which contains eight of his essays gathered from periodicals and reshaped, is trustworthy in a very peculiar sense of the word. If the reader finds a popular belief ignored, or mentioned and quietly contradicted, or else, as in a few cases, examined and shown to be false, he can be sure that this is a safe, and, in a sense, a final disposing of it. Even of his negative and destructive criticism the author is not too free; he is not too bold even in denial, nor will any one find himself led astray by accepting any such rejection of any proposition or any theory as Mr. Longfellow has thought it necessary to put into words.

If this is peculiarly true of the chapters on the "Age of Constantine" and "Early Christian Architecture," it is only because there are more disputed questions concerning the long succession of years from about the year 375 onward. Almost every writer has his theory of the Christian basilica—the more conventional one, that it was the Roman civic basilica taken possession of by the Christian church, or the more complex and curious one, that it is a modification of the

Roman domestic interior, as of a large mansion turned gradually to the purposes of Christian worship; but it seems to have been left for Mr. Longfellow to state these theories in sequence, as he does on pages 93 and 94, and then to begin the more usual and less bewildering inquiry, What was a Christian basilica? The reader may regret that his author has this time refused to state the arguments. "This is not the place to enter into such controversies," is what we find stated on page 94, but this seems to be unfortunate, for it is exactly this place and exactly this hand which might be thought most fitted for the discussion. It is said that such discussion would "demand the compass of a volume, and a long array of arguments and citations." But that does not appear evident. At the foot of page 95 begins a series of statements which go far towards putting the case for and against the more important of the theories which have been broached. It seems a pity that ten pages more could not have been given to this discussion, as they would certainly have been enough to settle the question for all unprofessional readers. The author's conclusion is that the basilican church followed the rule of other systems of building which "have become fixed and exemplary," resulted from experiment, gradual modification, improvements slowly added and always retained—in short, that there was an evolution of the basilica, as there was of Gothic architecture or of the Greek temple; and it is pointed out that Christianity was not an insignificant or altogether unsuccessful institution when Constantine declared himself a Christian, but that already it was a powerful party in the state, although it had of late been denounced and persecuted, and although it had been so far a minority. There is a very excellent expression of the as yet unexplained relation between Byzantine architecture and the basilican type of church. The longing which every archaeologist feels for some vigorous and consecutive exploration of the land of the East, of Asia Minor, and of Syria, with its deserts, is well expressed on pages 102 and those which follow. Moreover, the conclusion which the author is almost ready to reach, as he states on page 104, is one that every ardent student has felt, viz.: the conclusion that it was "the inexhaustible Greek" who, apart from all his other achievements in the world of artistic and constructional thought, was occupied also in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries in developing at the same time Byzantine architecture and the Romanesque of the West.

The first essay in this volume is devoted to the Lotus column, and deals with the earliest columnar architecture, viz., that which recent discoveries have shown as existing in Egypt under the Fifth Dynasty. The capital found in 1894 in the tomb at Abusir is given in photography, and is described, and the remarks upon it are based in part upon Mr. George Foucart's monograph. This chapter is an essay on columnar architecture as illustrated by the earlier and later Egyptian practice. The break between this and the subject of the next chapter has been inevitable, because as yet no one has established the chronological or other sequence which may be found to lead from Egypt into Greece. The second chapter is devoted to Greco-Roman architecture, and in this the author treats the subject, as he has always loved to treat it, as one, the

him the architecture of Trajan is almost a necessary evolution from the architecture of the fifth century B. C. This opinion will not meet with universal acceptance; but it is of extreme interest, and the general proposition that the Roman Empire, whose mission it was to Hellenize the European world, carried out its mission as frankly in architecture as in literature and in philosophy, is a proposition which can perfectly well be defended. If the purpose of this book were especially the proving of this theory, the reviewer might now find much to say in opposition to the theory and in confutation of the arguments which support it; but this is one of the instances of that suspension of opinion, of that arrest of judgment, and agreement among scholars to hold different ideas until a clearer agreement may become possible, which abound in the world of reasonable thought. Following this are the two chapters named above, and which between them seem to cover the earliest Christian ages.

The fifth chapter is devoted to the great basilica of S. Maria Maggiore, to its checked history and the curious incidents which accompany that history; the sixth chapter is devoted to Romanesque architecture, and some of the best writing, the most careful and patient examination, and the wisest conclusions of the book are to be found within it. The consideration of scale which is carried far in the pages from 177 on, is extremely suggestive and intelligent, and the distinction between the Romanesque as it took its permanent shape, and that Imperial Roman style from which it had been slowly developed, is marked with almost perfect clearness in the paragraphs beginning on page 179. Allusion is here made to the natural result of the Romanesque styles, the great Gothic movement; but the Gothic style is in itself made the subject of no chapter in the book, and the preface explains the reason for this, namely, that it seems to Mr. Longfellow that the Gothic, like the Byzantine, was out of the line of such growth. To him the Romanesque architecture followed the Roman and led to, let us say, the Renaissance, while the Byzantine architecture was a thing on one side, growing out separately and having no result, and the Gothic architecture, if we read our author aright, was another manifestation of the same sort. Now this may seem to the reader a very great heresy, indeed. It may be urged with equal safety that the Byzantine architecture had all the possibilities in it, and that nothing checked it but simple brutal conquest—the violence of nearly barbarous warriors without any sympathy for the style which they overthrew, and who, though they allowed that style to influence their own later buildings, had meanwhile destroyed and utterly stamped into the mud the civilization from which that style had arisen. The true lover of Byzantine architecture feels that here was one of the world's great disappointments, and it is not a consolation to him to be told, or to see it implied, that the lack of fruition of the Eastern style was inevitable. So with the Gothic style; it is quite clear that we could not build to-day with modern requirements, modern materials, modern appliances of different sorts, in the way which was used by the French masons of the time of St. Louis; but no one who is greatly interested in mediæval building and who loves sincerely even the latest developments of what we call roughly the Gothic

style, can fail to regret that he never can know what would have sprung from it if the whim for introducing classical details into a system of building which did not admit of them had never invaded northern Europe. That would have been the real delight—to have seen Italy returning, as it had every right to return, to its Roman tendencies, to the round arch, the engaged and the free column, and the delicately sculptured design of scrolls, while France and the north struggled on through centuries of experiment, starting at the point best marked, perhaps, by a dozen nearly contemporaneous buildings of the reign of Louis XI. Let us see things as they are, and not try to believe, nor yet make believe, that the development of art was followed in the only possible path. This is so far from being true that the history of architecture is crowded with wretched disappointments, with miserable non-results where great things might have been hoped for, and ruin and confusion as marked and as hopeless as that of societies and policies.

The last two chapters of the book are devoted to the Renaissance in general, and to St. Peter's at Rome. The intelligent handling of the architectural problem in the former of these two chapters is most marked. To many readers it will prove the most attractive chapter of all. The balanced judgment—for it is much more than mere unprejudiced fairness—which points out the tendencies both ways in each of the different changes made by Brunelleschi, by Bramante, by Alberti, and their followers is worth the most careful notice. And, finally, the study of the revived classic, which has been admirably classified in a hundred words on page 260, is carried to its natural results in the analysis of the great Roman church. It is curious, by the way, that this church, so faulty in its general result—so great a disappointment, as it must be, to each one of its great designers, its series of fifteen architects, could they see it now—yet retains its hold upon the student, no matter how great a devotee of purity and of refinement. Characteristically enough for a writer so simple and practical as Mr. Longfellow, the account of the church ends with a hint to the student as to the good way of seeing the church without losing the true sense of its vast size. It is wisely pointed out that the great length of the nave, which has ruined the outside of the church as a design, has improved the interior. This nave, leading to the "glory of the central space," is rightly praised. "The gradual expansion from east to west gains slowly upon one as he moves towards the choir; its fulfilment as he reaches the centre is stupendous; there is nothing of its kind like it in the world."

RECENT BOOKS ON MUSICAL TOPICS.

By the Way—About Music. By W. F. Apthorp. Boston: Copeland & Day. 2 vols.

Great Composers and their Work. By Louis C. Elson. Boston: L. C. Page Co.

Music and Poetry. By Sidney Lanier. Chas. Scribner's Sons.

How Music Developed. By W. J. Henderson. F. A. Stokes Co.

Geschichte des Theaters und der Musik am Kurfürstlichen Hofe. Von F. Walter. Breitkopf & Härtel.

Das Klavierspiel. Von Alfred Richter. Breitkopf & Härtel.

New musical books follow one another so

rapidly that it is difficult to keep pace with them. Their quality, at the same time, is steadily improving. The first on our list to-day, while ostensibly written chiefly to entertain, incidentally conveys much valuable information. Mr. Apthorp has solved the problem of making erudition palatable and tempting to the general reader. His 'Musicians and Music-Lovers' (1894), with its splendid chapters on Bach and Franz, is on the whole for serious students, while the two neat little volumes entitled 'By the Way—About Music' would strike any one as being just the thing to carry in the overcoat pocket to read between the acts at the opera or in the concert hall. The papers making up these volumes were, indeed, written for that very purpose. They appeared originally as "interludes" between the analyses of the symphonies and overtures in the programmes of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, from 1892 to 1897.

It is lucky for the patrons of the Boston Orchestra that Mr. Apthorp thus condescends to entertain them, for his technical analyses are as a rule not edifying to any one but students of composition. The eminent Boston critic seems to think that anatomy is the essence of music, and form its alpha and omega. Holding this creed, he naturally feels hurt by Wagner's sneer that if there were no form there would be no critics, and that "the critics see this so plainly that they clamor for form in the anguish of their souls." In revenge he tries, without success, to disprove Wagner's dictum that Liszt's symphonic poems are based on nobler principles of form than those which are provided by the marches and dances out of which the symphony grew. He also raises a smile when he declares that "it was for some time a legend that the intellectual element largely preponderated over the emotional in Brahms's writing." But, apart from a few such cases as these, there are no opinions in these volumes that cannot be cordially endorsed, whether the author be writing about impressionism, naturalism, habit, fashion, the influence of surroundings, music and the eye, plagiarism, some points in modern orchestration, brains, the non-musician's enjoyment of music, people who hate music, some popular fallacies, musical reminiscences of Boston thirty years ago, or artists in general, etc. There are few books in which anecdotes and thoughts are so happily blended, few in which all kinds of music are so fairly and luminously discussed.

Nothing could be better than the way Mr. Apthorp disposes of the pedants who want to hear Handel's music "just as he wrote it"; or the explanation he gives of the infrequent use of trombones in the concert scores of Mozart and Haydn; or his remarks on Lilli Lehmann's revival of the good old way of singing coloratura arias; or his characterization of Tchaikovsky as a conductor, closing with these lines: "It soon became evident that the man was positively an electric battery, launching electric flashes right and left from that terrible bâton of his, egging his men on to the utmost fury of fiery intensity. . . . Tchaikovsky and his chatelet audience were like two logs, mutually keeping each other hot!" Another specimen may be quoted. Hans von Bülow once played the so-called "Moonlight Sonata" in Boston Music Hall with all the gas turned down to a bead. "At first it seemed rather a cheap device, unworthy of both sonata and pianist; but it was sufficiently known that Von Bü-

low's reputation as a musician was untainted by even a suspicion of charlatanism, and most of us were quite willing to humor him in his whim. I think that, before long, we found in our heart of hearts that the half-darkness was really an admirable *cadre* for the composition—notably for the last movement." Personal recollections like these illumine most of Mr. Apthorp's pages, and to them his new volumes owe much of their interest.

Mr. Louis C. Elson is another Boston critic whose contributions to musical literature are always welcome. In his new volume on the great composers he has, with much literary skill, condensed into 300 pages an enormous amount of up-to-date biographic information, flavored with terse critical estimates. He begins even before Bach and Handel, with the old Flemish school, while his last four chapters relate to Wagner, Brahms, Verdi, and "other influences in modern music." Living in Boston, Mr. Elson of course underrated Liszt and overrates Brahms. He makes the amusing assertion that Liszt's ambition "was to be considered as a composer rather than as a pianist; this reputation, however, will probably be denied him"; whereas "posterity will do more unanimous homage than the present to the Browning of music"—Brahms. It would be foolish to argue against a prophecy, but Mr. Elson errs in berating the critics for underrating Brahms. As a matter of fact, the vast majority of critics took to Brahms at once as to a kindred spirit and champion of "form"; whereas the creative minds, like Wagner, Liszt, Tchaikovsky, Paderewski, have looked askance at him. With Liszt it is just the other way: It is the creators just named, besides Dvorák, Grieg, Saint-Saëns, who have expressed admiration of him, while the critics, and the critics alone, have failed to "catch up with the procession." It is in the chapter on Liszt, not in that on Brahms, that Mr. Elson should have put Liszt's aphorism, that the musical critics are "the rear-guard of the musical army in its march of progress." Surely, also, Mr. Elson erred in regard to proportion in giving Brahms eight pages, and to an infinitely more original mind, Tchaikovsky, only one. Another creator who stands far above Brahms—Grieg—receives still less justice.

Mr. Elson gives, in thirty pages, a remarkably lucid explanation of Wagner's principles of the music-drama. He calls Wagner's pamphlet on Judaism in Music "an impeachment of the most musical race of the world as being unmusical." He has the courage to write (in Boston!): "If musicians were asked the question, 'Who is the greatest of all the masters?' most of them would reply, 'Beethoven.' Yet this is a statement not entirely true; judged from the purely intellectual standpoint, Bach is, probably, the greatest musician that ever lived; weighed by the standard of emotional expression, Chopin might be accorded the leadership." He might have added that Wagner, Weber, Bizet, wrote greater operas, and Schubert, Schumann, Franz, and several others, greater songs; which reduces Beethoven's supremacy to the symphony. The time is indeed approaching when the musical values established by German professionals must receive a thorough readjustment.

The late Sidney Lanier's book has several suggestive chapters relating to poets and poetry, but the bulk of the volume appeals

to musical readers. In the first chapter he makes a brilliant defence of programme music, culminating in the assertion that "if programme music is absurd, all songs are nonsense"; and he asks pertinently, "Why not hint a storm with stormy tones, as well as describe a storm in stormy words?" The author was intensely patriotic. He believed that "one finds more talent for music among the Americans, especially among American women, than among any other people." He looked forward to seeing America the home of the orchestra, and held that orchestral playing would prove a field which women will cultivate as a specialty in the future. One of his assertions regarding the orchestra—"The time is not far distant when the twenty violins of a good orchestra will be balanced by twenty flutes"—is calculated to make a musician smile; but it is not so absurd as it seems, in view of Lanier's remarks (35-38) regarding the Boehm flute's capacity for varied coloring, which may be commended to the attention of composers.

Mr. Henderson's book is a critical and explanatory account of the growth of modern music. Some of its chapters are on the evolution of the piano and piano-playing, the sonata, evolution of the orchestra, chamber music, oratorio, Handel and Bach, Italian, French, and German opera, etc. There is little original research, but a vast amount of traditional information presented in a much more lucid and direct style than is usually to be found in books on musical form and history. One of the strange opinions advanced is that "Rossini was not a musical genius." The author of "William Tell" was certainly a genius, but he usually squandered his gift in an unworthy manner, a victim of fashion. Probably the best chapter in the book is that on Wagner, and here the discussion of the device of leading motives is particularly worth reading. It is a common error to suppose that a listener cannot appreciate Wagner's music-dramas without committing to memory all the names of the leading motives devised by Hans von Wolzogen. Mr. Henderson shows, on the contrary, that "it does not even matter whether he knows that there are any leading motives at all."

Of the two books published by Breitkopf & Härtel which complete our list, the first is an elegantly printed history of the theatre and music of the Palatinate Court, issued by the Antiquarian Society of Mannheim. Mannheim was famous for its opera in the eighteenth century, and many things have happened in Heidelberg of interest to students of musical history. The most entertaining chapter is that which describes Mozart's adventures during the year he spent at Mannheim; it contains characteristic details regarding the influences that developed his musical genius. One of these was a young girl to whom he gave lessons. The day after seeing her, he wrote the allegro of a sonata in her honor, and when asked what the next movement was to be, he answered "an andante reflecting the character of Miss Rose."

Alfred Richter's book on piano-playing is a welcome indication that educators are gradually beginning to realize that the old method of teaching young pianists nothing but technique is quite "played out" and leads to disastrous results. Herr Richter does, indeed, devote the greater part of his volume to finger exercises, fingering, trills, and other matters of mechanical execution, but he also has much of value to say regard-

ing touch, tone-color, and expression. His remarks on rhythm and tempo—particularly tempo rubato—may be specially commended to the attention of students of music. The absence of an index is unpardonable.

West African Studies. By Mary H. Kingsley. The Macmillan Co. 1899.

Miss Kingsley's style is certainly vivacious. It is impossible to read what she has written without a constant ripple of amusement, breaking occasionally into open laughter. There is some straining after effect; the author from time to time aims to be smart, with indifferent success, falling into colloquy, even into vulgarity, and almost profanity. Nevertheless, she is never tedious, and her eye is so keen, her appreciation so sympathetic, and her intelligence so broad, as to make her book a genuine contribution to our knowledge of West Africa and its inhabitants. A large part of it is taken up with appendices and historical summaries, which are generally instructive and valuable. It is abundantly illustrated, but the illustrations are more numerous than interesting. The author's own observations and comments form the best part, and furnish ample material for the reviewer.

We must pass over the narrative portions of the work, which are, of course, precisely those portions which the reader in search of entertainment will not skip; nor can we do justice to the particulars given by Miss Kingsley concerning the climate of the West Coast, its geography, its different tribes, and the generations of traders, adventurers, and soldiers who have had dealings with them. We may note, by the way, that she is no believer in the repatriation of Africans. In the first place, there is a plenty of Africans in Africa already; and, in the second place, the descendants of the exported Africans seem to have lost their power of resistance to the malarial climate. In fact, the mortality among the imported Africans is as great as among the white settlers; and that is saying enough to condemn the scheme of the Colonization Society.

Concerning animism, or fetishism, which is essentially the religion of the whole of this region, and which Miss Kingsley has studied with great care, we remark one important generalization: there is no love in it. Everything is personified; there is no motion or natural force that is not caused by a soul, but these spirits are regarded with fear and not with affection. Whatever good is done to men by a fetish is not a cause for gratitude, because it was bought by propitiatory gifts; as Dr. Nassau has said, there is "no praise, no love, no thanks, no confession of sin." The spirits of ancestors, it is true, if properly treated, are well disposed towards their posterity; but they are apt to be malevolent to those not of their kin. This boundless polytheism develops a fascinating mythology; but there seems little recognition of any supreme deity except under missionary influence. Nor does Miss Kingsley consider that there is any proper deification of human beings, or hero-worship, among the people whom she has known.

The great importance of recognizing the fact that the Africans are beings of a completely different nature from the Europeans, having minds and institutions that are peculiar to themselves, is most emphatically brought out by Miss Kingsley. We need not say that information of this kind is at pre-

sent of special interest to American readers. If we are to govern the Philippine Islands, it must be by a system resembling the government of the crown colonies of Great Britain. That system meets with severe condemnation from Miss Kingsley. She goes to the root of the matter in demanding what reason Europeans have for interfering with Africa at all. She answers that there may be two reasons—the religious reason and the “pressure” reason. The former justifies the missionary movement; the latter reason would arise if the Africans threatened to invade Europe, which they do not, or if the Europeans were driven to settle in Africa for lack of living-room elsewhere, which there is not. Climate, in short, forbids it, and hence European meddling is nothing but exploitation of Africa for purposes of greed, for which “commercial purposes” is a euphemism. Miss Kingsley, it is true, thinks that the English manufacturers ought to be allowed to barter their wares for the raw materials of Africa, but not to the harm of the Africans.

In the more unhealthy parts of the world, Miss Kingsley declares, English administration has failed, and failed because of the crown-colony system. Such parts are the West Indies, Guiana, and Honduras. They are unprosperous, and the West African colonies are in a way to be like them. The Governor, under this system, is a King Log or a King Stork; as Miss Kingsley says, the English policy is “a coma, accompanied by fits.” “It destroys the native form of society, and thereby disorganizes labor. It has no power of reorganizing it.” Moreover, the policy of England towards the protected tribes has changed. It was formerly a friendly and peaceable policy; it has become a policy of conquest. There have been wars for the suppression of peculiarly barbarous practices, such as human sacrifices, but there are now wars to enforce systems of taxation which the natives regard as confiscation. Hence the feeling that the English are friendly allies has given place, Miss Kingsley says, to something approaching a panicky terror of white civilization. Quoting Mr. H. Clifford on the Malays, she agrees that the boot of the white man

“kicks down native institutions, . . . reducing all things to that dead level of conventionality which we call civilization. Incidentally it stamps out much of what is best in the customs and characteristics of the native races against which it brushes; and though it relieves him of many things which hurt or oppressed him ere it came, it injures him morally almost as much as it benefits him materially. . . . What we are really attempting, however, is nothing less than to crush into twenty years the revolution in facts and ideas which, even in energetic Europe, six long centuries have been needed to accomplish. . . . Forced plants we know suffer in the process; and the Malay, whose proper place is amidst the conditions of the thirteenth century, is apt to become morally weak and seedy, and lose something of his robust self-respect, when he is forced to bear nineteenth-century fruit.”

The Africans, Miss Kingsley eloquently contends, are to be regarded as different beings from the Europeans, but not therefore as inferior beings, and her arguments are forcible and philosophical. She says:

“There are many who hold murder the most awful crime a man can commit, saying that thereby he destroys the image of his Maker; I hold that one of the most awful crimes one nation can commit on another is destroying the image of Justice, which in an institution is represented more truly to

the people by whom the institution has been developed, than in any alien institution of justice; it is a thing adapted to its environment. This form of murder by a nation I see being done in the destruction of what is good in the laws and institutions of native races. In some parts of the world, this murder, judged from certain reasonable standpoints, gives you an advantage; in West Africa, judged from any standpoint you choose to take, it gives you no advantage. By destroying native institutions there, you merely lower the morals of the African race, stop trade and the culture advantages it brings both to England and West Africa. . . . West Africa to-day is just a quarry of paving-stones for Hell, and those stones were cemented in place with men's blood mixed with wasted gold.”

We forbear comment on these assertions, merely remarking that they are amply supported by the evidence which Miss Kingsley so brilliantly presents. Those of our people who imagine that our Government can wisely undertake the task of substituting our institutions for those of alien races, will do well to read, ponder, and digest these West African Studies; and, as we have said, the book will be found in other respects entertaining and profitable.

A Short History of Astronomy. By Arthur Berry, M.A., Fellow of University College, London. Scribners. 1899. 12mo, pp. xxvii, 440.

The study of the beginnings of astronomy has a wider interest than that which commonly attaches to the development of a special branch of knowledge. When we speak of this as the oldest of the sciences, whose origin is lost in the mists of antiquity, we fail to convey the whole truth. A large body of folk-lore relates to the varying aspects and motions of the heavenly bodies, the relations of which to every-day life were as close as now. Comets and eclipses were a source of fear or perplexity to monarchs through much the greater part of history. Astrologers and soothsayers read the fate of men in the stars centuries before Ramees was born. If the body of knowledge thus acquired could not be called science in the modern sense, it still served as a stimulus for the beginning of a science. Not only would any history of thought be incomplete that did not include the progress of thought about astronomy, but there are modes of thinking which we might never discover but for the light thrown on them by that science.

A curious instance is found in the work of Copernicus. Instead of emphasizing the revelation which he made in setting forth the true system of the world, he made every effort to belittle it by attributing his ideas to the ancients, and by professing to build his entire structure on the traditional ideas of natural philosophy. Instead of claiming the heliocentric system as his own, he threw it over the shoulders of Pythagoras and Philolaus. He took the ‘Almagest’ of Ptolemy as his model because an authority thirteen centuries old was not to be lightly set aside. The condition of thought in which the construction of a new system of nature was looked upon as an act to be condemned for its temerity, rather than applauded for the genius it showed, has been so little understood that it is even now the fashion to follow Copernicus by attributing his system to the ancients.

We should have been better pleased with Mr. Berry's well-written and entertaining book if he had brought out in a stronger light the features of astronomical history

thus suggested. While he does not entirely ignore them, he fails to see their real importance. He seems to see fairly well the groundlessness of the current view which attributes the heliocentric theory to Pythagoras or his school; yet he cites the authority of Copernicus in favor of this view, in seeming unconsciousness of the real motive that inspired the Canon of Fraunberg. The fact is, that there is no great idea recorded in the history of thought which is so completely the work of one man as the heliocentric theory is the work of Copernicus. Newton himself was not the first to form the conception of gravitation among the celestial bodies, or even to see that it varied inversely as the square of the distance. What he did was to collect the more or less vague and unproved ideas of others and weld them into a consistent and harmonious whole, with a skill and mathematical power that were, at the time, unequalled. In the case of Copernicus, we have plenty of evidence that the idea of the earth's rotation on its axis had been entertained in ancient times; but there is no real evidence that any one ever doubted the conclusiveness of Ptolemy's demonstration that the earth did not move away from the centre of the celestial sphere.

Mr. Berry's book is to be cordially commended to the reader who is interested in the study of astronomy in detail. It is designed for the general reader rather than for the investigator, and therefore gives brief developments on such points as the former may not have at command. The writer has evidently based his conclusions on a painstaking study of the best authorities, both ancient and modern. The main stricture to which the work is liable is that of being too exclusively a work of detail, and, therefore, failing to convey a correct apprehension either of the relative importance of the various topics, or of the relation of each to the whole. This feature is evident even in the indexes, which are guides to words and phrases rather than to subjects, and, therefore, from their very fulness, give scant help to the reader who wants to find where a special subject is treated. We fancy that the spelling of Copernicus with a double p (Coppernicus) which the author does, as he says himself, “at the risk of appearing pedantic,” grows out of undue attention to minutiae. If universal English practice for three centuries does not suffice to settle this point, the fact that only one p is used in ‘De Revolutionibus’ ought to suffice.

The Butterfly Book: A Popular Guide to a Knowledge of the Butterflies of North America. By W. J. Holland, Ph.D., D.D., LL.D. With 48 plates in color-photography, reproductions of butterflies in the Author's collection, and many text illustrations presenting most of the species found in the United States. Doubleday & McClure Co. 1898.

This book, of 383 pages of text and 48 colored plates, makes it possible at last to recommend to the amateur a work by means of which he can identify the butterflies that he has taken in the course of a summer's collecting. It is literally what it professes to be—a butterfly book; and while by no means all the species that occur in North America north of Mexico are figured, such as are omitted are not likely to be taken by one who collects butterflies merely as a pastime. It is also “popular,” for in no

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 30, 1899.

The Week.

President McKinley, so the Thomasville dispatches say, has not yet decided upon a Philippine policy, as he "feels that our present knowledge of the islands is too indefinite" to base it upon. This is a trifle late. The horse is bought, and whether he is a kicking brute or a perfect model of a family Dobbin, we neglected first to find out. Accounts differ widely, as is inevitable. One observer sees and reports one side of native life and character, and another another. The *Tribune* the other day was getting great comfort out of the frank picture of native habits drawn by one of the *Evening Post's* correspondents in Manila, but in the same issue it printed interesting letters from an officer of Dewey's squadron, which show quite another side of the shield. He speaks of the "cultured men who are running this native government," of their being "thoroughly in earnest in wanting their independence," and so on. Well, we are not going to decide which set of observers is right. Under the seal of confidence, we confess that we do not know. But we do know that the men who, in equal ignorance, went ahead and in the dark committed this country to its present awful responsibilities in the Philippines, have a terrible burden to bear, be they Presidents, Paris Commissioners, editors, kitchen cabinets, Duty men, Destiny men, or even men simply on the make.

Next to Gen. Miles, the most conspicuous witness to date before the Army Commission is Gov. Roosevelt, who was before the Court of Inquiry on Saturday. He was scrupulously careful to leave no chance for doubt as to his verdict on Eagan's beef:

"I regarded the canned roast beef as an utterly unfit ration for troops. I make that statement without reservation and without qualification. I have heard that the cans up here have been examined and found wholesome. But I would state emphatically that my experience of that beef proved to me beyond a shadow of question that the canned roast beef we had with us was at the best unpalatable, and at the worst uneatable and unwholesome. To the majority of men it was not only unpalatable, but sufficiently unwholesome to make many of them sick."

Gov. Roosevelt also testified that before leaving Tampa he had encountered a genuine sample of embalmed beef of the kind the mere mention of which by Gen. Miles threw Eagan into a perfect convulsion of fury. A couple of quarters of beef, the Governor said, were put on board the transport which was to take his men to Cuba. "I was told to put it in the shade because it was chemically treated to last in the tropics. It lasted

one day, and got so offensive that I had it thrown overboard. Since coming back to the United States I have been led to understand that it was an experiment." At last we have conclusive evidence upon the one count in Gen. Miles's indictment of the Eagan beef which has been most bitterly assailed, and which has not hitherto been sustained. Eagan and Alger have denied previously that there was any such thing as chemically treated beef, or that any beef so treated was sent as an experiment.

The Carter scandal is, in its way, as gross as the Eagan scandal. The President, pulled about by the political friends of Capt. Carter, is moving heaven and earth to find some way of setting aside the verdict of a court-martial which the Secretary of War says was long since put in the hands of Mr. McKinley, with the recommendation that it be approved. So far, the favorite trick has been to have the trial "reviewed" by one man after another. It is rumored now that the Attorney-General, the "Glory-crowned" Griggs, is to take a shy at it some time in the summer, if he finds the necessary leisure. Meantime Capt. Carter is on the pay-rolls, and is having as good a time as if he had not been found guilty and sentenced to be cashiered from the army. The *Army and Navy Journal* speaks the disgust of all professional soldiers at this monstrous instance of military favoritism and injustice, when it says:

"It is certainly difficult to understand the occasion for so much delay. Capt. Carter had a perfectly clear trial, he was ably defended, and if there is any reason found why the verdict of the court should not be carried out, it should be made known. As it is, the delay is the occasion of much public scandal, it is an injury to the army, and it is a reflection upon the able and impartial tribunal before which Capt. Carter was arraigned."

The adjournment of the Anglo-American Commission without reaching a final settlement is most unfortunate because of the serious troubles now pending about the boundary line between the British possessions in the far Northwest and Alaska. The situation became threatening some weeks ago, and it would not be surprising if there should be clashes between American and Canadian prospectors in the disputed territory. The trouble, of course, grows out of the gold discoveries. Before the rush of miners into that region, nobody cared much whether a particular district was called American or Canadian, but now it makes a great difference whether the Canadians can collect duties and enforce their regulations. There are charges, which seem to be pretty well sustained, that the Canadian local authorities are aggressive and grasping, and there would

be great risks of bloody collisions if things should be left at loose ends during the approaching season for mining. It ought to be possible, however, to make some temporary arrangement like that which the British Ambassador at Washington is credited with proposing, for the immediate running of a boundary line by the two governments, which should be observed until a final settlement can be made.

Apropos of this news from Washington, a correspondent, who has spent nearly two years in Alaska and the Northwest Territories, sends us his explanation of the movement recently reported among citizens of Fort Wrangel, Alaska, to get from under the American flag and come under Canadian rule. According to our informant, Fort Wrangel was originally only a small Indian trading post, with not over twenty-five white inhabitants, and what is now Dyea was little more than a small trading-store run by one white man; while what is now Skagway, three miles from Dyea, did not exist. When the gold-seekers rushed in, Dyea, Skagway, and Fort Wrangel speedily became places with a population of several thousand apiece, as supply-depots for men who were going into the Klondike. Fort Wrangel was the favorite with Canadians, who established the Stickeen route, with Fort Wrangel as the transfer point. All three towns flourished until last summer, when a railway was built from Skagway over the White pass, and Dyea and Fort Wrangel collapsed. Our correspondent says that Fort Wrangel has now only about fifty inhabitants, and that their sole hope is to have the place ceded to Canada and made the terminus of a Canadian railway to the gold-fields. This is alleged to be the true explanation of the desire for a change of flags, the complaint as to the poor enforcement of the laws of our Government being a mere subterfuge, although our correspondent admits that "the Canadians have many laws which are, perhaps, superior to our own, and in certain parts enforce their laws in a better manner."

The discrimination between passengers is a constant subject of mirth on board the incoming steamers; the foreigners exulting freely over the greater annoyance to which the natives are going to be subjected at the custom-house, and the natives hanging their heads for shame. We know of no civilized country, except our own, in which this distinction is made. In Turkey, Morocco, and China, foreigners live under the jurisdiction of their own consuls, but we believe the distinction in the matter of taxation is not known any-

where but in America, and has not been known since the Middle Ages, when different races, after the fall of the Roman Empire, lived under different laws. That we should have gone back to it—that is, should have subjected our own people to a régime so odious that we acknowledge that we dare not impose it on foreigners—is a striking illustration of the kind of hands into which our fiscal legislation has fallen. The humiliation of it to our own citizens abroad and in our ports is obvious. We used to lead the world in legislation of all kinds, but we are rapidly securing a conspicuous position in the rear.

For a number of weeks Quay has been a boss without prestige, and in this fact has consisted the chief hope of his ultimate defeat. But he has held on in his fight for the Senatorship, and at last there are signs that he may recover lost ground by a fresh display of his power. A State election will be held in Pennsylvania next November, and the Quay machine is already in March choosing delegates to the convention which will nominate the candidates on the Republican ticket. This is a favorite dodge of bosses, to fasten their hold upon what is nominally a gathering that represents the party, by packing it with their own creatures chosen so long before the convention that the general public takes little interest in the matter. Half-a-dozen county conventions have now been held, and the Quay men have carried every one. In two of these counties the Republican opposition to the boss has been very strong, and prevailed last fall, but in each case the machine has just won an easy victory in the primaries.

The most discouraging feature of these developments is the fact that Quay wins even when the Republican voters generally turn out. Lancaster County polled 16,622 votes for the regular Republican candidate for Governor last fall, and 2,186 for the Independent, whom many anti-Quay Republicans supported. The Republican primaries were held on Saturday, and about 16,000 votes were polled. Nobody can assert that this was not a fair test of party sentiment, and the Quay machine swept everything before it by a majority of nearly 5,000, securing every place on the county ticket, as well as all the delegates to the State convention. Ex-State Senator Kauffman has been one of the leaders in the fight against Quay, but his own town, and even his own ward, went against him on Saturday. Such things as these cannot fail to revive the prestige of the boss, and improve his chances of tiring out the opposition at this session of the Legislature, and finally getting a majority in the Legislature that will be chosen next year, when the Presidential contest will make independent voting unpopular.

It is hard lines for a great political party that an absorbing public controversy as to its leadership and principles should be carried on by two such men as Bryan and Croker. These two pose before the country as the chief exponents of opposing principles in the party, and columns of space are given daily to their views about each other and about the immortal Democracy of Jefferson. The only result is to drive everybody of self-respect out of the party. No greater service could be performed for Hanna and his party than this. For several years now there has been a great body of voters in the country who are Republicans under protest. They are forced to vote with Hanna and McKinley, not because they have any sympathy with what they are doing, but because they cannot vote with the party of Croker and Bryan. Nothing is more remarkable in the present political situation than the utter dearth of reputable men in the Democratic party who can be called leaders. Every effort which is made by members of the party who would like to save it from Bryan and Croker to find a Moses to lead them out of the wilderness, merely demonstrates the party's moral poverty. One eager searcher for a statesman is quoted who, after exploring the whole country, is forced to the conclusion that the party may have to drag Mr. Cleveland from his retirement and compel him to stand again. Occasionally one hears of efforts to refurbish David Bennett Hill and try to make him look as if he were capable of giving a moral aspect to the party, but this is a task beyond human capacity to achieve. If the man who made government in this State for seven years a mere annex to Tammany Hall and the liquor trade, be the residuum of moral character left in the Democratic party, its case is indeed forlorn.

Mr. Croker remarks in defence of his \$10 fee for a Jeffersonian dinner: "There is no reason for protesting against the price. We put money in circulation and benefit all classes of the people." Whose money is it that "we" put in circulation? Why, that of the taxpayers, of course. Mr. Croker has the handling of about \$100,000,000 a year of it, and there is no doubt that all his followers who are going to his dinner get direct evidence of its "circulation." Whether all classes are benefited in equal or less degree is another matter, but that is of little consequence. The first object of Tammany government is the sustenance of Mr. Croker. After him come his intimates; after them The Club; and after them the rank and file of the Tammany party. What are these but the "people"? Is anybody who is foolish enough to live outside Tammany Hall worthy of a moment's thought in the circulation of the city's money? And what a confession of

failure it would be for Mr. Croker or any other Tammany man to say that the general prosperity of the organization was not great enough to enable every member of it to pay \$10 for a dinner?

Two noteworthy changes in the matter of Sunday trains occur almost simultaneously in two States. A railroad company which serves many towns in New Jersey has just begun running trains on the first day of the week, and the railroads of Connecticut have been authorized to run such trains, when permitted by the Railroad Commissioners, during all the hours of Sunday. In the former case the passage of a law was not necessary, as Sunday trains had not been run simply because the managers of the railroad company would not put them on; but in Connecticut a statute has absolutely prohibited the running of trains within the limits of the commonwealth between the hours of 10:30 A. M. and 3 P. M. A curious feature of the New England case is the fact that there has been no such restriction upon Sunday trains in the adjoining States of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and of the New Jersey instance that all the other important roads in the State have long run such trains. Another anomaly of the situation in Connecticut has been the operation of trolley lines without the slightest restriction during all hours of Sunday.

The action of the Connecticut Legislature is significant of the change of sentiment regarding what used to be called "the keeping of the Sabbath" among the descendants of the Puritans. The lower branch of that Legislature is chiefly composed of representatives from small towns, not a few of them off the main lines of railroad traffic; but while the old law prohibiting trains between 10:30 A. M. and 3 P. M. was passed, a dozen years ago, without a dissenting vote, the bill empowering the Railroad Commissioners to authorize such trains went through this week with only 21 nays to 136 ayes. Experience has demolished the chief argument which was to be urged against allowing any Sunday trains, that this would be "the entering wedge" to a breaking down of all distinctions between Sundays and week-days in the matter of railroad traffic. Nearly all of the great lines have for years run some trains on Sunday, but there has nowhere been any approach to week-day conditions. The truth is, that both the managers and the employees are opposed to having anything like the usual amount of work on what all recognize it is best should be, so far as possible, a day of rest; but the necessity to the community of running some trains is also universally recognized, and this demand can be met without the slightest risk of harm to either railroad men or the general public.

Now that the discussion has begun out of doors on the new municipal bill for London prepared by the Government, the number of objections which are springing up and will have to be dealt with by Mr. Balfour, is rather appalling. In the first place, one of the great faults found with the present municipalities by property-holders, the London County Council included, is their tendency to do things for the masses at the expense of the taxpayer, or, as one of its developments is called, "municipal trading." The fact that the London County Council has done a good deal of this sort of thing has, more than anything else, excited the Conservative hostility to it, and it must be admitted that the tendency occupies a large place in the aspirations of all the more ardent civic reformers. They want cheap or gratis carriage for the poor, cheap or gratis gas, cheap or gratis baths, dearer labor, cheap education and gratis lunches for poor children, cheap or gratis music, and so on. The number of things which dwellers in cities are, by reformers, held bound to supply to everybody who chooses to settle in a city for any reason, increases every year. Municipal reform consists more and more in "municipal trading"—that is, the doing by the municipality of things which are now done by private enterprise for market prices. The fact that the municipality means the taxpayers, makes the glowing pictures drawn by the reformers of what beautiful and convenient places cities might become by the expenditure of more city money, when coupled with the fact that those who will most enjoy cities, and who will most eagerly vote for improvements, will not be the persons who will pay the expense of them, makes most programmes of city reform rather melancholy reading for the smaller class of taxpayers. In the meantime the crowding of the poor into all the cities continues.

One of the most foolish incidents of the English government of Ireland besides, and far more important than, the royal abstinence from visiting Ireland or living in it, has been the failure, often commented on, to encourage Irish enlistment in the English army. The Irish Catholic peasant, though known to be a fighting man, was not allowed to enlist until 1800, thirty years before Catholic emancipation. Yet such numbers did enlist during the next fourteen years of the peninsular war, that the Duke of Wellington declared in the House of Lords that he could not have carried on that war without them. Napier pays the highest tribute to their military qualities. The Connaught Rangers, an Irish regiment, repulsed the French Guard in the streets of Fuentes de Oñoro. Now, after the rebellion of 1745, the Scotch Highlanders, who were in exactly the same position as the Irish, that of disaffected Catholics, were enlisted in

two or three regiments, in which they did splendid service during the next half century, and are still relied upon for desperate enterprises. The curious thing is, that every pains was taken to bring the Highlanders' national feeling into play as a stimulant to military valor, though it was known not to be a whit greater than that of the Irish. They were allowed to wear their national dress when it was forbidden to the rest of their countrymen. They were allowed their national music for use, on the march and in battle. According to Byron, the "Cameron's gathering" "rose wild and high" at Waterloo. The Irish, on the other hand, were allowed neither national colors, nor uniforms, nor music. Within twenty years men have been punished for wearing a shamrock in their hats on St. Patrick's day. They are merged as far as possible in every way in English regiments, so that none of the glory of their exploits may redound to their unfortunate country. There is a story of a poor fellow of Fenian proclivities, who fell in one of the Sikh wars, wishing with his dying breath that his death had been for Ireland. There is a call in London to-day for an Irish regiment of Guards, but it comes rather late after a century of insult and coercion. Still it may succeed.

A medical school for the study of tropical diseases is to be established in England as an incident of colonizing in West Africa. Mr. Chamberlain explained to the House of Commons that the constant deaths of promising officers, civil and military, in the West African colonies, had determined the Colonial Office to do all in its power to combat the little-understood diseases of the African coast. What had been done in Calcutta and Hong-Kong and in Jamaica, to take away their ancient reproach of being a graveyard of British officers, he thought might be done for West Africa. The scheme contemplates special training for nurses and physicians, none of whom shall hereafter be appointed to stations in West Africa until after taking a post-graduate course in the hospital selected for the detailed study and treatment of the various forms of African fever. The initial expense to the Government will not be large, as existing hospitals will be utilized, and the Royal Society has made a grant of funds to assist in the work. The project was cordially approved by Parliament, even Mr. Labouchere joining in with the wish that West Africa might be made so salubrious that the Colonial Secretary would go there in person.

The admission made by the French Ministry that no further increase in the army is possible, is the first exact confession that has been made in any of the great nations that the conscription has reached its limits. The race has

gone on steadily until now, and, up to the present, France has held her own with Germany; but she confesses that the end has come. France has 14,000,000 less population than Germany, yet has maintained till now a stronger army, but Germany has determined to remain no longer in the rear in the matter of numbers. The bill now pending in the Reichstag raises the strength of the German cavalry from 472 to 482 squadrons and the infantry on a peace footing to 495,500 men, to be completed in 1903. France cannot, M. Freycinet confesses, respond as Mr. Goschen has done to Russia with the British fleet. The stop will probably be reached everywhere else eventually in the same way. British sailors will in the same way give out before the British money for building ships gives out, and Russia will continue to increase her armaments as fast as she can get money, which she finds scarce. But she is very far from the limit of her resources. With such enormous tracts of unoccupied land, an enormous increase of population is sure to come. The Russian future is probably still remote, but it is certain. There can hardly be a worse foreign policy, therefore, than that which ridicules her efforts or proposals for peace, which does not grasp at any offer she makes to limit her armament, or start on a more peaceful path. She can probably go on increasing her armament for generations, and to bind her not to increase it even for one, would be a great gain for humanity.

The question is, however, beginning to be asked more and more who is to command these hosts if they ever take the field. Only two generals have, in this century, given any reason to believe that they were capable of it, Napoleon and Moltke; and not more than two such men are to be looked for in a century, if two. This is a thought constantly present in every European cabinet. There is no general living to-day who would be willing to take any such responsibility. There are plenty of fair corps commanders, but there is not a single corps commander who is thought capable of bringing the full strength of any great Power to bear on an enemy of the same rank. They can put enormous armies in the field, and, perhaps, provide the beef, canned or on the hoof, for the troops; but to get them in a fighting line is a different matter. The French generals have all been ruled out of the competition by general consent. About the new generation of Germans and Russians we know little or nothing, though probably every writer on military affairs professes to know some secret genius who "is sure to make his mark" when the time comes. The British do not lay claim to one such on land. They rely on admirals, but the others make no sea professions at all.

GETTING OUR EYES OPEN.

The English General who said to his troops, "I have led you into a devil of a scrape, and now you've got to fight like hell to get me out of it," displayed a frankness which it would become the Great Father at Washington and his counsellors to imitate. The one feeling on this Philippine business throughout the land is that an enormous blunder has been made. We do not speak now of the wisdom or folly of taking the islands from Spain, but of the way in which this bloody conflict with the natives was brought about. Our soldiers are fighting gallantly, as, of course, we knew they would; but why did they have to fight at all? Whose was the misconception in policy, whose the mismanagement in execution, that led to the extraordinary plight in which we now find ourselves? Day by day news comes which leaves the emotions of Americans strangely confused—their pride in their courageous troops struggles with mortification that they should have to fight the very natives whom they went to free; their sorrow at the loss of so many brave lives alternates with shame for the cause and indignation for the blunderers who brought this misery on us. That things have turned out wofully different from the roseate plans of Mr. McKinley is not denied even by his adulators. What is the reason?

Summarily, we may say that the reason is the comprehensive one Dr. Johnson gave for his own blunder, "Pure ignorance!" We took a leap into the dark, and this time our luck failed us, and we got badly bruised. The knowledge on the strength of which our Peace Commissioners decided to buy the Philippines from Spain, was not great enough or accurate enough to warrant them in buying a house and lot. The one thing they felt sure of was that the natives would submit without fighting. All through the testimony taken at Paris runs this positive assurance—the Filipinos would fight the Spaniards to the death, but they would never think of resisting Americans. That was taken for granted by all the great minds of the Commission, and we see now how correct their information was. In our good-natured, vain-glorious American way we embarked on this ill-studied enterprise, sure that it would somehow "all come out right in the end." But we are wiser now, if sadder. We see that many elements of the situation were egregiously misunderstood by the men who led us into this Philippine muddle. How many more disagreeable revelations await us we do not know; but as far as we have gone we have seen only too much reason to believe that the whole affair was entered into with inconceivable light-heartedness, upon assumptions entirely mistaken.

One of the greatest mistakes, it is now evident, was the initial treatment of the

insurgents. We undoubtedly owed much to their coöperation: the officers of both army and navy admit it. But for Aguinaldo's army, and its success in sweeping the Spanish out of their outlying garrisons and penning them up in Manila, our capture of that city would not have been the easy and comparatively bloodless affair it turned out to be. Yet from the first the whole official attitude of our Government towards Aguinaldo and the insurgents was one of indifference verging on hostility. And it is important to observe that this was directly inspired from Washington. As early as June 16 of last year, Secretary Day ordered Consul Pratt at Singapore not to countenance the Filipinos in any way; he said that "this Government has known the Philippine insurgents only as discontented and rebellious subjects of Spain, and is not acquainted with their purposes." He went on to observe that the United States, "in entering upon the military occupancy of the islands," expected from the inhabitants only "that obedience which will be lawfully due from them." This high and mighty tone was insisted upon all through. Gen. Merritt adopted it in his correspondence with Aguinaldo, both before and after the surrender of Manila, and said in one letter that he was thereby acting on "recent instructions" from Washington. Now this, it is clear, was grossly to misconceive as well as to exasperate the natives. They have at least leaders who are men of education and ability, and presumably have a sense of personal dignity, and thus to be thrust aside contemptuously must have been galling to them in the extreme. If the aim was to goad them into fighting, the method could not have been more skilful; but we supposed that our aim was to conciliate and co-operate. Surely, somebody blundered grievously in this whole matter of understanding the natives and dealing with them.

The military equipment and fighting quality of the natives, their money resources, and the degree of popular support which they enjoy, have also come as a surprise to our authorities. Aguinaldo got a supply of arms from the captured Spanish arsenal at Cavité. Dewey did not give Aguinaldo arms—he was too shrewd to entangle himself in that way; he just looked the other way while Aguinaldo helped himself. Then the insurgents were undoubtedly importing ammunition and military supplies from Hong Kong and Yokohama during all those months of waiting. We winked at the process as long as we supposed that the weapons would be used only against the Spaniards; now they are employed against us. Aguinaldo raises money by a kind of forced taxation, levying contributions on interior trade and agriculture. This is the sort of taxes the people have been used to under Spanish rule, and they seem to pay their own

chiefs with alacrity. Indeed, so far as appears, the inhabitants of Luzon, outside of Manila, are united in support of the war on Americans. Thus, we have found that the native soldiers are better armed than we thought, that they fight with much greater courage and skill than we expected, and that they are beaten and driven off, after great and heroic exertions by our army, without any idea of surrendering. The present campaign may be entirely successful. Malolos, the seat of the native Government, may be captured in a day or two. Yet, if the natives choose to go on fighting in their swamps and mountain fastnesses, the problems of reducing Luzon to order will have been only begun. But we are at least getting our eyes open to the size of the job we have on our hands.

THE DEMORALIZED OPPOSITION.

Now that we are within a year of the time when the canvass for delegates to the national conventions of 1900 will be under way, the most striking feature of the situation is the utter demoralization of the opposition. There have been times in our history when the dominant organization was quite as strong as the Republicans are now, but it would be hard to name any period when the other party was as weak, both in leadership and in hold upon the people, as is the so-called Democracy to-day.

"Democratic principles" is a term which has become a laughing-stock. The party came into power the last time upon the platform of tariff reform. But even the leader in that contest could not carry into effect through Congressional legislation the principles which he represented, and the misshapen act which finally went upon the statute-book got there without President Cleveland's signature. So far back as 1894 the forces of disintegration were thus at work.

The lurch towards Populism which was taken in 1896 carried the process still further. The Bryanite platform adopted at Chicago in that year drove out of the party, almost in a mass, both its character and its brains. There has never been a Presidential candidate of either of the old parties who received so little support from the intelligence of the party which had nominated him as the "boy orator" in the last Presidential campaign.

Defeat did not teach wisdom. The minority in Congress during the past two years has been little better than a leaderless mob. The new issues growing out of the war with Spain leave the opposition without coherence of organization or unity of policy. There are so-called Democrats who earnestly favored the ratification of the treaty of peace, and others who zealously opposed it; some who regard the expansion policy

as destructive to our national ideals, and others who consider the acquisition of the Philippines as only the logical sequence to Jefferson's purchase of Louisiana.

An opposition party in the year before a Presidential election usually has three or four hopeful aspirants for the nomination. It seldom happens that one man has gained such a hold as Cleveland possessed eight years ago, and Jackson during John Quincy Adams's term in the White House; and in those cases the leaders who dominated the party were men of great personal strength. To-day there is nobody in sight for the next nomination of Populized Democracy but the man whose last nomination involved it in overwhelming defeat. Worse still, the interval has served only to confirm the original impression of Bryan's monumental egotism, shallowness, and weakness. Nothing disgusts the people so much as the open pursuit of the highest office, and this silly politician makes no concealment of his intense eagerness for a renomination. The spectacle of a wordy orator, professing to be the champion of the downtrodden masses, and ready to sacrifice himself for the public good, who charges his audiences "all the traffic will stand" for the privilege of hearing him denounce monopolies, is sickening.

There is an uneasiness in Bryan's demeanor which indicates that some consciousness of his undignified course must occasionally penetrate even his dense egotism, and arouse apprehension as to his real hold upon the people. But this is a very different thing from hold upon the party organization. The strength of Bryan as a candidate is based upon the fact that the men who consider him an orator and a statesman control the machinery in the Southern and Western States, as well as in some at the East. If the delegates were to be chosen tomorrow, the bulk of them would undoubtedly be for Bryan. His hope is that the situation will be the same next winter and spring, and as the weak men whom Bryanism has invested with the running of the party machinery would generally rather see the party beaten than lose their hold upon that machinery, the hope is not so unreasonable as it should be.

The whole nation suffers from the present demoralization of the minority. It is essential to the successful working of party government that there shall be a strong opposition, always ready with the criticism which is sure to be needed by the dominant organization, and prepared with at least a definite policy to urge as an alternative. A majority which has no reason to fear the minority is always dangerous. An opposition too weak to inspire apprehension deprives the country of a needed bulwark against the aggressions of power. Seldom in our his-

tory has the nation needed a strong opposition wisely led so much as now. It is a real misfortune to the republic that in such a crisis the minority is nothing but a weak aggregation of helpless voters, without either effective organization or judicious counsellors. Party government is at a low ebb when millions of men have no other representative than a conceited orator who runs solely for his own aggrandizement the organization which has fallen under his control.

CHANGES IN PUBLIC ORATORY.

Several collections of political orations in France, during the last seventy years, have lately been published; and M. Emile Faguet, in some remarks about them in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, shows what has been the rise and course of this species of eloquence in his native land. Parliamentary, as distinguished from forensic and pulpit, oratory has, of course, but a short history in France. It scarcely antedates the Revolution. Its golden age was reached at about the same time as the golden age of American oratory—that is, roughly, 1830-1850. Those were the days when Guizot and Thiers and Berryer launched their argosies with portly sail; when the Assembly would not only endure but enjoy a philosophical exposition of political principles from the tribune, a leisurely, historical oration, full-freighted eloquence like that our own Senate delighted in at the same period. But in France, as in this country, as in England, too, great changes have taken place of recent years in the standards and practice of public oratory. What M. Faguet writes of the French Parliament might be said with equal truth of the House of Commons or of the American Congress—"always pressed for time and impatient, it demands short speeches, and simply will not listen to theoretical or historical discourses."

Increasing business to transact, and the increase of the business spirit in transacting it, have, in fact, necessarily done to death old-style oratory in modern legislative assemblies. The change in English Parliamentary oratory during the last generation has been as notable as that in our own, and along the same general lines. It is not simply that the fashion of rhetoric has altered. Nobody now brings in a long Greek quotation in a speech in the House of Commons, in the ancient resounding way; if he did he would be in danger of being laughed at. But there is more in it than simply the passing away of a once popular taste. The House of Commons sits to dispatch the business of a great empire, and the men it wants to hear are the men who can best discuss the business in hand. No other man has to-day the ear of the Commons as Mr. Chamberlain has it, and he speaks very much as would a business man from Birmingham. He is perfectly

lucid, mercilessly trenchant, and mercifully brief. He rarely speaks more than half an hour in the House. Yet was it not Franklin who said that Washington and Jefferson were the two most effective speakers he ever heard, though neither of them ever spoke more than thirty minutes?

Cobden is commonly thought to have had great influence in bringing about the change in tone of public speaking in England. His great cause was practically a business proposition, and he argued it with the simple directness of a banker or mill-owner. Yet his grasp of fact and logic was powerful. Absolutely without flowers or furbelows, his speaking went straight to the heart of the matter, with so wide and full a knowledge that even its dry and unadorned brevity did not prevent a master of the old bow-wow style like Peel from admiring it greatly. Cobden had not a quick sense of humor, and once set the House roaring at an unintentional pun which he is said to have been unable to understand, even when it was explained to him. He was discussing some points in cotton manufacture, and said, by way of illustration, "Now take my friend from Lancashire [John Bright]; he is a spinner of long yarns."

Webster's are the only American speeches of his generation that the modern man can read. We are willing to take the word of contemporaries for it that Clay was a great orator, but his speeches we will not read. Who but historians ever waded through Calhoun's? Who can read even Benton's without nodding, or hoping that at least on the next page he may hear one of "Old Bullion's" rare but delightful roars to waken him? Webster lives by sheer weight and force. We still feel ready to match him, as Carlyle did, against all the logic-choppers in existence. As Benton said of his reply to Hayne, one felt that he could have taken the other side and been just as triumphant. There was such a grip and mastery in the man, such a march of victorious argument, lit here and there by passion, that virtue went out of him into his speeches, and the smell of the grave is scarcely on them. Yet even Webster sometimes indulged in circumlocutions and slow approaches which would not be tolerated now. We venture to say that the elaborate and rather florid figure with which he began his reply to Hayne could not now be produced in the Senate without exciting a snicker. It could be in some parts of the South, however, where orators still love to discourse for an hour or two on nature and history and the human intellect, before coming to the subject.

"There are only three or four reasons," said a Frenchman, in explaining his fondness for short speeches, "which can be given for or against a particular proposition, and all that can be said in addition is just so much stupidity." It is this

eagerness to get at the gist of the matter, and to get to voting, which tends to make parliamentary speeches more and more brief and businesslike. Give us your heads of discourse, says the modern legislator to the modern orator, and let your elaborations go. Unlimited "leave to print" may be had on condition that leave not to hear or to read go with it. In the pulpit, "Twenty minutes, with a leaning to the side of mercy," has judicial authority as the proper length of a sermon. Judges will take all the briefs a lawyer can hand up, but are growingly impatient of much speaking in court. Here, again, we see what the pressure of work and the application of business methods are doing to clip the periods of oratory. Yet this is not saying that the love of eloquence has disappeared. Fustian we cannot put up with, and gusts of wind strike infinite weariness to our hearts; but when a child of genius like Bourke Cockran comes along to take a theme under which other men are breaking their backs and chilling the audience, and to soar with it like one of the young-eyed cherubim, to the rapt delight of his hearers, the old spell reasserts itself, and we know again the true power of popular eloquence.

THE BREAKING UP OF CHINA.

"Every time the dry bones of China have been shaken up," said an English trade journal, "an increase of commerce has followed." It was in the same sense that the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs said the other day that China was now the "most promising" of the territories which industrial Europe was contemplating. He meant that it was the most promising opening for the overflow of the glutted markets of Europe. The exploitation of a vast empire solely in the interests of trade is something new in the world's history. The Roman Empire was eaten off bit by bit, and finally consumed, by barbarians bent on plunder. Turkey has seen province after province shorn away more by the pressure of civilization, and the uprising of her oppressed subjects in the demand for a better government, than by purely commercial attack. But China has been invaded and will be broken up, if broken up she is to be, by the commercial traveller.

How rapid this invasion has been, and how extensive the conquests in the name of trade already are, we are apt to forget. The haste and eagerness of Italy and Belgium and Japan to get a "base" on the Chinese coast, are really a sign of fear that the coast will be all taken up unless they move quickly. It is less than two years since Germany made her dramatic coup in seizing Kiao-Chou, but what has happened since? Why, England has seized Wei-hai-wei, and laid claim to the Yang-tse valley—a claim which, if enforced, would cut the empire almost in

two. France has demanded fresh concessions in Sze-chuen. Italy now declares she must have the port of Sanmun, and the bay and hinterland going with it. Meanwhile, on the north, Russia pushes on her secular and irresistible advance.

It is, indeed, the Russian power which dominates the Chinese situation. As Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu writes in the last *Revue des Deux Mondes*, compared with the immense advantages Russia has obtained in China, the acquisitions of all the other nations seem poor. The vast province of Manchuria, an empire in itself, is now practically a Russian possession. The Chinese Government admits it; the English recognize it. The dispute over the Niu-Chang Railroad grant turned largely on the question whether an English company could mortgage land north of the Great Wall. Russia protested that it could not, and England finally agreed that it would not. Russian influence is now confessed to be predominant in Corea, which country she can take over whenever she thinks she could do it without leading the other Powers to fight her. The whole Liao-Tong peninsula is at Russia's mercy; and the speedy completion of the trans-Siberian railway, with its branch line to Port Arthur, will give her facilities for holding and extending her position greater than anything within the reach of any other nation. Russia's absorption of North China has been the dream and goal of her statesmen for a hundred years. With that mystic strain which Leroy-Beaulieu says is to be found in Slavic blood, they have pursued their object, unhesitating, unrelenting, sure that time is on their side and that they can afford to wait longer than any other. Russian control of so large a part of Chinese territory, and apparently of the entire machinery of the Chinese Government, is, in a way, a fulfilment of the prophecy of a Russian statesman, made to John Quincy Adams in 1812: "Monsieur, la Russie, bien gouvernée, est faite pour commander à l'Europe."

But what has China been doing all this while? Where is the Chinese Government? Lord Salisbury answered the question a couple of weeks ago when he said that the future of China depended not so much upon diplomacy, as upon what went on in a secluded palace and an island in a garden. He meant, of course, the intrigues near the Emperor's person. That unhappy young man of twenty-five, feeble in body and spirit, appears to be under the complete domination of the Empress Dowager. She is supposed to be a woman of great force, principally, we believe, because she cuts off the heads of those who disagree with her. But she is hand in glove with Russia. There is no possibility that she, or any Emperor likely to arise, will be able to rally the natives against foreign aggression. An enormous preliminary dif-

ficulty is that the reigning dynasty is itself a foreign one, cordially hated by millions of the people. It would have been overthrown in the Taiping rebellion of the '60s, had it not been for outside assistance. Then, too, the myth of a Chinese army of terrible fighting power has been dissipated by Japan. It was always a silly superstition, for Gordon found out and declared that the Chinese absolutely would not do aggressive fighting. The net result is that China has no power of resistance. Every time a foreign nation comes to shake the skeleton again, there is only a clashing of teeth in the fleshless jaws.

There is no doubt that the proper policy of the United States, in the face of this fated disintegration of China, will soon become an urgent political question. The attitude of our State Department has so far been that of studied neutrality, insisting upon our treaty rights, but keeping hands off. But powerful influences are now at work to bring about a change. An American Asiatic Association has been formed, composed of leading manufacturers and exporters, and its representatives, says the Washington correspondent of the *Evening Post*, have been urging the Government to take a more pronounced position. Senator Fry is greatly stirred up on the subject, and would have the United States get a "base" on the Chinese coast without loss of time necessary to prevent the impairment of American trade in China. That trade is great and growing, and it is the obvious duty of the Government to safeguard it in every possible way. But a feasible method, short of going into the scramble for Chinese territory, would be a tacit, if not formal, alliance with England for the purpose of keeping the Orient open to the trade of all nations on equal terms. Interest and honor alike prompt us to such a course, and, for our part, we should heartily applaud our great protectionist and erstwhile English-hating President if he would vigorously urge joint action with England to promote free trade.

"AMERICANISM," OR THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN AMERICA.

ROME, March 3, 1899.

The chief interest for those who are watching public affairs in Italy at this moment is the action taken by the Vatican in regard to those liberal doctrines, embraced in the term "Americanism," which, starting in the United States, are now firmly rooted in France and Germany. The story is by no means old, but its details are not generally known.

In 1894 there was published in New York the 'Life of Father Hecker,' the founder of the Paulist order. But little notice was taken of the book until, having been translated into French, it gave rise to bitter discussions in Europe. The liberal party of the Church, in both France and Germany, found much to be pleased with in the doctrines of Father Hecker, while the Jesuits realized that if the influence of the book were to spread to any

large extent, the supremacy of orthodox doctrines would be jeopardized. They are perfectly right, for, simple though the ideas of Father Hecker seem, they are the antithesis of those which have heretofore governed the Catholic body. They are in brief as follows: That the absolutely uncoupled condition of Church and State as seen in the United States is the ideal to be sought everywhere; that more latitude should be given to the untrammelled workings of the individual conscience, and that more stress should be laid on *active* than on *passive* (or monastic) virtues.

Father Hecker was not alone in his ideas. Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Ireland, Mgr. Keane, and Mgr. D. J. O'Connell all expressed in one way or another their approval of them. Archbishop Ireland even wrote an introduction to the 'Life,' in which he gave expression to the highest admiration for Father Hecker, and said he considered him a model to be followed by the priesthood. Cardinal Gibbons, in an autograph letter, bade god-speed to the French translation of the book; and Mgr. O'Connell, at the International Catholic Scientific Congress held at Fribourg in August, 1897, read a paper entitled "A New Idea in the Life of Father Hecker," in which he showed the real nature of "Americanism," and affirmed that

"from what has been said in the foregoing, it must appear evident to every candid inquirer that it involves no conflict with either Catholic faith or morals; that, in spite of repeated statements to the contrary, it is no new form of heresy or liberalism or separatism; and that, fairly considered, 'Americanism' is nothing else than that loyal devotion which Catholics in America bear to the principles on which their government is founded, and their conscientious conviction that these principles afford Catholics the best opportunities for promoting the glory of God, the growth of the Church, and the salvation of souls in America."

The second chapter of the story began when, a few months ago, a French priest, Charles Maignen, wrote a book entitled 'Le Père Hecker est-il un Saint?' According to the rules which govern the Index Expurgatorius, this book, published in Paris, must bear the imprimatur of the Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal Richard. The Cardinal, however, refused to grant it, on the ground that the book was a libel on a prince and eminent prelates of the Church—Gibbons, Ireland, and Keane. A rebuff so slight as this was not enough to quell the spirit of a Jesuit. The author took his book to Rome, although such action is distinctly forbidden by the Rules of the Index, put the name of a Roman publisher on the title, in addition to the French one, and applied for the Roman imprimatur. This was granted by Father Lepidi, the Master of the Sacred Palaces, and the book was issued. It is a curious mixture of fanaticism, reasonableness, and bad faith. The author's bad faith is shown by his constantly repeated assumption that those leaders in the American Church who share Hecker's doctrines maintain him to be a *saint*. The character of the book was such that the men attacked in it could not submit unheard, and, furthermore, certain of the liberal papers in Rome were asking ugly questions as to the granting of the imprimatur. Mgr. Keane interviewed Cardinal Rampolla on the matter, and was assured that both he, the Cardinal (who is the Pope's Secretary of State), and his Holiness felt deeply grieved at the turn of affairs, and had been completely ignorant of the questions concerning the publication of the book. This seemed to sim-

plify matters; but almost immediately appeared a letter from Father Lepidi, stating that, when he first saw the book, its importance seemed to him so great that he put the matter in the hands of the Pope himself, and that it was with the Pope's sanction that the imprimatur was granted.

Chapter third now begins. During our war with Spain, Archbishop Ireland, owing to his being a personal friend of President McKinley, was given charge of the varied affairs connected with the Church that were affected by the war. The chief of these was the status of the Church in the islands that came under our control. The desire of the Papacy and the Jesuits was that no alteration should be made in the legal status of religious orders and their property acquired by action of mortmain. This, however, could not be arranged, but, instead, the American Government decided that so long as we controlled the islands, the status of the Church should be the same in them as in the United States. This was a hard blow to the Jesuits. It was bad enough to have liberalism spreading in the United States, and marked signs of its progress in France and Germany, without having Cuba and the Philippines given over to its invincible influence. Moreover, Cuba is but the stepping-stone to South America, and, before long, liberalism will be flourishing there as in more civilized portions of the world.

It was time for the Jesuits to strain every nerve. In January of this year Archbishop Ireland was called to Rome to explain matters, and now occurred an extraordinary event. On the 4th of February appeared the first number of a paper published by the Jesuits called *The True American Catholic*, the "Organ for the Roman Committee for the Anti-American Campaign." The articles are printed in both Italian and English. The leading article, under the heading "Our Aim," is worth quoting extensively. The style and punctuation are unusual:

"The object we have in view in commencing the publication of *The True American Catholic* is to protect the true Catholic faith, from the infernal machinations of a sect; who under the name of 'Americanism' attacks and attempts to destroy the real foundations of Christianity. But the attacks of the above sect made to forward the interests of the enemies of Christ and of His Catholic Church; namely Jews, Masons, and International Protestants will be thoroughly frustrated by our daily constant intervention.

"We shall fight our enemies and their allies in fair fight . . . even if some of them may happen to wear the Episcopal mitre. . . .

"These new American Catholics have raised the banner of rebellion and treason, and in the name of Christ and of Paul, with the protection of the millionaire bishop without conscience and without religion, attack the true Church of Jesus Christ and the Papacy which is to-day the only bulwark of Religion and the only conservative power of social justice.

"We are decided then to wage a fierce war against this sect evidently inspired by Satan, against this so-called American Catholicism which possesses less Christian faith and charity than was possessed by the Mahomedan slaughterers of Armenians.

"We tell you at once, oh Monsignor Ireland, that your sacerdotal garb of Archbishop of the Holy Roman Catholic Church will never allow you to become unfaithful to that pure faith that shines brilliant on the brow of the shepherds intrusted by God with the mission of leading the flock of Jesus Christ.

"The mitre that you wear renders you incompatible with the place of combat you have taken against the whole organization of the Church of Rome.

"Be honest, then, and let your position be clearly defined. Either throw aside the sa-

cerdotal vestment, like it was done by Father Gavazzi, or loyally submit to the duties to which the position you hold in the Roman gerarchy compels you to obey.

"Put the mask aside, oh Monsignor Ireland! For acting as you do is utterly unbecoming of a gentleman and a priest.

"In any case let us remind you that here in Rome; apostolic seat of Peter and Paul, on this soil rendered sacred, and venerated by the blood spilled by the first Christian martyrs, you would bring in vain the sacrilegious echo of an American schism. Here in Rome, where Christ himself is Roman, where the old and the new world centres, rises sublime and makes itself felt the only true holy spirit of the Man of Nazareth. And the mighty voice of the sublime spirit enjoins to you, through the medium of his poor humble followers, in the name of the Almighty God and of the Archangel Michael, to bow down before the Vicar of Jesus Christ and deny the blasphemous theories of the heretical sect styled with the name of 'American Catholicism,' which is embodied by you"—and so on.

Though Archbishop Ireland was called to Rome ostensibly to explain certain events connected with the war, it might be thought that the Pope, before setting his foot down, would have seized the opportunity to question him in regard to Americanism. As a matter of fact, the Pope's letter on this subject was written before Archbishop Ireland had been received by him. The letter to which I refer is from the Pope to Cardinal Gibbons. It was published in the *Voce della Verità* of February 22, bears the date of January 22, and was posted from Rome on or about February 10. It is an interesting document. To appreciate it we must bear in mind that the Paulist Order, founded by Father Hecker, was sanctioned by Pius IX., and that Father Hecker's doctrines were thoroughly understood at that time. But his liberalism seemed of little importance until it had taken root in France, where the Abbé Charbonnel was forced to leave the Church owing to his eager approbation of the doctrine; until the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, participation in which by Cardinal Gibbons and others was considered by the conservative Catholics as the action of renegades; and until the speech of Mgr. Keane at Brussels in 1894, when he approved in the strongest terms the meeting at Chicago. Since these events the Jesuits and conservatives have realized the strength of the party of common sense that is opposed to them.

The Pope's Encyclical Letter begins with certain platitudes of friendship, after which, warming to his work, his Holiness says that he desires to warn his beloved son of certain dangers to the Church, dangers that find their expression in the 'Life of Father Hecker.' He then considers in detail the leading features of Hecker's principles, and undertakes to refute all the liberal contentions. It is, he writes, a mistake to believe in the satisfactory working of the Holy Spirit in the individual who lacks external guidance; Hecker's distinction of natural and supernatural, of active and passive virtues is declared erroneous. These passive virtues were, according to Hecker, of great value at the time of the Reformation, because of the character of the absolute governments then existing, and as a defence against Protestant attacks on the Church. Now, on the contrary, in democratic times, when the citizen rule, and to do so have to develop their intelligence, the active virtues are those to be cultivated. This, says the Pope, is an entire mistake. As for the formation of religious Orders the members of which shall

not be bound by vows (one of the features of the Paulist Order), the Pontifical letter states that while these are permissible, they are in no way to be compared with Orders subject to vows, whose members have given up their all to follow Christ. Familiar discourses and discussions with Protestants may be allowed only if the local bishop sees fit to sanction them. Having thus condemned the liberal doctrines, his Holiness continues, at the end of the letter: "Thus, from what we have said up to this point, it is clear, O dearly beloved Son, that we cannot approve of those opinions which, taken as a whole, are entitled 'Americanism';" but he states that by this term he means the doctrines that have been mentioned, and not the intellectual or material conditions of America. Unquestionably, he suggests, American bishops themselves will repudiate the name of Americanism as supremely insulting to themselves and to their nation.

This letter has been replied to by both Archbishop Ireland and Mgr. Keane. They disclaim all sympathy with any who may believe or teach such heresies as are mentioned in the Encyclical. Both letters are couched in much the same terms. Archbishop Ireland (see the *Voce della Verità* of February 25) hastens to thank his Holiness for the love he displays towards the Catholics in America. At last everything is clear, and those errors which "certain persons" have desired to hide behind the name of Americanism are manifest. Considering the discussions aroused by the 'Life of Father Hecker' it was time, says the Archbishop, for the First Shepherd to speak and to restore quiet.

"Assuredly, with all the strength of my soul, I repudiate and condemn all those opinions which the Apostolic Letter repudiates and condemns—all those false and dangerous opinions to which, as the Letter says, 'certain persons give the name of Americanism,' . . . and I repudiate and condemn them with all the greater eagerness and heartfelt joy since never, for a single instant, has my Catholic faith and my understanding of the teachings and practices of the Holy Church permitted me to open my spirit to like extravagances. . . . Most Holy Father, those are enemies of the Church in America and infidel interpreters of the faith who 'imagine' that there exists, or that any one desires to form in the United States, a church differing in even an iota from the Holy and Universal Church which other nations acknowledge, which Rome herself, the infallible guardian of the revelation of Jesus Christ, now or hereafter acknowledges."

Mgr. Keane says (*Voce della Verità*, February 28):

"As for myself, I declare that I accept and admit completely and unreservedly everything that Your Holiness sets forth in this letter. I declare that I repudiate and condemn everything therein condemned by Your Holiness, and I declare to Your Holiness, calling God to witness, that I have never in my life taught or maintained any part of what is therein reproved by Your Holiness."

To sum up: the liberal doctrines of Father Hecker, tacitly approved by Pius IX., and advocated by the most intelligent American prelates and priests as well as by a large party in Europe, are now by Leo XIII. said to be heretical and untenable.

RICHARD NORTON.

THE LAST OF THE CONDES.

PARIS, March 8, 1899.

Princesses who remain unmarried are the

sacrificed figures in history. Sometimes a writer becomes attracted by the name of one, but it is rare if the consequent biography be not written in a banal and purely apologetic style, and, therefore, very uninteresting. This can, however, not be said of a biography of 'La Dernière des Condé,' which has just been written by M. Pierre de Ségur. This author not long ago wrote his first work, on Madame Geoffrin, under the title of 'Le Royaume de la Rue St.-Honoré'; he drew a good picture of the interesting "Mother of the Philosophers" and of her circle. What took him from the Rue St.-Honoré to Chantilly, where lived the last of the Condés? It was probably the knowledge that he would find some inedited documents in the archives of the château, which now belongs to the Institute. In a room in one of the towers, which was called by the Duke d'Aumale "La salle des gemmes," is a most charming miniature of Louise-Adélaïde de Condé, as a girl, with her hair flowing naturally, a very thin black ribbon around her neck, and a sort of white flowing gown, as easy, almost, as a night-gown. This is the only portrait of Louise-Adélaïde de Condé known to me; it is really a gem.

She was born in Paris, at the Hôtel de Condé, the 6th of October, 1757. Her father, Louis-Joseph de Bourbon Condé, was the son of the Duke de Bourbon, who had been the chief of the Council of Regency during the minority of Louis XV., and who died in 1740, leaving only a son. The Duchess de Bourbon died the year after, and Louis-Joseph was married at the age of seventeen to Charlotte Godfried de Rohan-Soubise, daughter of the Marshal de Soubise. Charlotte de Soubise was handsome, and the Prince de Condé fell in love with her, and was allowed to marry her, though she was not of royal blood. The first child was a boy, who took the name of Duke de Bourbon; the second was Louise-Adélaïde, the heroine of M. Pierre de Ségur. The two children became orphans at a very early age, as their mother died on the 7th of March, 1760, only twenty-three years old.

Louise-Adélaïde was educated in the abbey of Beaumont-les-Tours, near Tours, the abbess of which was her great-aunt, Henriette de Bourbon-Condé, who bore the name of Madame de Vermandois (she had refused in her youth to be married to Louis XV.). Louise-Adélaïde remained seven years under the stern direction of this abbess. She left Beaumont to enter the abbey of Pauthémont in Paris, where unmarried princesses, according to the fashion of the time, remained until they were twenty-five years old. She found there, in an establishment which was at once worldly and religious, more worldly than religious, her cousin Bathilde d'Orléans, who became afterwards her sister-in-law. "The two girls had their private apartment, their separate establishment, their table, to which they admitted in turn some of their companions, or even their mistresses, such as were fortunate enough to please them. A lady in waiting for each of them, several servants, completed the appearance of a miniature court, where some happy few, inscribed on a special list, were authorized to offer their homage and to bring news from the outside world." The Princess of Condé lost her companion when, at the age of fourteen and a half, Bathilde d'Orléans married the young Duke of Bourbon. It had been agreed that the young bride should go back to the convent after the ceremony, but she eloped literally with her young husband—an

incident which gave much amusement to the court. At the age of thirteen, Mademoiselle de Condé was presented, and from that day she was merely called Mademoiselle (at the age of twenty-one she resumed the name of Mademoiselle de Condé).

She was allowed to go from time to time to Versailles, to Chantilly, to Vanves, where her brother had a house, which he offered his sister for her own use. When she was sixteen years old, she had a great disappointment. The young Count d'Artois had manifested an interest in her for some time, and it was thought that he would marry her. It was the wish of the Prince de Condé. The Prince and his son had fallen from grace by the part which they had taken in the quarrel between the Court and the parlements; but the Prince de Condé had become reconciled with Chancellor Maupeou, and the projected marriage of the Princess with the Count d'Artois was one of the motives which induced the Prince de Condé to abandon the cause of the parlements. Negotiations had, however, been entered into in another direction, and the Count d'Artois was affianced to a Princess of Savoy, Marie-Thérèse. This event disgusted the Princess Louise not only with the Court but with the world, and with the idea of contracting a marriage. Her disappointment was so great that she systematically rejected all the offers made to her, by the Duke of Aosta, the Prince de Carignan, the Prince des Deux-Ponts, Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski, King of Poland; she was determined not to give her hand if she could not give her heart at the same time.

Her father tried to console her, and asked her to come to Chantilly. On the 1st of June, 1777, she made her first visit since her infancy to this house, and promised to make a visit every year. She was now twenty years old. Her father could not keep her at his own house in Paris, where he lived openly with the Princess of Monaco, who played the part of a wife for him, though she was only his mistress. "This liaison," says M. de Ségur, "which a duration of nearly half a century was to make almost respectable, did not hinder love affairs de passage. Madame de Monaco, jealous and bad-tempered, took things tragically, and there were, in this sad union, sometimes scenes of violence and sometimes sermons on morality in which, according to an eyewitness (Madame de Bombelles), the Prince de Condé seemed very uneasy and *petit garçon*." The rest of the family were not more edifying; neither the brother of the Princess, the Duke de Bourbon, nor her grandfather, the Marshal de Soubise, was a model of scrupulous morality.

"I find," writes M. de Ségur, "in the letters of the Princess an anecdote which shows this well enough. One day the Duke de Bourbon, who had been married several years, had a child by his mistress, Mademoiselle Michelin, called Mimi, a dancer at the Opéra. He had the strange idea of choosing his young sister to be godmother to the child, and it was the Prince de Soubise who came, dying of laughter, to insist that his grandchild should accept this title and this function. Feeling that there was something suspicious in the offer made to her, she declined it, and she applauded herself for this when she afterwards knew the whole truth."

The Prince de Condé gave his sister at Chantilly a separate apartment, and built for her in Paris a charming hôtel in the neighborhood of the Invalides. (The last proprietor of this hôtel, which is in the Rue de

Monsieur, was the Marquis of Chambrun.) Mademoiselle de Condé divided her existence between Chantilly and the Rue de Monsieur.

The Dukes of Bourbon had in the thirteenth century their principal stronghold near Bourges; not far from it is the little town of Bourbon-d'Archambault, a thermal residence. The waters of this little place were much the fashion in old times. During the season of 1786, Mademoiselle de Condé became acquainted there with a gentleman of Brittany, Louis-Marc Magon, Marquis de la Gervaisais. He was an officer, twenty-one years old, and was taking the waters in order to cure completely a wound he had received. He was not handsome, nor brilliant; was timid, even shy; fond of literature, and himself a writer. Louise de Condé found him "very different from the others" whom she used to see at the suppers at Chantilly. She felt for him a growing interest, which by degrees ended in love. She never thought of marrying him; it did not enter her mind for an instant that she could do so. They spent several weeks together, in the liberty of a watering-place, exchanging ideas on every subject. They made together dreams which they knew could never be realized. They played comedy together on an amateur stage of the Prince de Condé's. The young officer himself wrote a comedy for the occasion: "L'Impromptu de Village." He veiled in it his own sentiments and those of the Princess. The Prince de Condé easily discovered the nature of his daughter's sentiments. When they returned to Paris, and La Gervaisais had returned to his garrison, they wrote to each other. He obtained permission to go to Paris, but he did not stay long. People were beginning to talk; the reputation of the Princess was in question; she would not marry Gervaisais, and she felt that she must renounce the pleasure of seeing him. She wrote him a letter which was a supreme adieu; he made no reproaches; the rupture was complete. He left the army, travelled, and married. (He died as late as 1838.)

Louise de Condé was named abbess of the noble chapter of Saint-Peter of Remiremont. The thirty-two nuns of this old abbey had a very mundane life; all that was required to enter it were proofs of a very ancient nobility. The Princess made a solemn entry in 1787; she was to be the last abbess. She was with her father at Chantilly on the 14th of July, 1789, when the news of the fall of the Bastille was announced to them; on the 17th, the Condés, with some retainers on horseback, and the Princess de Condé in a carriage, left Chantilly for Péronne. The Princess had to take in her carriage Mme. de Monaco. "Natural antipathy and legitimate prejudices disappeared in this situation, in the presence of imminent danger and a common devotion." On the road beyond Péronne, the Condés met the two young sons of the Count d'Artois, the Duke de Berri and the Duke d'Angoulême, accompanied by their governor. "They thought that they were going to a review, and were very gay, while they were conducted out of France to join their parents, who had fled. All along the road, as far as the frontier, cries were heard of 'Vive le Tiers!' and 'À bas la noblesse!'"

We will not follow the Princess de Condé in her numerous peregrinations during the emigration. M. de Ségur enters into minute details on this rather checkered part of her existence, spent in so many different places, finally a little more tranquil in Eng-

land. After the Restoration, she was allowed to found an order on the site of the Temple, which had been the prison of Louis XVI. and his family, the "Order of Perpetual Adoration." She kept her name of Sœur Marie Joseph de Miséricorde. Her life becomes completely veiled; she sees little even of her family; she is the Prioreess of the Temple, and is occupied solely with her little flock. She fell ill in the beginning of 1824, and died peacefully, without great suffering, on the 10th of March.

Correspondence.

THE FILIPINO'S PASSION FOR LIBERTY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: This note from Guyau's 'Education and Heredity,' p. 101, seems worth reprinting:

"What has always distinguished the savages of the Philippines from the other Polynesian races is their indomitable passion for liberty. In a massacre on the island of Luzon, made by native soldiers under the order of a Spanish officer, a little black, of about three years old, was seized by the troops and brought to Manila. An American obtained permission from the Government to adopt him, and he was baptized under the name of Pedrito. As soon as he was old enough, efforts were made to give him all the instruction that could be obtained in that remote land. The old residents of the island, knowing the character of the Negritos, laughed in their sleeves at the attempts made to civilize the lad, and predicted that sooner or later the youth would return to his native mountains. Thereupon his adopted father announced that he would take Pedrito to Europe. He took him to Paris and London, and only returned after two years of travel. On his return, Pedrito spoke Spanish, French, and English with all the facility with which the black races are gifted; he wore thin patent-leather boots, and everybody in Manila still remembers the grave manner, worthy of any gentleman, with which he received the first advances of those who had not been introduced to him."

"Two years had scarcely elapsed after his return from Europe when he disappeared from the house of his patron. Those who had laughed now had their hour of triumph. It would probably never have been known what had become of the adopted child of the philanthropic Yankee, if a European had not come across him in a remarkable way. A Prussian naturalist, a relative of the celebrated Humboldt, resolved to make the ascent of Mount Marivella, a mountain not far from Manila. He had almost reached the summit of the peak when he suddenly saw before him a swarm of little blacks. The Prussian prepared to sketch a few faces, when one of the savages came forward and smiled, and asked him in English if he knew an American in Manila of the name of Graham. It was our Pedrito. He told his whole story, and when he had ended, the naturalist in vain endeavored to persuade him to return with him to Manila.—Vide *Revue des Deux Mondes*, June 15th, 1869."

If to catch them in infancy and tenderly nurture them to years of discretion, if to baptize them, teach them French and English, and put them into thin patent-leather shoes, is not going to tame them, how can we hope that our Gatlings in a brief month or two will quell their "indomitable passion for liberty"? Verily it is a strange burden the white man has taken upon himself.

S. M. ILSLEY.

SANTA BARBARA, CAL., March 20, 1899.

THE GREEK FOR "JINGO."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The following passage from Isocrates

(*De Pace*, §12) is not inappropriate in these days:

"I am surprised that the older men no longer remember, and that the younger ones have not heard from anybody, that we never yet suffered any evil from following those who advised us to maintain peace; whereas, because of those who lightly [or 'recklessly,' as *peblon* may be translated] choose war we have before now found ourselves involved in many and serious disasters."

Respectfully, ADDISON HOGUE.
WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY,
LEXINGTON, VA.

FACSIMILES OF GREEK AND LATIN MSS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: At the meeting of librarians held in Chicago in 1893, it was proposed by Dr. Hartung of Halle that an association be formed for the publication of photographic reproductions of important Greek and Latin manuscripts. The plan of an association fell through, chiefly for financial reasons; but at the suggestion of the late Dr. Du Rieu of the University Library at Leyden, Mr. A. W. Sijthoff undertook to publish, at his own risk and expense, twelve important manuscripts. Since the death of Dr. Du Rieu his successor in the directorship of the University Library, Dr. S. G. De Vries, is acting as editor-in-chief of the series. Two volumes have appeared ('*Vetus Testamentum Graece*, codicis Sarraviani-Colbertini quae supersunt,' with preface by Henri Omont, and '*Codex Bernensis 363*,' with preface by Hermann Hagen), and the third volume ('*Plato: Codex Oxoniensis Clarkianus 39*,' with preface by Thomas W. Allen) is nearly ready.

The publication of the series of manuscripts was undertaken with the hope that those libraries and institutions of learning which could not expect to possess important manuscripts in the original, would be glad to obtain accurate reproductions. Certainly nothing could be of greater advantage to palaeographical and text-critical studies in America than the possession by our libraries and universities of such reproductions as those published by Mr. Sijthoff. The expense of publication is so great that the series cannot be continued without loss unless the sale of the volumes is increased. Each volume costs from \$40 to \$50, but the purchase of one volume does not bind the purchaser to subscribe for the series. Orders may be sent to Mr. A. W. Sijthoff, Leyden.

Believing that it is of special importance to American scholars that the reproduction of important manuscripts be continued, I venture to ask you to publish this letter.

Yours truly, HAROLD N. FOWLER.

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY,
CLEVELAND, O., March 24, 1899.

"THE LAW OF THE ROAD."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In connection with the interesting correspondence in your columns as to "the law of the road," I notice a couple of references to Canada that are not altogether accurate. The law in Ontario is, and always has been, "Turn to the right on meeting, and pass on the left when overtaking." The first statute to that effect was passed in 1853 and has remained practically unchanged to the present day. A report on early town meetings is in preparation in this department.

and the following entries taken therefrom may be of interest:

"Newark (Niagara) 5th March, 1797: Resolved, That all teams, carriages, etc., coming to town should keep the road, and those going from town to turn out for them."

"Niagara, 7th March, 1808: Resolved, That carriages on meeting should give half the road, keeping the right-hand side."

It will be seen, therefore, that the practice in Ontario is that of the Northern States, whence the first settlers came. In Nova Scotia, I believe, the English custom was adopted, and is still followed.

It may be of interest also to know that, on double-tracking its line, the Grand Trunk Railroad adopted the English practice of running on the left-hand track.

C. C. JAMES.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
TORONTO, March 25, 1899.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your correspondent Mr. E. F. Merriam is certainly at least partially in error when he says in your issue of March 23, "In Canada the English custom of keeping to the left is retained." Born and raised in the province of Ontario, I never heard of such a custom being in vogue there, and I know that it is not in the province of Quebec. I do not dispute the observance of the rule in St. John, N. B., but I learned of it only from the editorial note in a recent number of your paper.—Respectfully,

A. M. DONOVAN.

DETROIT, MICH., March 25, 1899.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The universal rule of the road in Halifax and throughout this province, the rule recognized by law, is to turn to the left on meeting. It is one of the first things the visitor notices. Here the English tradition has been unbroken. The same rule is very strictly enforced in Jamaica.

Yours, etc.,

A. MACMECHAN.

DALHOUSIE COLLEGE,
HALIFAX, N. S., March 18, 1899.

A CORRECTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your review of my 'Romanticism' (March 16), you say: "The author's uncertainty as to the spelling of the name 'Wharton' ('Wharton' at pp. 179, 307, etc.) will cause confusion to readers who do not know that the two are variant writings of the same name."

But they are not variant writings of the same name. The Wharton mentioned on pp. 179 and 307 was Dr. Thomas Wharton of Old Park, near Durham, Gray's lifelong friend and correspondent.

If your reviewer catches me anywhere bestowing the aspirate upon Joseph or Thomas Wharton, I shall beg him to lay the blame upon the printer.

HENRY A. BEERS.

NEW HAVEN, March 20, 1899.

[The error is ours. The fact that Prof. Beers refers to Dr. Wharton (p. 179) as the "Rev. Thomas Wharton," assisted in misleading us. Thomas Wharton was an M.D.; Thomas Wharton a B.D. Moreover, the name "Wharton" does not appear in the index to the work under review.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

Macmillan Co. have nearly ready 'Electricity in Town and Country Houses,' by Percy E. Scrutton, with illustrations; and 'The American Art Annual,' edited by Florence N. Levy, and including a complete record of painters, their works for 1898, directories of art dealers, etc., etc.

M. F. Mansfield & A. Wessels have in preparation 'A Glossary to Accompany Departmental Ditties as Written by Rudyard Kipling,' and 'The Religion of Mr. Kipling,' by W. B. Parker.

A new edition of Maupassant's 'Pierre and Jean,' translated by Hugh Craig and illustrated, is forthcoming from Brentano's.

'Early Chapters in Science,' by Mrs. Awary, will shortly be published by E. P. Dutton & Co.

A. C. McClurg & Co. have in press 'The Bee People,' by Margaret Warner Morley.

A 'Handbook of Labor Literature,' compiled by Miss Helen Marot of the Free Library of Economics and Political Science, Philadelphia, and 'Pauperizing the Rich,' by Alfred J. Ferris, are to be issued by T. S. Leach & Co., Philadelphia.

The bound volumes for 1898 of *Harper's Round Table, Magazine, Weekly*, and *Bazar* make comprehensively a solid library of pictorial chronicle and entertainment. The *Magazine* we have epitomized from month to month. The *Weekly* opened at peace with all the world, with a cartoon showing a pretty legacy to the new year of Dingley deficit, Hawaii, and Cuba (as an object of sympathy). To the cartoonist our fraudulent pensions seemed next the most inviting butt in the following five weeks. The sending of the *Maïne* to Havana was recorded as a wise and friendly measure for the support of Blanco. Its destruction in February did not make the *Weekly* Jingoish. By the middle of March the cartoonist found his cue in "fifty millions for defence"; towards the end of April in "Cuba Libre." From that date, Mr. Carl Schurz's signed weekly article disappeared, and then the war and "expansion" perforce took outward possession of the paper, and the cartoonist ends with the white elephant of our Eastern Problem as 1898's legacy to 1899. The vicious circle of the year's politics is complete.

The *Bazar* increasingly shows that its woman's world is not so remote from man's as it once was. Mr. T. W. Higginson continues to hyphen them with his "Women and Men" articles; and, of course, the late war involved the sympathies and humane activities of the non-combatant sex. The demise of Gladstone and Bismarck forced attention as surely as that of the Queens of Denmark and Austria; of William Black as of Maria Louise Pool. Then in the great portrait gallery of Red Cross nurses, of the heads of the higher education for women, of officers of women's clubs and federation of clubs, one remarks the little group of women street-car conductors illustrating the experiment made at Chillicothe, Ohio.

With 'Denis Duval' (the volume including also the "Roundabout Papers," "Lovel, the Widower," and "The Wolves and the Lamb"), we come to the twelfth of the thirteen volumes of the Biographical Thackeray (Harpers). Mrs. Ritchie's notes on her father's life apparently end here. A great deal of delightful material, old and new, has been given by her in the several introduc-

tions, and it seems but a reasonable demand on the publishers that the whole should be bound up and sold separately, a formal life of Thackeray being out of the question. In no single introduction of the twelve, we think, has the true personal note of the man and the writer been more clearly sounded than in the present one. Mrs. Ritchie quotes many striking tributes to Thackeray; nothing, perhaps, more satisfactory both as tribute and criticism than this from Cardinal Newman: "His last fugitive pieces ["Roundabout Papers"] in the *Cornhill* were almost sermons." *O si sic omnes!*

All signs fall if the bulky volume, 'Live Questions,' stamped in silver on the back, and comprising the papers, speeches, interviews, messages, and apologia of ex-Gov. Altgeld of Illinois, is not calculated to cause insomnia in Col. Bryan. As McKinley's ambition was foreshadowed in a similar compilation, and Bryan's in yet another, so this anarchistic-minded and looking Illinois politician is apparently setting his cap for a Presidential nomination. Nor is he unmindful of Mrs. Bryan's part in her husband's campaign, for he accompanies his own portrait with that of Mrs. Altgeld. Like the rival "literature" just mentioned, this volume is not readable in any intellectual sense; but it is not to be despised by those who wish to know what way we are drifting.

Under the title of the 'Life and Sayings of Rāmakrishna' (Charles Scribner's Sons), the well-known missionary Vivekānanda has collected what is known of his spiritual master's earthly career and the logia attributed to him. The life is that of the ordinary Hindu visionary and theosophist, one so ignorant that he cannot read Sanskrit, so inspired that he instructs the most learned in the deeper wisdom of Hindu philosophy. He is not a charlatan, he is spiritual, but he is essentially an insane man, credited with divinity in which he himself believes; a mystic of the usual type, who yet speaks in rather clever sayings to the adoring multitude. Vivekānanda gives us a collection of nearly four hundred of these winged words. Many of them are clearly inspired, as, for instance: "The Lord can pass an elephant through the eye of a needle"; for, like all the modern teachers of India, Rāmakrishna drew his inspiration from all sides. Of the longer sayings showing considerable shrewdness there is space to quote only one. The Master said: "Everything that exists is God." The pupil understood it not in the true spirit. While passing through a street he met with an elephant. The driver (on the elephant's head) shouted "Move away!" The pupil said, "I am God, so is the elephant also God. What fear has God of himself?" Thinking thus he did not move. At last the elephant dashed him aside. He was hurt, and going back to the Master he related the adventure. The Master said, "All right, You are God. The elephant is God also; but God in the shape of the elephant-driver was warning you also from above. Why did you not pay heed to his warnings?" The book is edited by Prof. Max Müller, who has contributed an introduction and put his own name on the title-page, though Vivekānanda is the real author.

Those interested in Sanskrit literature will find a trustworthy summary of the 'Rāmāyana' and 'Mahābhārata' in a little book by J. C. Oman, principal of Khalsa College, Amritsar (London: George Bell & Sons; New York: Macmillan). The author writes with temp-

pered admiration and with a knowledge of Hindu character not always possessed by those who criticise Hindu literature. This "sketch of a great picture," as it is modestly called, lies midway between the skeleton analysis that is usually given in books on Hindu literature, and a complete translation. The latter fills several large volumes, but this one little duodecimo, representing very fairly the chief incidents and giving a complete outline of the two great epics of India, may be recommended as useful to all save Sanskrit scholars, for whom, however, the book is not intended.

The sixth volume of Dr. Hans Blum's 'Fürst Bismarck und seine Zeit' (Munich: Beck) ended with the celebration of Bismarck's eightieth birthday in 1895 and was intended to be the conclusion of the work. After the death of the illustrious statesman, the author and publisher deemed it their duty to issue an additional volume describing the events of his life till the time of his decease. The contents of the seventh volume consist chiefly of a record of private and personal incidents, interspersed with expressions of opinion concerning public affairs and questions of internal politics, derived principally from the columns of the *Hamburger Nachrichten*, the mouthpiece of the retired Imperial Chancellor. An excellent index to all seven volumes is especially welcome, and greatly enhances the value of this popular biography.

Dr. Herman Schell, Professor of Apologetics in the University of Würzburg, published two pamphlets entitled 'Der Katholicismus als Prinzip des Fortschrittes' and 'Die Neue Zeit und der Alte Glaube,' which are liberal and progressive in spirit and endorse the tendency known as "Americanism" in the Catholic Church. These writings, after having passed rapidly through several editions, have now been placed on the Index Expurgatorius and are thus officially forbidden to the faithful. This attempt of Italian Jesuits, of whom the Index Congregation is principally composed, to put the works of a German scholar under ban, has created intense excitement in Würzburg, and called forth loud protests of students and prominent citizens against such a measure. On entering his lecture-room, Prof. Schell was the object of enthusiastic ovations on the part of his admirers, who were so numerous that not half of them could gain admittance, so that it was necessary to adjourn to the *auditorium maximum* of the University, which also proved to be too small to receive them. He assured his hearers that he should hold fast to his views as already expressed, and remain "an unswerving champion of the truth," devoting his life to its defence. Three days later, however, Prof. Schell's fortune failed him, and he tamely and unreservedly submitted to the arbitrary decree of the Index Congregation, and promised to bring his teachings into harmony with the decisions of the papal hierarchy.

While the new German civil code, which will enter into force on January 1, 1900, does not in every respect fulfil the wishes of the most advanced advocates of the woman's cause, a perusal of Prof. Dr. Planck's brief comments on some of the more important paragraphs of the new law ('Die rechtliche Stellung der Frau nach dem bürgerlichen Gesetzbuche,' Göttingen) will convince any candid person that, in the main, the new law greatly improves the legal status of women in Germany. Thus, the changes from

older statutes relating to the right of married women to hold property, or engage in business of their own, are all in their favor, and it is gratifying to notice how generally a fair and humane spirit seems to have guided the lawmakers in their difficult task.

The *National Geographic Magazine* (Washington) for March contains an historical sketch of the original territory of the United States, by David J. Hill, Assistant Secretary of State, in which he quotes this characteristic saying of Franklin's to Jay on the Spanish claim to control over the Mississippi: "Poor as we are, yet, as I know we shall be rich, I would rather buy at a great price their right on the Mississippi than sell a drop of its waters. A neighbor might as well ask me to sell my street door." There is also a topographical and geological description of Porto Rico, by R. T. Hill of the United States Geological Survey, with illustrations of scenery.

The natural resources of the Barren Lands of Canada are discussed, in a paper by J. B. Tyrrell, in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for March. The territory treated lies to the west of Hudson's Bay and north of the line of the mean summer temperature of 50 degrees F., and occupies an area of about 400,000 square miles. "In its general character the country is a vast undulating plain, underlain by a stony clay, and covered with short grass or deciduous Arctic plants." In it have been discovered large belts of rock containing iron and copper; the latter seeming to extend for about 500 miles along the Arctic coast, both east and west of the Coppermine River. A narrative of zoological explorations last summer in the Barents Sea is by W. S. Bruce. Both papers are illustrated.

The Fifteenth Annual Report of the Geographical Society of Berne contains an account of the changes in the Canton of Zurich since the middle of the seventeenth century observed in the position and extent of lakes and pools, of the forests and of vine-growth. There is, besides, a description of the Danube between Belgrade and the Iron Gates. Some interesting letters written from Algeria in 1840, valuable for their graphic pictures of its condition at that time and of its inhabitants, are published in the Sixteenth Report, for the year 1897. This further contains a paper by Dr. H. Zahler on disease in the popular beliefs of the Simmenthal, in the Bernese Oberland. The material is drawn from oral sources and from ancient manuscripts. It includes a great number of quaint remedies against and methods of treating various diseases, as well as curious receipts and much witch lore and other superstitious formulae. These popular beliefs, the author holds, are the remains of scientific systems, partly derived from the Greek and Roman times and partly from the ancient Germans. They have not been invented or discovered by the people themselves, but are to be traced to a foreign origin.

"Shakspeare's Pericles and Apollonius of Tyre" is the title of a paper contributed to the current number of the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society by Albert H. Smyth. He gives an historical sketch of the "Apollonius Saga," from which the story is drawn, from its untraced origin in the late sophistic romance of Greece through a long line of translations, imitations, ballads, and plays to its culmination in Shakspeare's "Pericles, Prince of Tyre." He con-

siders it remarkable that a story known to almost every European language should have preserved an almost unaltered integrity for more than a thousand years. Shakspeare is the first narrator to change the name of the hero. A series of correlated stories is discussed, and in an appendix is given in full the 'Gesta Romanorum' text. In the same number are two papers by Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, entitled, "The Linguistic Cartography of the Chaco Region," and "On Two Unclassified Recent Vocabularies from South America."

The *Milan Perseverance* of February 12 contains an article, five columns in length, by Michele Rajna of the Brera Observatory, regarding the vexed question of the exact date of the twentieth century. This learned astronomer, fortifying his position with astronomical and mathematical calculations, with numerous profound chronological citations, affirms that the nineteenth century will close with the year 1900. But he does not cherish the hope that he has definitely settled the prolonged discussion, for he himself reminds his readers that volumes were written in the year 1700 regarding the exact beginning of the change in the century, and again in 1800.

Another new star has been discovered at the Harvard Observatory, again by Mrs. Fleming, to whom we are already indebted for five of the six new stars found since 1886. This latest comer in the stellar family is in the constellation Sagittarius. An examination of the plates shows that a year ago it was of the fifth magnitude, but had sunk a month later, in April, to the eighth. A photograph taken a few days ago, on March 9, shows it as still fainter, having a brightness of only the tenth magnitude. Its spectrum, exhibiting fourteen bright lines, greatly resembles that of other new stars.

Prof. Edward C. Pickering, director of the Harvard Observatory, notifies the discovery, by his brother William, of a new and ninth satellite of the planet Saturn. It adds another to the triumphs of photography in the service of astronomy, the new body having been found on four plates exposed with the Bruce telescope at Arequipa in Peru. This additional moon of Saturn probably does not exceed 300 miles in diameter, and is so faint that but few of the great telescopes at present in existence are powerful enough to disclose it. Japetus, discovered at the Paris Observatory in 1671 by Dominique Cassini, has hitherto been regarded as Saturn's outermost moon, being at a distance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions of miles from the planet, and having a period of 79 1-3 days. But the new satellite is three and one-half times more distant than Japetus, and it consumes almost a year and a half in going once completely round Saturn. More than half a century has elapsed since a new satellite was added to the Saturnian system; the seventh moon, Hyperion, having been found by Prof. W. C. Bond at Harvard, on September 16, 1848.

The Franco-American Committee formed in 1896 is preparing, for Americans intending to study in France, a sort of guide which will give information of a general nature on the system and regulations of higher education in France, as well as special practical hints for foreign students. Inquiry may be made of the Corresponding Secretary of the committee, M. Henri Bréal, No. 70 Rue d'Assas, Paris.

Gen. Greeley has had reproduced for the benefit of the Signal Corps a large general

map of the Philippines, dated Manila, 1897, showing telegraphic and cable lines, light-houses, etc., besides the political and, more or less crudely, the physical geography. There are no soundings given.

A monument to the late Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, author of a 'History of New-York,' and editor of the *Magazine of American History*, is contemplated. Subscriptions to the fund may be sent to Mrs. Edward E. Salisbury, New Haven, Conn.

—A work almost appalling in the magnitude of its conception has been undertaken, by subscription, by R. Herndon Co., Boston, under the title, 'Universities and Their Sons.' The initial volume is one of five constituting the first series only, yet it counts, with the indexes, 738 quarto pages. It and the succeeding four deal with Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Columbia; and if the term "university" is not to be construed rigidly, the vista is colossal. The general editorship has been confided to Gen. Joshua L. Chamberlain, former President of Bowdoin College and Governor of Maine, and the aim of the series is declared to be not merely a summary history and exhibition of each university in its several departments and conscious life, but a demonstration of "the practical influence which these institutions of learning have had . . . in what we call 'business,' extending to industrial and commercial lines, and in fact to all that expresses itself in the character and prosperity of a nation." While the second volume will consist of biographical sketches of the personnel of the several university administrations, the remaining three will be composed of selected biographies of the "Sons"—and in this lies the "Pudels Kern" of the enterprise on its pecuniary side, as in similar cases. Needless to add that portraits will accompany the sketches when practicable. Of these portions no one can speak now. What is before us has been well planned and handsomely carried out. The characterization of Harvard has been executed by Mr. W. R. Thayer, editor of the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*; of Yale, by Prof. Charles Henry Smith; of Princeton, by Prof. John DeWitt and Mr. J. L. Williams; of Columbia, by Dean Van Amringe. With a natural difference in bulk as in literary quality, it may be said that the letter-press is altogether good, convenient for reference, and trustworthy. The illustrations are excellent and most abundant, and generally run parallel in the four divisions. The start, therefore, is all that could be desired.

—Mary Antin, a young Russian Jewess, emigrated to this country at the age of eleven, accompanying her mother, two sisters, and a brother, to rejoin the father already here. The child's story has just been published with a foreword from the pen of I. Zangwill, who disclaims any credit for having discovered an infant phenomenon; but he does consider the record as saved from the emptiness of embryonic thinking by being a spontaneous account of a real experience, the greatest in the child's life. Written in Yiddish as she travelled "From Plotzk to Boston," it was, two years later, or when Mary Antin was thirteen, translated into English remarkable in quality for any child, but particularly for one to whom the intricacies of the new tongue were so extremely novel. Two years still later, being now but fifteen, the young girl has written a prefatory note to the journal, which is publish-

ed, under the above title, by W. B. Clarke of Boston. The profits, if any, are to be devoted to her farther education. Plotzk is in the central western portion of Russia, on the Duna River, and the fever of emigration to America had struck the whole region. The father of Mary Antin set out three years ahead of his family, and, during that time, hope and doubt and suspense were the portion of those left behind. At last the welcome summons came; and very soon the crowd of emigrants started forth upon their travels, all unknowing what lay before, and with the innocence of children as to how the coming experiences were to be met. The crowded, uncomfortable cars, the woes of quarantine detention when leaving the Russian frontier, amazement at the size and noise of Berlin, the drive across Hamburg, the days of enforced waiting before embarkation, the coming of Passover and the trembling doubt as to whether the emigrants would be allowed to keep the feast as its strict rules enjoined; the glad reception of the summons to go on board the *Polynesia*, and the first night at sea—all are set down with the enthusiasm of a child, and with much more than a child's power to express great experiences. Her narrative of the long voyage, her own emotions, what the ocean said to her, the first sight of land after seventeen days, the noise and confusion, the joy when "papa" was distinguished upon the wharf in Boston, after years of longing for his face, the official delays in landing, and then the rush, as six wild beings clung together, "bound by a common bond of tender joy"—all this is certainly what Mr. Zangwill calls it, "the raw stuff of art."

—Not unwarned, but unterrified, by the failures of a long line of hardy experimenters, Mr. W. J. Stone of King's College, Cambridge, essays once again the impossible, in a pamphlet entitled 'On the Use of the Classical Metres in English' (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde). After some fifty pages of discussion and of laying down of rules of quantity—not uninteresting in themselves—he offers, as specimens of the results of his methods, a version of some hundred lines of the *Nausicaa* episode in the 'Odyssey,' and two of famous epigrams. By his fruits let him be known; the beautiful lament for Heracitus appears in the following garb:

"Come hither, Heracitus, a word of thy death, awaking
Me to sorrow, and I thought upon how together
We would see the sun out sweet-counselling: all
That is of thee.
Dear Halicarnassian, long, long ago is ashes;
But thy nightingales will abide with us; on them
Of all things
Else the coming ravisher will not ever set his
hand."

How to scan these 'Elegiacs' will be a pleasant little puzzle for the long winter evenings spent round many a classic lamp. The reader may rest assured that they strictly conform to Mr. Stone's "rules"; and Mr. Stone may haply some day learn that poetry is verse written by poets—not words weighed and measured by any system whatsoever.

—Johnston and Robertson's 'Historical Geography of the Clans of Scotland,' which was originally issued in 1872, has just reached its third edition (Edinburgh: W. & A. K. Johnston) under the care of Mr. William Kirk Dickson. The work has long been out of print, and is reproduced now, with certain changes, "in response to numerous inquiries." A slight glance at the contents will serve to show why the early editions were at once absorbed and why a new one is called

for. Every true Highlander is interested in at least his own family history; and wherever the clan feeling is combined in the slightest degree with the historical sense, this book will be demanded. Its most conspicuous feature is a large folding map (32 inches by 24) which includes the whole of Scotland, and gives the clan territories in their relations both to the Lowlands and to the physical aspects of the Highlands. Following this come seven other clearly executed maps or plans, several full-page reproductions of portraits (Montrose, Dundee, and the two Pretenders), 175 pages of documents, illustrative text, etc., a bibliography of books on the Highland campaigns, and a full index. Such a combination of *utile dulci* cannot fail to capture the Scotchman or the historian. Not only are the clans represented in a state of quiescence, occupying certain districts, but copious notices of their military activity are added to the purely topographical description. Their badges are given both in Gaelic and in English, and also their war-cries. Among documents, Gen. Wade's Report on the Highlands in 1724 and the Disarmament Act in 1746 are cited in full. Finally, we should observe that the period to which the territorial subdivisions of the large map refer is the end of the sixteenth century. "This early date was selected because then most of the Highland tribes were still in occupation of the lands which they had inherited from their forefathers. During the troubles of the following century some of the weaker clans were deprived of their possessions by their stronger neighbors." We shall be much surprised if this atlas, in its improved and supplemented form, does not meet with the same success which attended the earlier editions.

—The Asiatic Society of Japan, which for the past year or two seemed to be in a moribund condition, has recently renewed its life and shows fresh vigor. Excellent papers have been presented on early English intercourse with Japan and on the moral training of the Japanese feudal nobility, especially in Mito. These will be published. The supplement to volume xxiv., now at hand, gives a valuable list of plants from Formosa, by Augustine Henry, who adds preliminary remarks on the geography, flora, and economic botany of the island. Formosa, lying between parallels 22 and 25 of north latitude, has an area of about 15,000 square miles; its length being 235 miles and its greatest width 90 miles. It is a continental island, for in recent geological times it was connected with the mainland of China. Hence the flora, as thus far studied, is mainly Chinese in character. There are no exceptional types of vegetation known, and not a single genus peculiar to the island has as yet been discovered. Westwardly is the Formosa channel, very shallow and nowhere deeper than 100 fathoms. On the Pacific side, however, at a few rods from the shore the lead shows a thousand fathoms, and further out is an abyss of enormous depth. The highest cliffs in the world are on this eastward side, which indeed is a great mountain mass rising in peaks from nine to thirteen thousand feet high. The western half of the island is an alluvial plain, only slightly elevated above the sea. The plants of the plain are those of India and South China, while those on the mountains are near of kin to those in Central Japan and China. There is no marked winter season, and flowers are found in pre-

fusion at Christmas time. Besides the cereals and ordinary crops, which are the same as those in South China, are camphor, tea, indigo, textile fibres in amazing variety, tumeric, dye-yam, rattan, mats, soap-fruits, rice-paper pith, and timber of almost every imaginable sort. Mr. Henry's pamphlet, though mainly a catalogue, with here and there illuminating comment, does but whet our curiosity for more, because the mountainous half of the island is practically unexplored. Indeed, he modestly calculates that only half of the plants of the island are now known. It is interesting to note that at least twenty of the very important Formosan plants known to the materia medica are nearly all of American origin. These have been introduced by the agency of man, and are now indistinguishable, except by their history, from the native flora.

—There is general rejoicing in Washington among the better sort, both within and outside of the Library of Congress, at the appointment of Mr. Putnam to the headship, and general consternation among those of the Library employees who regard the public service as the public trough. Mr. Putnam's acceptance is said to have at once increased the efficiency of the force 10 per cent. It is a melancholy instance of the way of doing things in Washington, and of the public's utter lack of comprehension of a great library's needs, that, until Mr. Barrows was rejected, not one of the candidates supported by Senators and Representatives for the direction of the most important library in the country had any library training, any library experience, or any other proved fitness for the place. Fortunately, the reputation of the country in a bibliothecal way has never depended on the national or the State libraries. It has been firmly established by our city and town libraries. They are ahead, far ahead, of those of any other country. But the National Library lags as far behind. In a building, to be sure—the least important factor in library success—the National Library is in the van. No great library building in the world surpasses it, or perhaps equals it, in adaptation to library purposes. In the other factors, the store of books, the system, the personnel, there has been much to desire. But now a capable head will soon bring the personnel and the system where they should be, and then Congress can hardly fail to place in his hands money enough to make the store of books worthy of a great nation. Within the country one of the best results of the appointment will be its ultimate effect on State libraries. When the head of the National Library is appointed for merit, it must be that in time our States will become ashamed of the way in which the office of State Librarian has been thrown about as a reward for political service.

FUR AND WHISKEY IN THE NORTH-WEST.

Forty Years a Fur-Trader on the Upper Missouri: The Personal Narrative of Charles Larpenteur, 1833-1872. Edited, with many critical notes, by Elliott Coues. In 2 vols. New York: Francis P. Harper. 1898. Pp. xxvii, 473. Maps, views, and portraits.

Fur lay at the first foundation of the United States. The facsimile "May Flower Log," p. 67, relates that, within a year of

the Plymouth landing, a party who "went out altogether unprovided for trade," brought home two hogsheds of beaver bought for a few trifles, and estimated worth nearly £500. Soon afterward there is mention of 3,366 weight of beaver, "much of it coat-beaver which yielded 20s. per pound, and some of it above." But whereas, in the founding of New England, codfish was a fellow-factor with beaver, in the Mississippi valley fur had no such formidable rival. Two young fur-traders founded St. Louis in 1763. A voyage of more than three months up from New Orleans had convinced them that a new base for their industry was needed, nearer the habitat of fur-bearing animals. One of those founders, Auguste Chouteau, lived in St. Louis sixty-six years. He or his kindred established fur stations which were germs of Kansas City, St. Joseph, and other towns on the Missouri-Mississippi all along up to St. Paul and Fort Benton—the latter, 3,500 miles from the dual river mouth. Many of these stations became sites of Government posts; more developed into centres of agriculture, manufactures, or mediterranean thoroughfare and commerce. The history of the great valley thus twining its roots and rootlets amid fur industries, the rise and progress of those industries are some of the most important features in Western annals.

No man has done so much as Dr. Coues to accumulate and popularize knowledge on this subject. His new edition of Lewis and Clark illuminated every page of the old one, either from the original manuscripts or by countless collateral notes. The light thus thrown on the great fur rivers was scarcely greater than that he shed on the fur mountains and prairies by his three volumes on Pike, supplemented by another on Fowler. Similar was his illumination of the upper region where Pike had shown us only dawn-ing rays. Thanks to the Thompson and Henry explorations, Dr. Coues could display the Canadian belt from Lake Superior to the mouth of the Columbia in all its amplitude, and that beginning in the eighteenth century. The work now before us on Larpenteur brings the series up to thirteen volumes, "congruing," a Shaksperian might say, "in a full and natural close, like music."

The six volumes from Larpenteur, Fowler, and Henry were all compiled from the original manuscripts of their authors, and had never before been printed. But for Dr. Coues, it is not likely they would any of them have been published at all. Their hair-breadth escapes before they came into his custody must soon have turned into catastrophes, and our zest in reading the pages is doubled by thinking how long their survival hung on an attenuated thread. The editor's persistence in quest of new material for building up the history of the American West during its infantile decades is noteworthy, and deserved the astonishing success which has crowned his labors. His finds within his chosen fields seem analogous to the recent classical discoveries through Egyptian excavations, and must encourage him to be sanguine of further success where others have despaird.

In our critical era, the narrative of Larpenteur will seem rather incredible to many, but not after reading the confirmations strong as proofs from Holy Writ which Dr. Coues has gleaned in undesigned coincidences of many varieties and from a cloud of witnesses. In this regard his annotations are on the model of Paley's 'Horse Pauline'

—a work we fear he has never read. Dr. Coues's text is made up from brief notes which had been jotted down all along during Larpenteur's active life, and from a large volume covering the same ground and written out by him in his last years. It was, however, a clerical copy of this journal which was first discovered. Rich, racy idioms abound throughout, which readers feel must have come hot from the heart of the adventurous frontiersman; but they are imbedded in matter of quite another style. Hence we are harassed by doubts on many a page how far we are perusing the genuine protevangelium. These doubts are doubled by a remark of the editor that "there was scarcely a sentence in all the original writing that did not need to be recast to some extent" (p. xxvi). The autobiographer may overrate his own exploits, like the fly on a coach-wheel crying, What a dust we kick up! But for such an infirmity we can make allowance, and know the editor has no share in that.

Larpenteur, when a boy of eleven years, was brought from France to Baltimore, and ten years thereafter was carried off by the Western fever to St. Louis. Five years later, in 1833, when twenty-six, he engaged in the fur trade, in which he persevered with little interruption for forty years, mainly on the upper Missouri and its affluents. His first objective point, the mouth of the Yellowstone, eighteen hundred channel miles above St. Louis, was reached by a circuitous route—so much so that at the Continental Divide it touched on waters which flow into the Pacific. In the course of this journey, Larpenteur, who had been reluctantly accepted as a common hand, gave proof of uncommon capacity and so was put in a position from which an incompetent clerk was displaced.

This first grand march of forty-five men on mule-back lasted five months, and glimpses of its nature we catch from pencillings by the way. Each man, nominally master of three mules, was often mastered by them. One was left behind by his trio and could not overtake them till evening; another was bucked off and thrown on a clump of prickly pear, etc. Days of work were followed by guard duty at night. A sleeper bitten by a mad wolf died of hydrophobia. So did a bull. Another bull, who survived, swam the Missouri with Larpenteur, who was a poor swimmer, hanging on his tail. Wages, in name \$16.50 a month, were seldom anything at all, being spent before due, to eke out a ration more starveling than any in our Spanish war. Flour, sugar, salt, coffee, each were charged at a dollar a pint, and whiskey five dollars. Two guests of honor moved in the company—Dr. Harrison, a son of the future first President of the name, who took the tramp, trusting it would prove as efficacious as the Keely cure for drunkenness, and Capt. Stewart, a Waterloo veteran who went along just for fun. Sometimes a day's march ended at noon for building pens horse-high and bull-strong, lest their animals be spirited away in the night, and the men left as helpless as a bird without wings.

At the end of perils in the wilderness, the Journalist (as Larpenteur calls himself) worked at building a fort until his time of service expired. His employers were then bought out by their rivals, the American Fur Company, into which, thanks to his record, he was taken as a clerk. The headquarters of this corporation were at the

mouth of the Yellowstone, the largest branch of the Missouri and not far from midway between its source and mouth. Their name was Fort Union, or The Big Fort. Here Larpen-
teur sat at the table of a master "who was always dressed in the latest London fashions." The truth is, that fur magnates were not a whit behind mediæval feudal barons, either in irresponsible power or in fuss and feathers. The newcomer was tried in divers tasks and rewarded according to his merits. His promotion on the way up had been to take the place of a drunken clerk, and, thanks to his own temperance, he became a chief agent in Indian traffic. His customers, however, chose to trade by night, and this native preference laid on him trials of watchings among hordes whom he must first cheat and treat, and then "drag out doors by arms and legs" (p. 74). His whiskey was for a time supplied from a distillery secretly set up in the fort, and it was concocted of corn bought of squaws. Moreover, in spite of laws, penalties, officials (civil and military), whiskey came up on every boat from first to last. It seemed to fly in on the wings of the wind.

Larpen-
teur's arrival on the Yellowstone was one year after the first steamer had, in 1832, forced the first passage so far up stream. Nor was there in that earliest era more than one boat each year. One of these long-looked-for arrivals brought smallpox, but no vaccine matter. Vaccination being impossible, Indians were inoculated, but from so bad a subject that they nearly all died. Then followed suspicion, war, and re-
venge on the part of the savages. Our French clerk became more and more serviceable. He took an Indian wife and learned her lan-
guage. His power among natives was thus increased, and he was early and often sent on missions to extend his company's sphere of influence. But his most frequent en-
deavor was to recover stolen horses—a species of property which, being able to carry itself off, as well as a thief and his thievery too—was unaccountably missing; not only after native visitors took leave, but while they were believed to be very distant. Whis-
key sufficed for all the missionary's needs, rendering him everywhere and always *persona grata*. It was his credentials, it ex-
cused from the smoking he detested, it brought to light hidden horses and redeemed them. In going to interviews it proved wise to conceal on the way half his liquor in the earth, as a reserve to be brought forth and turn the scale in a doubtful battle.

His services were whole-souled and ef-
fectual. Advances were made in his stand-
ing and salary, and before five years were over he had been granted half a sabbatical year. This vacation he spent in a journey to his father in Baltimore. In March, 1838, as soon as the ice broke, he, with one friend, started down the Missouri in a canoe with two oarsmen. The danger was no trifle, not only from ice-gorges, but because friendly Indians narrowly missed killing them as foes, and hostiles shot at them and pierced their boat with bullets. In returning, he was six weeks in the saddle in nightly perils of horse thieves, and more than once robbed. The next season, 1839, he was sent down to St. Louis, in charge of a fur fleet, a voyage profitable to his firm; yet he was not re-
engaged until his successor had been cash-
iered for drunkenness. The next spring, however, he steamed up triumphant and ex-
ultant to Fort Union, and was put in com-

mand of a party dispatched far from that base to build a new trading post, though soon recalled because "wanted mighty bad in the liquor department" (p. 175).

In 1846 he was sent up the great river from the Big Fort even above the future site of Fort Benton. About forty men were in his detail, and thirty of them on the river bank, each with a rope over his shoulder, cordelled his boat up stream for seventy days. At his northern goal he built a new fort and reached his glorified hour. But here he made what Dante would call the great refusal, for he would not serve under a West Pointer that was promoted over his head, and was thrown out of service. Henceforth the voyage of his life was bound in shallows and in miseries. He was indeed perpetually reengaged, but year by year threw up his posts, or was thrown out of them. His own independent initiatives when he was the first man to drive a wagon from St. Paul to the Missouri, and to essay passing from the Missouri to the Flatheads, were failures. So were several partnerships in which he engaged. There is no room here for details, but no reader can lay down the book in which they are told to the life. Our final feeling is that the Journalist was of that class who, in the midst of failures, still find in a career without circumscription or confine a zest they could never taste did they abandon their un-
housed free condition.

Larpen-
teur's disclosures make nothing more clear than that whiskey was fitly styled by Robert Hall "distilled damnation." Irving's almighty dollar was nothing compared to its pernicious potency in the fur trade. It broke through or crept through all laws and barriers. It turned every fort and fur camp into a saloon. It defrauded Indians of their peltry, crippled their hunting power, aggra-
vated their fightings and diseases. The rank and file in fur companies it beguiled into a maximum of work for a minimum of wages. It so increased the risks of the fur business that the percentage of dealers who made money grew smaller and smaller, till they could all be counted on one's fingers, like the glean-
ing of grapes when the vintage is done.

There is one link wanting in Dr. Coues's bead-roll which we trust he will supply. It is the journal of D. W. Harmon, a Vermon-
ter, "a servant and afterward a partner in the Northwest Fur Company," during the first two decades of our century—a service ended before Larpen-
teur's began. This production, never printed but once, and that, eighty years ago, and not in a way adapted to keep it be-
fore the people, is almost as unknown as if it had remained in manuscript. It needs elu-
cidation, and evinces the earnest endeavor of a New England Puritan to make the trade in furs a double blessing—to him who gives and him who takes. Alas, that the endeavor, however well meant, proved the proverbial twisting of a rope of sand.

SCOTTISH VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Scottish Vernacular Literature: A Succinct History. By T. F. Henderson. London: David Nutt. 1898.

The want which the present volume is in-
tended to supply has been for some time se-
riously felt by students of literature. A complete history of Scottish vernacular liter-
ature has not before been attempted except in such mere outlines as that of Nichol; and the treatments of parts of the field by Irving and Ross have long been out of date. Prof.

Walker's 'Three Centuries of Scottish Lite-
rature' is the only recent essay in the field, and the period with which he deals falls after the great age of Douglas and Dunbar. What was needed was a survey of the whole ground, in which the author should avail himself of the material made accessible in the publications of the Text Societies, and should test and coördinate the results of the researches embodied in the introductions to these editions. This Mr. Henderson has at-
tempted, and, on the whole, has accomplished satisfactorily.

The volume opens with a severely con-
densed account of the origin and growth of the Lowland Scottish vernacular itself, and in the course of this an outline is given of the history of Scotland down to the reign of David I. Considering the extremely obscure and difficult nature of the history of these early centuries, we could not expect in such a work as the present much fullness of dis-
cussion; but the condensation has been car-
ried so far that readers for whom such a sketch is necessary will find it at points barely intelligible. The account of the dia-
lect itself, however, is adequate, the author following, for the most part, the lines laid down by Dr. Murray. It is to be regretted that, with one exception, no references are given in this chapter to works in which a fuller discussion of the language or the his-
tory is to be found.

Into the main disputed questions connected with the earlier monuments of Scottish poe-
try Mr. Henderson has gone with considera-
ble thoroughness, and in some cases with substantial results. In the matter of the authorship of the Scottish 'Sir Tristrem,' af-
ter a close examination of the passage from Mannyng's Chronicle, he seems to lean to Sir Walter Scott's view that the romance was, after all, written by Thomas of Erce-
lounne. Of the relation of this 'Tristrem' to the Continental versions of the same tale, however, he gives only a vague hint; and when he goes on to describe it as "at least the most elaborate and perfect of the early romances dealing with the story of Tristan and Ysoude," one suspects the thoroughness of his knowledge. This suspicion is con-
firmed more than once as the history pro-
ceeds; for it is precisely where a general knowledge of mediæval literature outside of Britain is required for a satisfactory treat-
ment that the present work is least satisfac-
tory. Thus, the 'Legends of the Saints' and the version of the story of Troy which have been attributed to Barbour, are passed over in a sentence each, no indication being given, save by the phrases "internal evidence" and "insufficient evidence," of the reasons for rejecting them. So, also, the whole question of the sources of Henryson's 'Fables' is dis-
posed of in the parenthesis, "paraphrased from Æsop"—which, if it means anything, is far from a precise indication of the facts of the case. Again, in his account of Dou-
glas's 'Palice of Honour,' Mr. Henderson re-
peats Small's suggestion of a relation be-
tween this poem and Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress,' a suggestion which has absolutely no plausibility in the face of the prevalence of such works as the 'Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine' of Deguillville. Nor is it clear why he should say that "the distinctive note of 'The Palice of Honour' is the intermixture of Sacred History and the Christian Faith with Heathen Mythology" (p. 193), when a glance through the French literature of the centuries immediately preceding the date of

that poem shows that this intermixture is a constant characteristic of that long line of allegories from which 'The Palice of Honour' is descended. The fact is that the value of the work of Mr. Henderson's predecessors in the field of early Scottish literature has been lamentably lessened by this very lack of a perception of its relation to preceding and contemporary Continental literature; and it is disappointing that, in this latest attempt, so scholarly in many respects, we should again have grounds for the same criticism.

On the question of the identity of "Huchown of the Awle Ryale," Mr. Henderson inclines to the usual opinion in favor of Sir Hew of Eglington, his chief reason being that "his name could scarce have been omitted from the death-roll of Dunbar's stately 'Lament for the Makaris,'" and that no other name in that poem seems to fit. But James I.'s name does not occur in that roll, and the assumption that Dunbar meant his catalogue to be exhaustive is hardly justified. More satisfactory is the attempt to clear Barbour of the charge of having wilfully confounded his hero with his hero's grandfather, in order to get rid of the awkwardness of the patriot's early allegiance to the English king. It is pointed out that the misleading words, "the Brwa I spak of ayr" do not occur in Wyntoun's copy of Barbour, and so may be due, not to the poet, but to a copyist. Our author's further argument, that the falsification must have been exposed in Barbour's own genealogy of the Stewarts, seems hardly so strong as he believes, for this genealogy is lost, and we have no proof, since the Stewarts were connected with the Bruces on the female side only, that the 'Stewartis Oryginalle' contained anything about the Bruces farther back than Robert I.

The recent attack by Mr. J. T. T. Brown on James I.'s authorship of 'The Kingis Quair' is met and sufficiently answered. A very vigorous attempt is made to prove that 'Pebilis to the Play' and 'Christie Kirk on the Green' are also the work of James I., and what seems an adequate reply is given to Prof. Skeat's objections on the score of language, metre, and inappropriateness to the character of "the moral and sententious James the First." But Mr. Henderson does not deal with the point that the identification of the poem 'At Beltayne,' which Major ascribes to James, with 'Pebilis to the Play'—an identification about which he says "there is almost no doubt"—is made under the assumption that there was only one poem beginning with these words. Now 'At Beltayne' means, of course, "on May-day"; and when we consider how frequent such a beginning is in the contemporary poems in other languages, it seems easy to believe that half-a-dozen such may have disappeared among the mass of lost Scottish poetry. Further, is it easy to believe that a king, however great his sympathy with the commons, was likely to be able to describe, with so intimate a knowledge as these poems display, the rowdiness of a class of whose manners he must have remained, after all, a spectator?

But the most controversial chapter in the book is that dealing with "Traditional Ballads and Songs." Here Mr. Henderson makes a vigorous attack on the communal theory of the origin of ballads as held by Mr. A. Lang and Professor Gummere, maintaining that, "as regards the ballad poetry we actually possess," this theory is "founded rather on general *a priori* considerations than

on minute inquiry into facts; and the more one seeks to have recourse to it for an explanation of individual examples of the literature for which it professes to account, the more unmistakably does it approve itself a mere 'broken reed.'" The value of his discussion is, however, greatly lessened by the fact that he takes his account of the theory he wishes to demolish, not from the most recent statement of it in Prof. Gummere's 'The Ballad and Communal Poetry' (Harvard Studies and Notes, vol. v.), nor even from the same author's introduction to his 'Old English Ballads,' but from Mr. Lang's twenty-year-old article in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica.' Thus he wastes much of his powder in attacking positions which no one now seeks to defend; and at the same time leaves unanswered the two most important of his opponent's arguments, viz. that from the impersonal quality which is the distinctive mark of the traditional ballad, and that from the community of subject-matter among the ballads and folk-tales of all nations.

Having thrown aside the communal theory as useless, at least as regards actually existing ballads, Mr. Henderson turns to the theories of minstrel authorship, professing on the whole an allegiance to that of Mr. Court-hope, with modifications. The modifications are chiefly these: (1) that the later minstrels, who, according to Courthope, made the ballads out of material supplied by *chansons de geste*, romances, lays, or *fabliaux*, were not necessarily degenerate; (2) that "some of the Scots traditional ballads were originally the work of poets other than minstrels." This position he seeks to support by an investigation of the dates of those historical ballads which are supposed to be most ancient, the general tendency of his results being to reduce considerably the usual estimate of their antiquity. The only point we need note here is his suggestion that Sir Patrick Spens was really a Sir Patrick Vane, who was chosen ambassador to negotiate the marriage of James VI. with Anne of Denmark; and that what is perhaps the most famous of Scots ballads is thus only about three hundred years old (not two hundred as he, surely by a slip, says). The chapter closes with an admirably effective reply to the attempts of Chappell and others to deny the Scottish origin of any of the tunes to which the ballads and popular songs were traditionally attached.

The distinctive feature of Mr. Henderson's treatment of the Scottish poets in general is the attention he bestows on metre. His notes on versification in the 'Centenary Burns' had already led us to expect from him some more comprehensive treatment of Scottish metres, and we are not sure that it would not have been a gain had the valuable contributions here made to this subject been published separately. As it is, the amount of space devoted to technical discussion of this kind occasionally forces him to rather summary treatment of other things, as, for instance, when Sir David Lindsay's 'Monarchie' is dismissed in four lines, in which it is spoken of as 'The Dialog,' no mention being made of it under its more usual title.

We have dealt in some detail with those opinions in the present volume which seemed to call for further discussion; but it would be a mistake to allow the consideration of these points, for the most part somewhat minute, to blind us to the general excellence of the work. Throughout, Mr. Henderson gives proof of a first-hand knowledge of

nearly all the monuments he discusses; his appreciation is sympathetic and discriminating; and his style, if not one of much distinction, is clear and serviceable. The publication of the volume marks a step in the advance of Scottish scholarship.

Democracy: A Study of Government. By James H. Hyslop. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899.

Should all those who have like feelings concerning our politics accept Prof. Hyslop's proposals, we might soon look for better times. Undoubtedly, a very general feeling of distrust and apprehension prevails, which is reflected in a steady stream of criticism and complaint. But of this, Prof. Hyslop thinks, we have had more than enough. It is high time that something positive and constructive should be proposed. Wearied, then, "with the perpetual grumbling which is either unable to see a way out of the confusion, or too cynical and hopeless to try an escape," he has ventured to offer for debate a complete system of government which is neither a reaction towards monarchy nor an acceptance of the *status quo*. It is, of course, an ideal system that is proposed, but it is an ideal to be kept steadily in mind when practical measures of reform are undertaken.

Because of the weariness of criticism to which Prof. Hyslop refers, most readers will turn at once to that part of his book entitled "Practical Remedies," and we can follow their example without inconvenience. This we may do, because the major premise of the argument is simply that reform must come through the honesty and intelligence of the officers of government. The problem is to secure such officers, and the solution is to be found in the limitation of the suffrage. In order to establish the proposition that the possession of property tends to make the citizen demand honesty and intelligence in his rulers, Prof. Hyslop frankly denies the existence of such a demand on the part of the "proletariat," and exposes the fallacy of supposing that any educational test can establish the existence of virtue in those who pass it. Experience has shown that such tests are of no value in determining the political intelligence of an electorate. On the other hand, Prof. Hyslop labors earnestly to prove that the possession of wealth, or the "economic criterion," is a test of such virtue as qualifies for civic rights and duties. His reasoning is clear and strong; but it is unfortunate for his argument that he should not have sought historical confirmation of his contention.

Those who hold that it is vain to attempt any limitation of the suffrage, we may say at once, will find nothing practical in Prof. Hyslop's remedies. Yet we cannot ignore the fact that in several of the States very severe restrictions of the suffrage have recently taken place, and it is not unreasonable to consider that similar restraints may elsewhere be adopted. What is proposed as a qualification for the electorate is not the possession of land, but the possession of an income, to be established by the payment of a tax on it. It is not the mere possession of wealth, but the qualities that are necessary for its acquisition, which constitute the test, and these economic virtues are to be found especially in the middle class. The political excellencies of this class were extolled formerly more than they have been in recent years, and it is refreshing to have

their claims again put forth in Prof. Hyslop's vigorous and uncompromising language. It is not easy to defend the common people against the specific charges of incapacity for self-government which he brings against them, nor to deny that the grossest of our political abuses are connected with the excessive enlargement of the franchise.

To commit the government to the hands of the middle class, however, would not be a complete remedy. There must be an alteration in the machinery of government, which is to consist chiefly in the establishment of two courts, one to confirm the appointments of the Executive, the other to overthrow them. We should apprehend the complete destruction of responsibility under such a system, could we conceive it to operate if it were ever established. The constitution of the court of impeachment and removal especially is so peculiar as to place it outside of political possibility. The members of this court are to be drawn from a college nominated years in advance of their actual service, and it is quite incredible that even the middle class of our people would tolerate a government under which a few men appointed, perhaps, by President Cleveland, should have the absolute power of turning all President McKinley's appointees out of office. The situation in President Johnson's time was grave enough to deter us from further experiments in that direction.

While Prof. Hyslop's devices may be regarded rather as curiosities of speculation than as possible institutions, we cannot refrain from expressing some surprise at his condemnation of "checks and balances." Under the name of "inhibition," he brings in more checks than the writers of the 'Federalist' ever dreamt of, and in the flow of his argument he often employs the term "check" instead of "inhibit." The term appears to be selected on account of its use by physiologists, and although Prof. Hyslop carefully explains why a political state is not an organism, he appears to be at times carried away by the analogy which may be made out between them. The most serious defect in his work, to some readers, will be his assumption that government is an institution which must have more and more to do. It may be contended, on the other hand, that government undertakes now far more than it ought to or than it has ever given signs that it is fitted to. In this view, the only hope of reform consists in reducing the members of the governing class and their opportunities for plunder and oppression, until the emoluments of power shall be insufficient for the support of our two standing armies of politicians. It is hardly disputed that nothing done by government is done so well as similar work is done by private enterprise, and if this is true, it is certainly unnecessary to concede that further extensions of governmental activity are required by political evolution.

Students of political science will probably be more attracted by Prof. Hyslop's broad historical generalizations than by his practical suggestions. He calls attention to the influence of religious beliefs and philosophical theories on the development of civil government, finding in the growth of monism in religion and philosophy the cause or concomitant of the conception of universal empire. We fail to understand how the dominion of the polytheistic and unphilosophical Romans is explained by this theory; but, without arguing that point, we may say that the author's conclusions are extremely pregnant, if not profound. Altogether his book is an exceptionally racy, vigorous, and compact review of political evolution, and it well deserves the attention, not only of students, but also of that conservative middle class whose prosperity implies the general welfare.

The Successors of Homer. By W. C. Lawton. The Macmillan Co. 1898.

The general neglect by students of literature of the fragments of the epic "cycle" is easily accounted for. They have no special beauty, they are too short to convey any definite idea of the original whole; in brief, their interest is due almost wholly to the fact that they show that the epic impulse, though it lasted for some centuries after the completion of the 'Iliad' and the 'Odyssey,' had rapidly lost its early creative force. The 'Cypria,' 'Little Iliad,' and the rest were the work of imitative poets, who, offended in their historical instincts, desired that the 'Wrath of Achilles' and the 'Return of Odysseus,' mere episodes in the tale of Troy, should take their proper rank in a great historical sequence of epic lays. It was inevitable that this ambition should produce chronicles rather than poems. The unity that comes of a limited subject, that had given the 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey' a claim to be considered organic wholes, was not to be attained by poets so embarrassed by their wealth of material.

It is not so easy to explain the scant attention paid by English critics to the Homeric Hymns. It is true that their language has not the sustained beauty of the 'Iliad' and the 'Odyssey,' and that they have many of the marks of a period in which the epic had lost its spontaneity and the digamma was shamelessly neglected. Of the thirty-four that are extant, only five repay careful study; but no review of Greek poetry that does not take into account the Hymns to Apollo and Demeter can be considered complete. They have been ignored by Prof. Jebb in his work on 'Classical Greek Poetry,' and by J. A. Symonds, whose 'Greek Poets' ranks as one of the very few handbooks of literature that can be read without weariness. Walter Pater is perhaps the only English essayist who has done justice to the beauty of the Hymn of Demeter. Mr. Lawton, in the volume before us, makes a praiseworthy if somewhat uninspired attempt to open up for English readers the rather barren field of the cyclic epic; he describes and partly translates the chief Hesiodic poems, the Homeric Hymns, and, lastly, the philosophic treatises in hexameter. The analysis of a long Greek poem can hardly fail to seem flat to the general reader who cannot read the original, unless, indeed, the writer possesses a delicate touch and the gift of imagination. In interest and suggestiveness Mr. Lawton, though his treatment is conscientious, is no match for J. A. Symonds, whose chapter on Hesiod shows an insight and a scholarly temper that make Mr. Lawton's appreciation seem amateurish by contrast. There is more reason for Mr. Lawton's chapter on the Homeric Hymns, because of their previous conspicuous neglect.

We cannot consider his translations happy. The English hexameter, as a medium of

translations, is fatally adapted to bald renderings. Mr. Lawton does not escape the snares that lie about the feet of the translator of epic—snares that might be avoided by any reader of Matthew Arnold who should be endowed with a sense of humor. What would the author of 'The Art of Translating Homer' have said to the description of Zeus (p. 111):

"Who, as he sits with Themis, engages in chat confidential?"

Mr. Lawton is not always as unhappy as this; but any one who compares his verse-rendering of the most beautiful passage of the Demeter Hymn with Pater's prose version will appreciate the superiority of exquisite English prose over the artificial doggerel that translators still offer the "English reader" who desires to understand the fascinations of Greek poetry. The Demeter Hymn was exhumed at Moscow in the Imperial Library as late as 1780, and exists in a single manuscript—facts which Mr. Lawton omits to mention. Of all the Homeric Hymns it is the most beautiful in its imagery and descriptions. The myth of Demeter and Persephone is perhaps the most interesting of all myths, partly because it came to have a strong ethical significance, and partly because in it was symbolized for the Greek mind the mysterious life of the earth. The description of the narcissus that tempted Persephone is worth quoting here:

"She was playing with the deep-breasted daughters of Oceanos, and gathering flowers, roses and crocus and pretty pansies, in a soft meadow, and flags and hyacinth, and that great narcissus that earth sent up for a snare to the rose-faced girl, doing service by God's will to Him of the Many Guests. The blossom of it was wonderful, a marvel for gods immortal and mortal men; from the root of it grew a hundred heads, and the incensed smell of it made all the wide sky laugh, and all the earth laugh, and the salt smell of the sea. The girl wondered and reached out both her hands to take the beautiful plaything. Then yawned the broad-wayed earth by the plain of Nysa, and the deathless horses broke forth, and the Cronos-born king, He of the Many Names, of the Many Guests; and he swept her away on his golden chariot."

Mr. Lawton's discussion of "Hexameter in the Hands of the Philosophers" is very slight. He deals briefly with Xenophanes, Parmenides and Empedocles, and again, in the case of the last two, provokes unfavorable comparisons with Symonds. His little book is unpretentious and painstaking, and will probably be useful to the "English reader," who can take so many short cuts to great authors nowadays that his innate conviction of the futility of consulting the originals is daily nourished. It is to be hoped that others will understand the allusion to the "similar death of Massachusetts's favorite son" (p. 145); we are completely at a loss to explain it. We wish that Mr. Lawton would not refer to Homer as "Poeta Sovrano," but perhaps this is captious. On p. 27 we note the misprint "rurück" for "surück."

Chitral: The Story of a Minor Siege. By Sir George S. Robertson, K.C.S.I., author of 'The Kafirs of the Hindu-Kush.' 8vo, pp. 368, with illustrations. Charles Scribner's Sons.

This very attractive book is the story of the siege of the fort at Chitral, high up among the mountains which separate the tributaries of the Indus from those of the Oxus, close to the "roof of the world." It is the detailed account, from the personal

point of view, of the campaign of the late winter and spring of 1895, which Major Younghusband has sketched in outline in his 'Indian Frontier Warfare,' where the operations for the relief of the beleaguered fort are chosen as illustrations of difficult mountain campaigning.

Sir George Robertson was the civil official of the British Indian Government charged with the political agency for the region north of the Punjab, in which was the independent native principality of Chitral, coextensive with the narrow valley of that name, walled in by mountain ranges covered with perpetual snow, and laterally accessible only by passes high above the snow line, regarded as impracticable in winter. Sir George's headquarters were at Gilgit. The Chitral and Gilgit Rivers rise near each other on opposite sides of a range, the first flowing southwest into the Kabul, close to Jalalabad, and so into the Indus near Peshawar, the other running southeast into the Indus much higher up. The streams named enclose a quadrilateral of terribly rough country, which includes the Swat valley, itself the scene of a recent fierce struggle between the English and the mountaineers.

The outbreak in Chitral began with the assassination of the ruling Mehtar or chieftain by his half-brother, who tried to usurp the throne. But the inheritance was claimed by two others of the family, and the adherents of each gathered to support their leader's claims. Here were all the elements of a petty Oriental convulsion, especially as the neighboring tribes were for various reasons in a powdery condition, ready for an explosion. Robertson's position had much resemblance to that of our officers and Indian agents in the Rocky Mountains when an outbreak occurs there. From Gilgit he had communication with a couple of small posts in the valley above him; then, over the ridge, was a small fort at Mastuj in a valley tributary to Chitral, which was some sixty miles below. When hostilities break out, communication between such posts becomes very precarious, and, like our own, the English officers find their responsibilities greatly increased by the difficulty of getting messengers through from one to another. The petty garrisons were about a hundred men each, generally Sepoys, of which the Sikhs and Gurkhas were the best. The military officers were captains and lieutenants subordinate to the civil agent, with whom lay the responsibility of dealing with the natives. The forts were native strongholds, usually square enclosures with corner towers, all built of timber and masonry in alternate layers, the stones laid in mud mortar. The British troops were regarded merely as escorts for the political agent and his assistants, and did not occupy the forts in time of peace.

At the moment of the murder at Chitral, Robertson had a junior assistant there with a handful of men as an escort, and the assassin demanded of him recognition on the part of the Indian Government. The assistant, Lieut. Gurdon, parried the demand by urging lack of power for so weighty a decision, and the necessity of referring the matter to his superiors. By great coolness, Gurdon managed to postpone hostilities till Robertson could collect three or four hundred men at Gilgit and start to his relief early in January. The latter reached Chitral on the 1st of February, after a most diffi-

cult march, and found that the country down the valley was in arms for another pretender backed by the Khan of Jandol, who, in turn, was supposed to be instigated by the Amir of Kabul, glad to make trouble for the English. By skillfully temporizing, Robertson succeeded in keeping the parties from active war during another month, but by the 1st of March the party about Chitral melted away by desertions, and the pretender in the camp of Umra Khan advanced with a strong force, numbering some thousands, and, after a sharp combat with the English, drove them into the fort and established a siege. Robertson declared for his Government in favor of an innocent boy who was one of the numerous half-brothers of the murdered Mehtar, and who with a number of his headmen was also in the fort.

A close siege was maintained for six weeks, during which time the skillful Pathan riflemen made it almost certain death to show a head above the ramparts. Two smaller bodies of troops trying to open communication with the garrison were surrounded and destroyed. By the end of March the Indian Government had organized two columns of relief, one at Gilgit under Col. Kelly, and the other on the Peshawar frontier, a whole division under Gen. Sir Robert Low. Kelly's was a little quicker in motion and reached Chitral on the 20th of April, but Low's heavier force had gone to the heart of the matter by forcing its way across the Swat Valley into the home country of the Khan of Jandol, bringing him back in haste from the support of the pretender, who was keeping up the siege, but who was unequal to fighting Robertson when reinforced by Kelly.

Sir George has happily made his story a familiar narrative, in which we become personally acquainted with the group of his fine young subordinates and with the native personages with whom he has to deal. By giving us even the minutiae of passing occurrences and the conduct of those about him, we are enabled to understand the native people, their military and social character, the personal traits of the different classes of Sepoy soldiers, and the features of the mountain region which was the romantic theatre of operations. The marches of Low and Kelly are also told with fulness enough to make us feel how formidable a task it is to break over such passes as the Lowari and the Shandur, while they are still blocked by the deep snows of winter. The illustrations include photograph portraits of the men most frequently named in the story, British and native, singly and in groups; a good topographical map; reconnaissance sketches of some of the fortified gorges; and, best of all, a fine series of photographs of the valleys, the mountains, and the forts. In matter and form alike, the result is a most satisfactory book.

Elizabeth, Empress of Austria. A Memoir by A. De Burgh. With eighty illustrations. London: Hutchinson & Co.; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1899.

The Martyrdom of an Empress. With portraits and photographs. Harper & Bro. 1899.

Of irresponsible gossip concerning the unfortunate Empress of Austria there has been a plenty, both during her lifetime and since her tragic death; but legitimate interest in her history has hardly been satisfied by the

rhaphodic German recollections of her Greek reader, Christomanos, and others who came under her spell, nor will the two English biographies which aim to tell the complete story of her life be accepted as trustworthy accounts. A. De Burgh's attractively illustrated volume, although scarcely more sober in its estimate of the character of Elizabeth, is decidedly less sensational in its treatment than the story of 'The Martyrdom.' It may, however, be briefly dismissed as the product of an unskilled pen. There is neither unity nor proportion nor sound judgment to be found in the book. The chapter on "The Empress as an Architect," and such remarks as, "Of prose-writers she especially admired George Eliot and Lord Byron. . . . She is also reported to have been particularly struck with the imaginative power of Marie Corelli's writings," give us the full measure of the biographer's critical capacity. Countless misprints and misstatements testify to his ignorance of Austrian matters (as well as to the carelessness of the publishers' part in the work); but even after reading of Golukowsky and Tiska and Count Munkácsy, one is rather startled at seeing a portrait of the youngest son of the Archduchess Otto labelled the "direct heir to the throne," the fact being that the child is a nephew of the heir-apparent, Franz Ferdinand, and only very remotely connected with the succession.

"The Martyrdom of an Empress" claims more serious attention only as being ostensibly the work of a lady closely attached for years to the person of the late Empress and her confidante at critical moments. This claim is apparently sustained by the recital of incidents of which only the Empress and her biographer were witnesses, and the disclosure of secrets which have hitherto been considered impenetrable even by those in close relations with the court circles of Vienna. Thus, the story of Elizabeth's estrangement from her imperial husband and of her reconciliation to him, during the first years of their married life, is told with melodramatic force, and the account of the catastrophe at Mayerling is here given with a fulness of particulars such as, to our knowledge, has never before reached the public. More than this, we have a report of a conversation between Crown Prince Rudolph and the writer, on the subject of his conjugal misery, in the course of which she called him "Rudi" and "my dear boy." Where her own personal knowledge is incomplete, old nurses and gypsies, and apparitions, and portents complete a story the dramatic vividness of which Louise Mühlbach might have envied. And yet the same person who knows the inmost secrets of the Austrian court speaks of the Queen-Regent of Spain as the favorite niece of the Emperor Francis Joseph, of Archduke Albrecht as his *wife*; writes as if a *Groschen* were a current Austrian coin to-day (whereas it has been out of date for half a century and more); persistently spells the Empress's birthplace Possenhoffen; and reports a conversation between the Empress and "Professor Rhousopoulos," which in reality took place between her and Dr. Max Falk, as related by him in the *Neue Freie Presse* shortly after her death. In other words, her ignorance of matters which every child in Austria knows—she actually writes, "There was not a more popular man in the Austro-Hungarian army, nor in the length and breadth of the dual empire, than the Archduke" (Albrecht,

the haughtiest and most reactionary of all the Austrian princes)—furnishes the gravest reason for doubting the authenticity of her revelations. At best, her estimate of Elisabeth as a woman "cast in a mould that had not one weak point in its make" shows her unfitness for her task. And her censure of the other actors in the drama which she depicts is as indiscriminating as her praise of her heroine. The *Maisons* of Francis Joseph and the intrigues of his mother may have darkened the early life of the Empress, and the tactlessness of her daughter-in-law embittered her later years; but stronger proof of the facts is required than the wholesale charges contained in these anonymous memoirs, the publishers of which ought to have offered to the public some guarantee of their genuineness. If it is the misfortune of kings, as Johann Jacoby said, that they do not want to hear the truth, it is the peculiar misfortune of Elizabeth of Austria—from all accounts as high-minded and truth-loving, with all her eccentricities, as she was beautiful—that the true story of her strange and sad life is apparently not to be told even after her death.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Abraham, Israel. Chapters on Jewish Literature. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society. \$1.25.
Alexander, Mrs. Brown, V. O. R. F. Fenne & Co. \$1.25.
Bentzen, Th. Nouvelle-France et Nouvelle-Angleterre. Notes de voyage. Paris: Levy; New York: Dymen & Pfeiffer.
Bergsøe, Cyranos de. A Voyage to the Moon. Doubleday & McClure Co. 50c.
Cameron, Prof. A. G. Selections from Edmund and Jules de Goncourt. American Book Co. \$1.25.
Campbell, R. J. The Restored Innocence. Dodd, Mead & Co. 50c.
Carry, C. E. Y. The River Syndicate, and Other Stories. Harpers. \$1.25.
Daniell, M. G. Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome. Boston: Ginn & Co.
Deloup, Maximilian. The American Salad Book. New York: G. R. Knapp. \$1.25.
Elliade, Pompinu. De l'influence Française sur l'Esprit Public en Roumanie. Paris: Ernest Le-

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Irwin, H. B. Helena. G. W. Dillingham Co. \$1.25.
Jacobs, Joseph. The Story of Geographical Discovery. Appletons.
Johnston, Sir H. H. A History of the Colonization of Africa by Alien Races. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan. \$1.60.
Keightley, S. H. The Silver Cross. Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.25.

ional Biography. old. Macmillan.
s: Collin & Cla. ter of Carthage.
f the People of intary. Part I.
' Africa. 2 vols.
istory of Spain.
s Home Grounds.
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 6, 1899.

The Week.

If Aguinaldo is the educated and cosmopolitan man he has been represented to be, he will now surrender on the best terms he can get. We have his "capital," and did the Austrian Emperor hold out after Napoleon was in Vienna? Aguinaldo may point out that it cost Napoleon 50,000 men to capture Vienna, while we took Malolos with the loss of only one man killed; but that only shows how irresistible we are. We greatly fear, however, that Aguinaldo has already got another capital one day's march farther in the jungle. Wherever he pitches his tent, there is his capital. Public buildings, the archives, the diplomatic correspondence, can all, we suppose, be carried on the backs of two moderately robust Tagals. So we may yet have to capture a half-dozen more Philippine capitals. But we warn Aguinaldo that, if he does not now yield as a civilized man should when his capital is lost, he will be severely criticised by some of our best minds.

There is no lack of predictions of what Aguinaldo will do now, and what the Filipinos will do, but of positive knowledge the American authorities both at Manila and Washington seem to have very little. It is one of the disadvantages plainly to be foreseen in dealing with Malays and Moros, that their minds do not work like the American mind. They are often governed by motives which appear to us to be the height of absurdity, but which are to them the purest light of reason. We should never think of going on with a war after our "capital" was taken, and a superior force was chasing us through the jungle. But, for all we know, that is the very thing to encourage the Filipinos to go on. Agoncillo says it is, and that they have another capital just as good as Malolos. The fighting may come to an end to-morrow, or it may go on for ten years. Nobody knows. The jauntiest imperialist now confesses his ignorance. But it is that lamentable confession of ignorance which comes after the fact, which makes us sadder and wiser, but does not in the least help us out of our scrape.

We are getting new ideas out of our Philippine experiences on a great many subjects nowadays. For one thing, we are learning what wretchedly inefficient old fogies the managers of our missionary enterprises have always been. The approved modern system, which we are substituting for the slow-going me-

thods of the "back-number" societies, is thus set forth by one of its champions, the Rev. Dr. Wayland Hoyt of Philadelphia:

"Christ is the solution for the difficulty regarding national expansion. There never was a more manifest providence than the waving of Old Glory over the Philippines. The only thing we can do is to thrash the natives until they understand who we are. I believe every bullet sent, every cannon shot, every flag waved means righteousness. When we have conquered anarchy, then is the time to send the Christ there."

A graphic picture of the way we are making the natives "understand who we are" is drawn in the report published on Friday from F. A. Blake of California, who is in charge of the Red Cross work at Manila. He wrote just a week after the fighting actually commenced in February, and he thus describes the scene at the end of the first day's operations:

"I never saw such execution in my life, and hope never to see such sights as met me on all sides as our little corps passed over the field, dressing wounded—legs and arms nearly demolished, total decapitation, horrible wounds in chests and abdomens, showing the determination of our soldiers to kill every native in sight. The Filipinos did stand their ground heroically, contesting every inch, but proved themselves unable to stand the deadly fire of our well-trained and eager boys in blue. I counted seventy-nine dead natives in one small field, and learn that on the other side of the river their bodies were stacked up for breastworks."

The Samoan squabble is a petty affair in itself, and will probably lead to no serious international consequences; but it is a "miserable tangle," as a London paper called it two months ago, and vividly illustrates the difficulties of this new style of long-range government of natives who do not want to be governed, upon which Uncle Sam has vain-gloriously embarked. Such a venture was flatly declared by Mr. Blaine himself in 1889 to be "not in harmony with the established policy of this government"; and the question which Secretary Gresham asked in 1894 seems doubly pertinent to-day, "What have we gained beyond the expenses, the responsibilities, and the entanglements?" Well, an English Tory and Jingo newspaper tells us what we have gained. It says that the only bright spot in the whole miserable business is that the Americans and the British "fought splendidly" together. What canting nonsense! To stay safely on board cruisers lying off shore and to shell the forest where the natives were in hiding, to burn villages, and to reduce to poverty the women and children who may have escaped our fire with their lives—this is the modern *gaudium certaminis*, the crowded hour of glorious life reserved for imperialists and missionaries of civilization! It is an old story for the English. They are familiar with "punitive expeditions," and executions which they call a battle. But it

is a new thing for Americans, and they cannot be blamed for being a little squeamish over the business as yet. In time we may hope to slaughter helpless human beings as nonchalantly as Rosas or Abdul Hamid or the Mahdi.

It seems the Hawaiians are pleased to have got off from the American Congress as well as they did. They got nothing in the way of positive action, except the extension of the American navigation laws to their islands, but negatively they were at least left alone for the present with their own immigration laws. The *Hawaiian Gazette* is jubilant over this fact. It says that, notwithstanding the fact that 11,200 male Japanese laborers were imported between January 1, 1898, and March 1, 1899, "there is still need of about 10,000 more." If Congress had extended American immigration laws to Hawaii it would have produced "a serious crisis in the labor market." As it is, there will be time for a "general stocking-up of the plantations with an abundance of Japanese laborers," so that there will be "an easy labor market for several years to come."

Here is frankly revealed a situation to make the hair of American "labor" stand on end. An "easy labor market" in the Hawaiian islands means, of course, a market flooded with coolies. What becomes, then, of all the talk about the new field for American labor in Hawaii? We were told, labor leaders were told, that there were only 25,000 Japanese in all the islands, yet here we see 21,000 more brought in since annexation to take the bread out of the mouths of Americans. If the laboring people of the Pacific Coast dreaded the free competition of 50,000 Chinese and Japanese in Hawaii, how will they like it to see that number increased by one-half before it is possible for our restrictive laws to be applied? Perhaps it will not increase their pleasure at the situation to know whom they have to thank for it. It is Senator Morgan. Our immigration laws would have been extended to Hawaii by Congress but for his objection. He said he would force an extra session rather than see the prospects of the Hawaiian planters blasted by cutting off their labor supply. In the slaveholder's language of the *Hawaiian Gazette*, he wanted to see a "general stocking-up" with Japanese labor. This was natural enough in an Alabama Senator, left over from slavery days. But what do New Englanders think of it? What does Senator Hoar think of it, with his known aversion to going to "foreign soil" and ruling "subject races"? Doesn't he wish now that

he had withstood the evil in its beginnings, and voted against Hawaiian annexation, as his present avowed principles would require him to have done?

Eagan appeared before the beef court of inquiry last week in subdued frame. Some furious profanity of his, directed against the soldiers who would not eat his rotten beef, was reported by another witness, but he himself did not emit one single curse, even when under Major Lee's very suggestive cross-examination. Eagan's famous "clerical error" in the beef contracts he now admits to have been his own. He had forgotten it. It will cost the Government thousands of dollars when the contractors prosecute their claims, but let that pass. Eagan was so overwhelmed with work at the time that really he couldn't remember what he did. His memory, in fact, was very bad about the details of many of his transactions. He fended rather clumsily when asked if he let any contracts under direction of the Secretary of War, but finally admitted that "on one occasion" the Secretary sent for him to "ask about the contracts." There were two other gentlemen in the room at the time.

Why does not the Court of Inquiry put Gen. Eagan on the stand once more and ask him why it was he was obliged to give the beef contracts to the canning and refrigerating firms? Another witness was before the Court on Saturday who testified that Eagan had said that he was not a free agent in the matter. This was the contractor who is at present supplying beef on the hoof to the army in Cuba, with excellent results. He testified that he was a personal acquaintance of Eagan's, and that in June last Eagan had telegraphed to him to come to Washington; that he saw Eagan and told him he considered it impossible to use refrigerated beef in Cuba, and that Eagan replied that he "must purchase it, but did not indicate that this position was taken at the instance of any superior official." At whose instance was it taken? Eagan should be given a chance to answer that question.

There is one matter connected with the baggage abuse concerning which we think the new Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Spaulding, might still further amend the regulations, without in any way disregarding the statute, and that is changing the mode of appraising the articles of personal clothing purchased abroad by Americans under the \$100 clause. In a vast number of cases, Americans buy the clothing abroad immediately after going over, and wear it more or less during the summer. If they wear it even one day, it becomes second-hand and loses one-half or two-

thirds of its value. In fact, it would not be salable at all, except to an old-clothes dealer. A fifty-dollar suit worn even once in England would, when it reached the New York custom-house, be worth only twenty dollars at most; the passenger should not, therefore, be called on to pay duty on what it cost him, but on what it is worth. Personal clothing differs in this way from most other articles, china, pictures, furniture, carpets, which lose none of their value in transit, and are sure not to be used until the traveller reaches his destination. We know of a case in which a lady, having bought a hundred-dollar Paris dress, was plunged into mourning before she reached home, and had to sell the dress, but only got twenty-five dollars for it, though it had never been worn. Now, unless we are greatly mistaken, the Assistant Secretary can modify the regulation by ordering that personal clothing shall pay duty only on its actual value on the wharf. Of course, the humiliation of having to pay a tax from which the foreigner is exempt, is for the American citizen returning home very great, and cannot be got rid of, but the pecuniary injury can be lessened in this way, if the Treasury pleases.

There is something refreshing about the directness with which public indignation in Delaware strikes at the mark. One Democratic Senator and two Democratic Representatives voted for Addicks, the gas speculator, for United States Senator, on the last day of the session under circumstances which warranted the belief that they had been bought. The Democratic State central committee on March 29 unanimously adopted resolutions denouncing these three men for their action; calling upon them to resign their offices as State Senator and Representative respectively; declaring that "it is the general opinion that Farlow, King, and Clark were corruptly influenced to vote for J. Edward Addicks"; and tendering the support of the organization, individually and financially, to the State authorities to assist in ferreting out all frauds or bribery in connection with the last session of the Legislature. It is a long time since the "organization" of any party did a better day's work than this.

At Harrisburg, disclosures of attempted bribery have been made before the legislative investigating committee. Laubach, a Representative from Philadelphia, testified that one Jones asked him to support Quay, and, upon his replying that he could not, because the convention which had nominated him instructed him to oppose Quay, the intermediary said that "if I would vote for Senator Quay, I could have a good place, either the chief clerkship in the Mint or in the Custom-house." Representative Brown

of Union County testified that, on the evening before the first vote for Senator, Congressman Kulp, a supporter of Quay, invited him to call upon Quay, and when he refused, offered him first \$200 and then \$300 if he would go away the next day and not attend the joint convention of the two branches of the Legislature. "Finally he said: 'Of course, if you go right in and vote for Quay, the price would be altogether different.'" Brown's testimony is particularly important, because he said that he had known Congressman Kulp for a great many years, and they had always been friends.

The passage by the New York Senate of the bill that puts back into our civil-service laws the "starch" which Gov. Black took out of them, is a triumph for Gov. Roosevelt, though we regret exceedingly that he could not have won it without forming so close an alliance with Platt. If the Assembly passes it, as there seems to be no doubt it will, the most conspicuous and cherished achievement of Black's administration will be undone. He had more interest in this cause than any other, and the only solace which accompanied his precipitate return to private life was the thought that, whatever else he had succeeded in doing, he had dealt "Pharisaical civil service" a deadly blow. It was common sympathy on this point which brought him and the thoughtful Abe Gruber together and induced them to join forces in the practice of law. The grief of the two at seeing not only the old starch restored, but a new amount added, and added also at the instigation of the civil-service reformers themselves, must be entirely unspeakable.

Yellow journalism has been illustrated once more, in the treatment of a murder trial in Connecticut, and has received its deserts at the hands of a court. During the earlier days of this trial at Bridgeport one of our sensational New York newspapers published "spicy" reports of the proceedings, with the name of the writer over each article. The attention of Judge Wheeler was called to the matter, and he summoned the "journalist" before him to answer to a charge of contempt of court. The reporter declared that he was not the author of some of the matter which appeared under his signature, and denied responsibility for the untruthful and offensive illustrations which appeared in connection with his reports. But the Judge took the precaution to get the "copy" of all the fellow's dispatches from the telegraph-office, and found that the parts of the stories which he had denied writing had been written by him, as also that he had sent telegrams to his paper describing what kind of sketches should be made. He was thus shown to have lied, and he followed up

this performance by failing to appear in court as he had agreed to do to answer to any requirement which the Judge might make in regard to him. Judge Wheeler thereupon rendered his decision that "said articles were unfair accounts of said cause on trial, unduly interfered with the administration of justice, and were calculated to prejudice the jury and the public as to the merits of the cause on trial, and that said articles are in whole and in the facts referred to contempt of court, and that said Smith has not purged himself of them."

In fixing the penalty for this journalist's crime, the Judge said that it was not his intention to inflict harsh punishment, all that the court sought to prevent being unfair treatment of a cause on trial, and of those either responsible for the conduct of the trial or compelled by process of law to be present at the trial. He added that the court recognized that the offender was a subordinate and under instructions, writing for pay, and that primarily his superiors were responsible for the character of his work; as also that he was following a practice which has for a few years past prevailed with certain newspapers. But the Judge also perceived and confessed that the courts are responsible for this practice to a great degree by the immunity which they have granted to the offenders. "The reason these abuses in the publication of court proceedings exist," said the Judge, "is largely the fault of the courts themselves in not having long since stopped them." His conclusion was that the lying reporter was "guilty of contempt of court, and that he pay a fine of \$50, and be imprisoned at the county jail at Bridgeport for a term of five days, and that he be committed to said jail and confined therein until this judgment is complied with, or until he is discharged by order of this court or otherwise by due process of law." Of course, the journalist will take pains to keep out of the jurisdiction of the court, and so will escape punishment.

Spain's internal affairs look more promising than for some years past. The Carlists seem to have made themselves ridiculous, and to be out of the running; a military dictatorship appears to have been made unlikely by the fact that each political party has secured its share of the more influential politico-generals; and the new Conservative Government goes on gathering strength and public favor. On March 10, Premier Silvela received the delegates of the United Chambers of Commerce, and told them that their views of the proper policy for the country agreed in all essential points with his own. Their programme includes reforms and reductions in the army and navy; political purification by means of a law forbidding members of the Cortes to be connected with the di-

rectorship of railway companies, Government monopolies, or any undertakings aided by state funds; revision of railway rates and agricultural taxation; reforms in public instruction; and, in financial affairs, a clear statement of the public debt, the reduction of public expenditures, and a currency based on coin. The delegation of merchants were much pleased with Silvela's attitude, and have offered him their hearty support in the work of reorganizing the country. But his task is a hard one. Inveterate evils and political animosities are not to be extinguished in a day. Already a furious outcry has been raised against Gen. Polavieja, the new Secretary of War against whom the somewhat novel charge is brought that he is not a soldier, but a monk.

The confounded taxpayers who have to pay the bills of imperialism are making no end of fuss in France and England as well as in this country. The Taxpayers' League of France has issued a statement showing the enormous increase in public expenditures, year by year, a large part of which is due to disastrous ventures in colonization. In the twenty-five years since 1874 the French budget has been swollen by \$170,000,000, or an average increase of \$7,000,000 a year. One result is a per-capita taxation in France greater by far than that of any other civilized country. Much the same story of expenses mounting ever higher was told by the new Liberal leader in the House, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, in his speech at Hull the other day. His parliamentary experience covers thirty years. In 1868 the expenditure of the country was \$350,000,000. Last year it was \$580,000,000, and the notable thing is that more than half of this great increase has come within the past ten years, when new imperial expenses, including vast outlay on the navy, have made such large demands on the national purse. Sir Henry declared it to be the duty of the Liberals to oppose granting one needless penny, and to remember that though England's resources were immense they were not unlimited.

A leaf has been taken out of our book by the Indian Government, a countervailing sugar-duty having just been put into effect. This duty, our readers will understand, is a tax upon sugar imported from countries which pay a bounty on sugar, the intention being to have a surtax just equal to the bounty. It is, of course, a protectionist measure in essence. It has been urged upon the English Government again and again in the interest of West Indian sugar-growers. One of the favorite contentions of Sir H. Vincent and his indefatigable band of protectionists masquerading under the name of "fair-traders," has long been that England should

adopt the principle of the countervailing sugar-duty. Mr. Chamberlain has been understood to favor it, privately though not officially. But it has been quite impossible to get any government, even a Conservative Ministry, to adopt the doctrine of countervailing duties. Only the other day, Lord Selborne, Under-Secretary for the Colonies, declared that anybody who thought England would ever come over to that protectionist idea was living in a fool's paradise; and he added that "many who supported the present Government would not accept the principle of countervailing duties." Yet suddenly the Secretary for India announces that the principle has been accepted for the Indian Empire. And he bluntly put the case in its most objectionable protectionist form. The object of the measure, he said, was "to prevent a vast indigenous trade in India, based on free enterprise and industry, from being undermined by the subsidized products of foreign countries." Moreover, the measure has been put into force without a pretence of consulting the House of Commons. The thing was done by the naked fiat of the Indian Government and the Secretary of State for India.

We are afraid the people in the Balkan States are going to suffer as the Greeks and Armenians suffered, from the fear of the Powers of a general war. The condition of Macedonia is no worse today than it was twenty years ago, no worse than the condition of a discontented Christian population under Turkish rule must always be. The probabilities are that, for this reason, Bulgaria has of late been steadily warned by the European Powers that it is not to expect support if it begins hostilities. Greece had good reason to look for intervention when she broke out in 1897, but a new factor has appeared in the calculation, in the person of the Emperor William, who undoubtedly had the Turkish trip and the Turkish *entente cordiale* already in his mind, and was determined that nothing should interfere with them. He it was who, with a baseness and heathenism which has had few parallels in European history, dried up the fountains of European pity for the Armenians, and with astounding cynicism gave the right hand of fellowship to the great "Assassin" at Constantinople. He it was who threw the chill over the Cretan interference, and brought about the ridiculous rôle which the fleets so long played at that island. We doubt if they would not be there to-day, playing the same rôle, if the Turks had been able to refrain any longer from their favorite amusement of massacre. In an evil hour for them they took to massacring English soldiers, and this was more than even Lord Salisbury could stand, so the Admiral hanged eight of them, and said the rest must go.

THE PRESIDENT'S POPULARITY.

It is folly to suppose that the President is now restrained from any course by the fear of losing his popularity, when we consider the absolute immunity from criticism which his admirers have hitherto accorded him. A month or two ago, we privately pressed one of his most distinguished eulogists for some account of the facts which instigated or justified the flattery, holding that gratuitous praise of an elective magistrate who was seeking reflection, was a sin against the state. The answer we got was that Mr. McKinley had been in power while great events were occurring, which simply put him in the same category with Croker and Platt. This was another illustration of the bewildering effects of war. In the half-drunken condition into which war plunges about half the population, anybody who has anything to do with the war, if he be only a coal-passer in one of the war-vessels, becomes almost an object of worship, no matter how he may have performed his duties. After nine months of failure in every department of the Government, President McKinley is as bold in his disregard of public opinion as he was before there had been any Alger or Eagan scandals.

We do not believe there is any calm observer of events, in either hemisphere, who does not now at least begin to perceive the impossibility of carrying on a colonial policy and distant wars without the presence at the seat of power of a stable and responsible Executive. The *Boston Herald*, one of the newspapers which in the beginning opposed the expansionist policy, but afterwards went over to it to avoid "getting left," now recognizes the immense difficulty of carrying out such a policy with such a government as ours. There is a large and growing party opposed to our war, but neither it nor the party which believes in it has the slightest control over it, or could stop it if it wished. According to all precedents of constitutional history, the Legislature, as the leading power in the state which alone can settle every issue, ought to be in session, ready to be consulted about every event of the day. In England, for instance, Parliament would now be sitting, open to daily questions about all that was going on, and the ministry would be liable to dismissal from office by an adverse vote if the events of the war had turned public opinion against it, as in the case of Lord North during the American war. The same is true of all the constitutionally governed English colonies, of France, Italy, and Belgium. The people of all these countries can stop a war at once, or make its promoters tell them what they propose to do about it.

We have no such power. William McKinley is telling us every day how diligently he is listening to "the voice of the

people," but he takes every possible care to prevent this voice reaching him through any organized legal channel. He might, had he any proper sense of his responsibility, have called a special session of Congress to advise him, and transmit the voice of the people to him day by day; but he has used all the power he has to prevent any such meeting, so that the voice of the people cannot possibly get to him except through his own family prayers or the chatter of his own cronies.

Some people may think that the press will do for this purpose as well as a legislature, but we must remember that the opinion of newspapers has no legal force, and that the American press has been rendered useless to the executive, as an exponent of public opinion, by the system of corruption begun by Jackson and so vigorously denounced by Daniel Webster; that is, the system of buying the editor's silence or his approval by the bestowal or promise of office. This system is now so firmly established that it excites no remark. The two papers which are to-day most likely to influence Mr. McKinley, are edited by men who are either now in his paid employ or have recently been, or have shared in the transactions which the public might wish to condemn. In short, he is as completely master of events, and may bid as much defiance to public opinion, as the Czar of Russia, for the next half year. Moreover, the public has seen him prepare this very situation for himself, and make arrangements that he shall not be disturbed in it. The two newspapers to which we have just referred, lent him all the aid possible in keeping Congress out of power until next December.

Then consider the question of responsibility. When we remember the number of people who half a year ago were "hollering" for "responsibility" with regard to brown men, and the duty of killing a few so as to save their souls, like the Spanish Inquisition, should we not expect that Congress would be in session to-day, working like beavers over plans of government for these new subjects, that the brave McKinley would be worn to a skeleton reflecting on the problem, and the "glory-crowned" Griggs would be living laborious days about it? Well, what is Mr. McKinley doing? Drafting schemes of colonial government? Not much, as the boys say; his days and nights are given simply to the "getting of, delegates" to the next national convention with a zeal and diligence never surpassed. We have made careful inquiry, but we have not been able to hear of a single human being "in this broad land," as the Congressmen say, who is spending five minutes in preparation of machinery to do anything to the brown men, except kill them and burn their houses. The whole situation is, in fact, unparalleled in the history of

constitutional liberty, and it results from an attempt to use our form of government for a purpose for which it was never intended, and for which an entirely different form would be necessary.

INVESTIGATIONS.

We have always maintained that a genuine investigation of our municipal affairs was a useful and timely proceeding under any Tammany administration. There is no other method by which the inner workings of corrupt government can be brought to light; and until they are brought to light, it is impossible to induce the public generally to take any interest whatever in their existence. We have never succeeded in getting relief from corrupt government until we have made such plain revelation of it as to arouse not only the indignation, but the shame of our citizens. When its utter villainess is held up to the gaze of the world, and we are held up as submitting to the disgrace of it, then we revolt and take sufficient trouble, in one election at least, to overthrow it.

We have no doubt that a genuine investigation at the present time would make startling revelations in more than one of our municipal departments, and especially in that of the police, but the investigation which the Assembly has authorized has no appearance of being anything of this sort. It is the personal invention of Boss Platt, who desires to use it for purposes of his own. The man at the head of it, Assemblyman Mazet, is a mere Platt dummy, with no qualifications for the task, who would conduct the inquiry entirely as the boss directed him to. If it reached a point at which the boss could obtain what he desired from Tammany by "hauling off" the investigation, it would be hauled off, and the only result would be that instead of bad government for the benefit of one boss we should have bad government for the benefit of two. In other words, an investigation of the kind proposed at Albany is nothing but a "strike" for terms. It would lead to no real exposure and no reforms, but it might lead to Boss Platt's obtaining from Boss Croker a more satisfactory share in the spoils of the city which he helped Croker to get possession of by running Gen. Tracy for Mayor in 1897.

It is beside the mark to point to the Lexow inquiry as evidence of what might be secured through a Legislative Committee now. The Lexow inquiry was a flat failure so long as it remained under the control of Platt. He had as "counsel" a lawyer from "up the State" who was finding out nothing about the police that Tammany could object to. It was only when the Chamber of Commerce came to the front with \$25,000 and with Mr. Goff as counsel that the inquiry became an earnest one, and really began to find out something. If it had

remained in Platt's hands, nothing of the hideous mass of corruption, blackmail, and joint-partnership with crime, the disclosure of which drove Tammany from power, would have been revealed. Like the many investigations which preceded it, it would have been "hailed off" just as soon as the basis for a bargain between the two bosses had been reached.

Undoubtedly one of Platt's objects now is to get on the track of the members of his machine in the Senate who have "set up for themselves," and are in a fair way of doing a fine business on their own account with the legislation of the session. If he could scare them into subjection by threatening to reveal their sources of revenue, he would save his machine from serious peril. It is impossible, of course, for a boss to do an exclusive legislation business in return for contributions from corporations, if two or three members of the Legislature can set up in the same business for themselves. The system falls to the ground the minute such breaches of discipline as this become possible. The boss must be the "whole thing," or else how can he collect his revenues? This is the crisis which has summoned Platt to Albany, and it is not surprising that he is aroused to unwonted energy by it. Unless he can demonstrate that his power over the Republican majority in the Legislature is supreme, he cannot hold his machine together for another campaign. Its sources of revenue will be stopped almost completely.

We count it a great public misfortune that in this work of seeking to preserve his infamous system of government from destruction he should be using the Governor's rooms at the Capitol as his base of operations. He has been sitting there daily, apparently in company with the Governor, summoning recalcitrant members before him for persuasion. If the Governor thinks he can appear in the public eye in this company and not suffer contamination, he is very much mistaken. It would be far better for him to have every measure before the Legislature fail than to have even good measures pass under such conditions as these. We do not for a moment believe that personally he will allow Platt's presence to influence his course on any question of legislation, but the fact remains that by admitting Platt to such intimate social and official association with himself at a crisis like this, he recognizes Platt's system of political control as a proper one, and thus makes himself a party to its exercise and continuance. How can he, honest man and upright and fearless defender of good government that he is, fail to see that there has never been in this country a more deadly enemy of popular government than Tom Platt? How can he fail to see what Platt's system rests upon,

and to what it has reduced constitutional government in this State?

THE ALLIANCE IMPERILLED.

Our far-famed *entente* with England grew out of the Spanish war; that war is not yet technically over, but the sudden swearing of eternal friendship with our secular enemy already begins to look as if it were but the prelude to bitter hostility than ever. Some of the attacks on the English alliance are rich in humor—being largely Irish, they could not be otherwise. Last week, for example, that Friendly Son of St. Patrick, Justice Morgan J. O'Brien, was ignominiously cast out of the Irish National Federation of America. The reason alleged in the swingeing "whereas" and "resolved" adopted was that Justice O'Brien had "given currency to the falsehood that England prevented a concert of European Powers against this country at the outbreak of the war with Spain." No Federated Irishman can be caught in such a "covert attempt to mislead public opinion in America" without suffering for it, and a Federated Irishman Justice O'Brien no longer is.

Even more truculent, and unconsciously amusing, were the simultaneous proceedings of the German-American citizens of Chicago. They had the coöperation by telegram of distant but sympathetic Irishmen. The Gaelic Society of New York telegraphed its sympathy in "your protest against English conspiracy and slander." One ardent Irish leader sent his greetings and came directly to the point in the words, "England, not the Continent, is the real enemy of America." Major McCrystal, of the gallant Sixty-ninth, tearfully implored every true-hearted American not to "forget his country for the smiles and pelf of Britain." And the resolutions rose nobly to the height of the great argument, denouncing those who would "drag" this country into an alliance with England; declaring that German Codlin is the true friend, not British Short; and announcing the readiness of the embattled German-Americans at all times, "*especially in political campaigns*," to oppose all who "labor to entangle our country in an alliance with England." Finally, the resolutions record a solemn objection to the American people being called any longer Anglo-Saxons. We must cast out the unclean thing from among us, even when it takes the alluring and apparently harmless form of "Anglo." Teutons we must call ourselves, we suppose, or Jutes—but as for Anglo-Saxon, let it henceforth be not so much as named among us.

Many other signs might be mentioned of the fresh fury against England which has been roused by all this sentimental talk of hands across the sea. There is evidence, too, that the Nationalist leaders of Ireland are taking a deep in-

terest in the revival of American hatred for England. The only hand they wish to see Americans reach across the sea is a hand with a dynamite bomb in it for the English oppressor, or, at any rate, a contribution to the Nationalist party purse. The Irish leaders defeated the arbitration treaty with England two years ago by political threats, and why should they doubt that they can smash the *entente* in a similar way? The conference being held in Dublin as we write, in an attempt to unite Irish factions and start another formidable agrarian agitation in Ireland, will doubtless have some pointed things to say on this subject, destined to fire the Irish-American heart and to set our politicians to vowing again that they always did and always will hate England.

As for the service England did this country at the outbreak of the war with Spain, we think the evidence is conclusive that it was great and vital. If not, why did Mr. McKinley tell the correspondent of the London *Times*, almost tearfully, to cable to England that "America will never forget" her debt to Great Britain? Why should Ambassador Choate have taken the first occasion to speak of the "forbearance and good feeling" which England has shown the United States? The aid rendered by England is not a fiction, not a blown surmise. Mr. Balfour knows, and has broadly intimated in a public speech, what he did for us in our emergency. But if he thinks, or any Englishman thinks, that all this is going to make any difference with our politicians, he is on a most perilous foundation of belief. The whole thing was too sudden, too effusive, too accidental. Habits of a generation, the whole trend of national tradition, are not to be transformed over night, nor are the political watchwords of years to be blotted out in a day. We venture to say that if the Irish-Americans, or the German-Americans, or the Turco-Americans can bring to bear on our party leaders a sufficient political motive to induce them to resume their ululations against England, we shall hear howls which will be all the more dire and firmament-rending for the temporary silence of the last year.

Englishmen have before them at this moment a significant illustration of the hollowness and improvised and unstable character of the much talked-of good understanding between the two countries. Their newspapers are busy reviewing Senator Lodge's 'Story of the Revolution.' The critics are a little puzzled by the book. Through the first nine-tenths of it the author bangs and bethumps the English in the familiar old ward-caucus style. But at the very end he suddenly turns square about, and gushes over England as extravagantly as he had before abused her. Now, does this mean that the great Lodge had been soundly converted? Not at all; it simply means

that he had caught up the trick of utterance common when he was finishing his gigantic historical labors, just as he similarly caught it up at the beginning of them. When he began to write, it was the fashion to curse England, and he cursed her soundly. When he ended, everybody was falling on England's neck, and he fell blubbering with the rest. But was there in him or in the rest a glimmering of an idea of the real reason for a tacit alliance with England—intimate trade relations, common political institutions, joint inheritance of moral and literary standards, and a feeling that past traditions and future destiny knit us together? Nothing of the kind. The whole thing was just a bit of gushing sentiment which may easily be as passing as was the mere accident that set it sillily adrip. The conversion was suspiciously sudden. The repentant sinner was only a "rice-Christian," penitent for value received; and as soon as the heathen crops are good once more, an unblushing and roaring heathen he will be again.

GOOD AMERICANS IN TROUBLE.

We could wish that the Pope's condemnation of "Americanism" had ended the matter. Good Catholics as a general rule promptly made their submission as soon as they heard that his Holiness did not approve of their doctrines. There was one in particular which gave offence to European Catholics, and that was the preference of the Good Americans for the active over the passive virtues. The European Good Catholics, as a general rule, prefer the passive. They have a great fondness for simple meditation, for the quiet of monastic life, in which the day is passed in prayer and reflection on mysteries. A devout writer in the *Revue Diplomatique* has been engaged in a series of articles on "Americanism," which he has just brought to a close, after pointing out in them in a masterly manner the error of the Good Americans on this subject, by means of a sort of running commentary on the Pope's Apostolic Letter. He shows that this contempt for the religious profession "reveals among the Americans, not only a deplorable tendency to rebel against the dearest traditions of the Catholic Church, but also a complete ignorance of the nature and value of vows." The Good Americans have evidently considered vows a mere cover for spiritual indolence, and as affording no place for the tendency to "hustle" which they feel so strongly. "An eminent prelate" shows, on the other hand, that "vows are simply the very best guarantee of individual liberty." How can this be, the Good American will ask, under monastic rule? Nothing simpler. The rule leaves him "free for the constant doing of good." He ought not to desire liberty for any other purpose.

We are extremely sorry to learn that one design of the praises the Americans heap on the Paulist Fathers, according to this writer, is simply to throw discredit on the regular congregations; or, in other words, on the passive Fathers.

We have long felt that this difficulty which the writer sets forth would arise whenever Good Americans took up Catholicism. There is no people in the world less disposed to meditation. In secular life, even, they are unwilling to give to it as much as is needed for the proper transaction of ordinary business. Even war needs meditation, or what the Scripture calls "counting the cost," or, in other words, forecasting what will be needed when the war begins. But this is something which you cannot get the average American to submit to. Yet there is nothing earthly which needs more reflection than war. Last spring it did not receive even one week of reflection. Now Catholicism, and the denominations which most resemble Catholicism, attach enormous importance to meditation, to concentrating the thoughts on other things than action, on simple "mysteries," or, in other words, on things to be believed but not examined. This makes it very unsuited to the American temperament. Americans, even those who are attracted by the Catholic faith, are radically disinclined to throw themselves into the Catholic state of mind. They want to do to the creed, when they embrace it, what some one in Chicago said Chicago would do to "culture" when it took it up, "make it hum." No Good American wants to ponder on verities, or pass much time in silent prayer. He wants to be up and doing something which will test at once the efficacy of the prayer—a little fighting, for instance, or "communication of the blessings of civilization" to heathen. Not only the monastic system, but the ordinary Catholic devotions, are a little unsatisfactory to him. Prayer plays a very important part in Catholic worship—so important that in Italy one must almost carry it on while attending to ordinary secular business. To this the American can with great difficulty reconcile himself. If prayer becomes a spiritual help of this kind to him, he wants to work it somehow into his business, to help his "spring sales," or enable him to get rid of his fall overcoats.

Under these circumstances it is not wonderful that the Good Americans have openly expressed their dissatisfaction with the present mode of converting people to Catholicism. What the cause of their dissatisfaction is, we do not exactly know; but this writer in the *Revue Diplomatique* says that "they say that the means employed up to the present for the conversion of non-Catholics do not meet the exigencies of the times, and that resort must be had to new ones." Think of proposing "up-to-date methods" of conversion to the Pope! The

Sovereign Pontiff is, however, ready for them. He overwhelms them with "the teachings of the fathers," just as Mr. Howell of the Treasury overwhelmed us with the law when we complained of custom-house outrages. In other words, "he demonstrates categorically that, the truth not having changed, dogmas which are the emanation of truth cannot change either, and the mode of teaching them must, therefore, be invariable." This is in our opinion a *coup de grâce* for the Good Americans.

Archbishop Ireland of Minnesota has endeavored to part company with them by prostrating himself in a long letter at the Holy Father's feet; but he has not given complete satisfaction. In the last half of his letter he denounces "the enemies of the Church in America, and the unfaithful interpreters of the faith" who have caused this disturbance, but he does not mention them by name. As our writer says truly, in a matter of such gravity "general terms will not do." We must know who these wretches are. It cannot be that they are "disguised Protestants," or some sort of "sectaries." It would be thoroughly American not to give names in order not to "antagonize" anybody. But this is not the true Roman way of dealing with "malefactors." They deserve to have their barns burnt.

CARDUCCI'S PETRARCH.

FLORENCE, March 16, 1899.

At length, after nine and twenty years of patient labor by Giosuè Carducci, assisted valiantly during the last six by his beloved disciple, Severino Ferrari, we have Petrarch's *Rime* complete, edited and annotated by these two perfect Italian scholars, poets both.* The preface is instructive, and should be laid to heart by all who set themselves to edit works of the old masters:

"Such toilers must seek, not for the version which best pleases themselves or this or that critic, nor the one which presents itself with sudden fascination in a manuscript more or less ancient; but the latest version that issued from the author's pen. To seek and find this must be the task which an editor who is not a mere empirical book-maker should keep in view and secure with the utmost attainable certainty. And surely the best way to come at the truth must be to ascertain which was the latest version left in the author's own handwriting or transcribed under his own eyes, and the earliest edition printed from it."

In forty pages we have the history (1) of Petrarch's manuscripts, (2) of the first printed editions of his poems, (3) the times in which the poet was held in highest honor, or more or less neglected, (4) the commentators who have illustrated his poems and their respective value.

The starting-point for these researches is the announcement by Petrarch, a year and a half before his death, in a letter of January 4, 1373, from Padua, to Pandolfo Malatesta, Lord of Ferrara, "that he sends him *nugellas meas vulgares*, possibly transcribed with errors, as, having too numerous occupations, he trusted their revision to others."

* *Le Rime di Francesco Petrarca* di su gli originali commentate da Giosuè Carducci e Severino Ferrari. Florence: G. C. Sansoni. 1899. [Scholastic Library of Italian Classics.]

He proceeds to show that he had kept by him some of his Italian poems in very old rough drafts, so worn and faded by age as to be hardly legible. Now, we do not know whether those especial rough drafts survived, but the sixteenth century saw and possessed many papers containing the *rime sparse*, just sketched and in process of correction, in Petrarch's own handwriting. Pietro Bembo, in the first edition (1525) of the Italian prose writings, affirms "that he had seen some papers written in the poet's own hand, in which were some of his rhymes; that those sheets showed that he, while composing them, had marked sometimes the whole, sometimes a small portion, sometimes the greater part; that he then erased and made alterations many times." But those papers, at least, in which the noble Venetian tells us that he read the sonnet *Voi ch' ascoltate* as it was first written, and then with the amendments to the second verse, have perished, so far as we know. Ludovico Beccadelli (1502-1572), a Bolognese, who pursued at the same time literary studies and church affairs, saw some other papers, and left tidings of them in his 'Life of Petrarch':

"The sheets which I saw in his own handwriting are of two sorts. The first were shown to me in 1530, when I was a student at Padua, by the Reverendissimo Monsignore Bembo, who kept them with great care, among other treasures, in his study, and they were for the most part sonnets and odes. The others, written in the same hand, were shown to me ten years later in Rome by Mons. Baldassera [Turini] of Pescia, who had obtained them, I know not how, in order to send them to Francis, King of France, to whom they were sent. Most of them, beginning with that on [Laura's] death, belong to the *Trionfi*. The writing was assuredly in Petrarch's hand, because it was exactly the same as other of his writings that remain; then they were corrected and altered in a way that none but the author himself could have done. I remarked, too, that they were written in different ways; some were set down confusedly on all kinds of paper, others were written on better paper, and more carefully—less interlined and annotated; it was evident that the one set were the first sketches, so to say, of his ideas (inventions), the others were the register in which he made the fair copy. One saw the great care that Petrarch took to perfect his poems, changing a word four or five times, and altering whole sentences. Noteworthy is the fact that, with the exception of the corrections, he wrote in Latin, often giving the reasons why he made the alterations, putting down the time in which he returned to his writing and the place in which he wrote. This he did, I am sure, for his own uses, never thinking that such data and memoranda would fall into other hands, and be taken note of. It often happens that people think and talk to themselves, never meaning these little privacies for others. . . ."

The editors tell us that the Petrarchian manuscript possessed by Bembo in 1530 passed in 1581 to Fulvio Orsini, and from him in 1600 to the Vatican Library. Hereon follow minute accounts of all the extant manuscripts, and extracts from the writers on Petrarch who had seen others that have disappeared. We know from Bembo that, at the death of Petrarch, his papers passed to his heirs, or to some friend—possibly the Paduan, Lombardo della Seta, who was so dear to him. The poems were first printed ninety-eight years after Petrarch died (in 1472), and the originals were preserved until the Austrians sacked Padua in 1509; possibly some soldier got those papers and ill-treated them, and then they fell into the hands of some worthy man. Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1536-1601)—leaves among his other notes:

"Certain pages of Petrarch's poems, corrected and altered in his own hand, quoted by Bembo in his prose, were found in a provision-dealer's shop."

When the papers arrived at the Vatican they lay forgotten, or little cared for, in that splendid dormitory until the end of the seventeenth century, when Federico Baldini [. . . 1657], a man thoroughly versed in the poetry of the first centuries, brought them to light, and, as was his wont, with greater exactitude than was usual in his times. When Baldini published the sheets, called archetypes, they were twenty in number, just as Orsini received them and transmitted them to the Vatican in 1600; after this the seventeenth and eighteenth sheets, containing the second part of the "Triumph of Love" from the forty-sixth line to the end, disappeared from the precious collection, and, thus diminished, they were republished in our day with careful criticism and ample illustrations by C. Appell (Halle: Niemeyer).

The complete original of the poems of Francis Petrarch is the Latin Vatican manuscript No. 3195, traced on fine parchment with accuracy and clearness, without marginal notes. It consists of seventy-four folios: the first two, unnumbered, contain the alphabetical index of the first lines; the seventy-two numbered folios begin with the sonnet *Voi ch' ascoltate* and end with the canzone *Virgine bella*, as does this Carducci Ferrara edition. They are written in two different hands, the first from 1 to 38 and 53 to 62; the second from 38 to 49 and from 62 to 72; this second handwriting is that of the poet, who endorsed and corrected also the part not written by his own hand. The title is 'Francisci Petrarchae laureati poetæ Rerum vulgarium fragmenta.' Here our editors warn us that *fragmenta* does not signify incomplete pieces of poetry, but *rime sparse*, as Petrarch calls them in his first sonnet; meaning that the sonnets and odes do not constitute a continuous whole such as Petrarch from time to time determined on writing. The archetypal papers, those of No. 3196, offer a fresh proof of the autography of the manuscript; the notes often point to transcription from the rough to a clearer copy. The compositions which in No. 3196 have *transcriptum per me* we find again in the Vatican manuscript No. 3195 written by Petrarch himself, whereas those under which is written only *transcriptum* are all copied by another hand. Probably the transcription was not commenced before the poet's letter to Boccaccio in 1366, in which he makes manifest his intention that his best verses shall not be spoilt by ignorant scribes. Certainly it was not commenced later than 1368, in which year, on the 22d of October, as is seen in the 15th sheet of the archetypes when he wrote, on the forty-first page, the canzone *Ben mi credca passer*.

The first of the earliest editions of this manuscript is dated Venice, 1470 (rare), the second Rome, 1471 (very rare), the third Padua, 1472. Up to and throughout the seventeenth century the existence of the manuscript and the belief that it was autographic was cherished. G. F. Tommasini mentions it in 1635. The Cruscan Academy in 1654 justifies a version of the sonnet *Rapido fiume* by an appeal to the autograph manuscript preserved in the Vatican, No. 3195. G. Castiglioni, the biographer of Fulvio Orsini (1657), records in his honor the precious gift. Writers of the eighteenth century either

ignored or disbelieved in its authenticity; Marini, writing to Morelli, who was preparing an edition of Petrarch's poems after examining them in 1799, says that the manuscript is not autographic; and thirty years ago the very memory of this famous manuscript was lost. E. Narducci, in his catalogue (1874) of Petrarchan manuscripts, registers the title without a single note, does not even quote Orsini's original inventory, where it is registered, "Petrarch's canzoni and sonnets, written in his own hand," nor yet the fourth volume of the general inventory of the Vatican, where stands No. 3195, 'Francisci Petrarchae rerum vulgarium opera Manuscripti Auctoris.' So we owe gratitude to foreigners who showed us our stupidity and neglect: to Pietro de Nolhac in 1886, and in 1887 to Dr. Arthur Pakscher, who published his studies on Petrarch in the tenth volume of the *Zeitschrift für die Romanische Philologie*, ten years after which comes Mestica's.

After tracing the vicissitudes of the manuscript, our editors continue: "Thus the basis of our work and the instruments of our labor have been (1) the autographic fragments (archetypes) now in the Vatican registered under number 3196, their appendixes and reproductions; (2) the complete original manuscript in the Vatican, No. 3165; (3) the Paduan edition (1472); (4) the Aldine edition (1501)." From 1860 to 1896 they had to work from the original manuscript, and render thanks to "Mario Menghino for his patient and accurate diligence in comparing their proof-sheets with the original manuscript in the Vatican." Then, in 1896, "Mestica's fine edition was published by Barbèra in Florence, and assisted us with copious and useful notes just as we had reached page 341 and the CLV. sonnet [*Non fur me Giove e Cesare si mossi*], when we had already restored the sonnets as they stand in the original manuscript, as indeed they were given in Marsand's edition" (Padua, 1819).

Then we come to Petrarch's commentators, whose great work begins with 1525, when Vellutello's edition of the *Canzoniere* appeared. Many of the commentaries are quoted in the notes because, "though now tiresome reading, inasmuch as the commentators lived during that Renaissance which dated from Petrarch they help us to understand the meaning of the diction and the spirit of our poet." The commentators of the sixteenth century are often quoted. In the seventeenth century, Petrarchism, even as early as 1609, was at its lowest ebb, so that Tassoni, in his 'Considerations,' "forced a door already open"; but on many points he is an acute critic. A hundred years later, Muratori republished the 'Considerations'; but Muratori, the father of "Italian history, whom we love and admire for his high, varied, serene, weighty intellect, his honest, simple, kindly nature, in trying to infuse 'poetic taste' into his readers, is really a representative of Arcady." In the eighteenth century the commentators were few, Pagello (1718-1795) fairly good; then Alfieri, in his studies of the Italian language and poetry, used to write in his note-books all that pleased him in Petrarch, with fine taste and some acute observations. Much praise and gratitude is due to De Sade, whose 'Mémoires pour la vie de Pétrarque' are full of vital erudition, and form the starting-point for modern Petrarchan criticism; his work is a perpetual and sagacious commentary of the *Canzoniere*, especially from an histo-

rical point of view. Finally, reaching our own century, we have Blagoli, who evinces that toilsome yet impassioned return to the literary traditions of the thirteenth century which distinguished the generations that flourished during the first thirty years of the present century; and Leopardi, who is a scholiast often dry and futile. His intention was to comment the *Canzoniere* in such fashion as to make it intelligible to women and children, even to foreigners.

"As if it was a book to put into the hands of children; as if foreigners could understand it unless they knew more of the Italian language than is required to understand Dante; as if the women of to-day, unless furnished with exquisite and delicate taste and sentiment, together with profound culture, could read Petrarch! . . . The fact is, that that great intellect, condemned to slave at a commentary for women and children, ended by growing weary; in the difficult passages he hesitates and stumbles, and gives interpretations which do not seem his own. Still, we recur to him oftener than to others, because, in his general interpretations, he is without comparison more concise and elegant than the other commentators."

The titles of all the commentaries are given in full. In the headings and notes to the poems care is taken (1) to seek out and determine the time, the occasion, the argument of each sonnet or ode; (2) to define the poet's metaphors and allusions to the events of his own life and age, to the customs, the beliefs, the opinions prevalent, in his own time; (3) to interpret the meaning of the poems; (4) to point out briefly their classical erudition; (5) to note the many thoughts and modes of speech and coloring—whole passages, even—which Petrarch, the father of the Renaissance, derived from Latin poets and prose writers and from ecclesiastical writers, and appropriated and assimilated in his original work with admirable skill. All that previous commentators have done well in these directions is retained and the authors indicated.

It may not be out of place to remark here, in closing, that in the little book of Carducci's latest poems the first is the following sonnet, addressed to Severino Ferrari, and entitled "On the Banks of the Lily":

Close at the mountain's foot whose snow is rose
When morning breaks above in ruddy flame,
Clear, fresh, melodious there gently flows
A stream which from the Lily takes its name.
Ferrari! here I sit and think of those
Fair banks of Arno and thy words again;
And I resolve to quit the paltry prose,
And sing henceforward in a loftier strain.
But now the Lily says, "It wastes to naught,
This song of mine, yet ne'er for this I sigh,
But with a fuller music sweep along."
So then once more, pride banished from my thought,
Unto my heart I turn; to mountain, sky,
And wave, repeating still thy Petrarch's song.

Prof. Ferrari has published a volume of exquisite poems, two of which, with a notice, are translated by G. A. Greene in his *Italian Lyrics of To-day* (p. 93). His prose and poetical anthologies for the public high schools are among the best. J. W. M.

MADAME DE MONACO.

PARIS, March 21, 1899.

Pierre de Ségur's "The Last Princess de Condé" has two parts. In the first he deals only with the Princess; the second part, quite as important, is the biography of Madame de Monaco, followed by many inedited letters of the Prince de Condé. Madame de Monaco played such an important part in the life of the Prince that it is not surprising that M.

Pierre de Ségur has completed his work by this interesting addition.

The Brignole-Sale family was among the most illustrious in the Republic of Genoa. Their palace, the Palazzo Rosso, may be seen in the Via Nuova, now called Via Garibaldi, near the famous palaces of Spinola, Doria, Adorno, Cataldi, and the Municipal Palace of the Doges. Marie-Catherine de Brignole was born there in 1739, the only daughter of the Marquis de Brignole; her mother was Anna Balbi, who belonged also to a family of Doges. She met at Versailles Honoré, Prince of Monaco. This young Prince, like his predecessors, spent his youth at the Court of France. He distinguished himself at Fontenoy, was wounded at Rocoux, and showed so much bravery at Lawfeld that the King made him, at the age of twenty-eight, a field-marshal. His courage seems to have been his principal if not his only virtue; contemporaries describe him as hard, tyrannical, very ambitious, hypocritical; his dissimulation was great. He was on the point of marrying a daughter of the Duke du Maine, hoping by this alliance to obtain at the Court of France the rank which the princes of the preceding dynasty of Monaco had occupied. The negotiation was broken off. The Prince then asked for the hand of the daughter of the Duke de Bouillon; the contract was all ready when, to the general astonishment, he broke the engagement. His father was so angry with him that he induced the King to confine him for a few months in the citadel of Arras.

When he left Arras, he did not attempt to find a wife. He met the Marchioness of Brignole, who was very handsome, and she became his mistress. The young Marie-Catherine grew up between her mother, her mother's lover, and a weak and blind father. She was very much admired, and the Prince of Monaco, who was becoming tired of his liaison with Mme. de Brignole, thought of taking her daughter for a wife. Mme. de la Ferté-Imbault, daughter of Mme. Geoffrin, who was a friend of the Brignoles, says that by this marriage "Honoré de Monaco expected to satisfy three of his vices—his avarice, because of the great fortune of the Brignoles; his gallantry, because the young person was one of the handsomest of her time; his jealousy, because he could keep her in his palace at Monaco, far from Versailles." M. Pierre de Ségur says that he could not find out how Honoré de Monaco, in his singular situation, was able to press his suit. "A rout," he says, "forty years old, bold, and of an easy conscience, has many ways of conquering the soul of a defenceless young lady. The undeniable fact is that I have held in my hand—not without emotion—a brief little yellow note, written by a trembling hand still almost childish: 'I, the undersigned, declare and promise the Prince of Monaco never to marry anybody but him, whatever may happen, and never to give ear to any proposition which might disengage me.—Paris, 29th November, 1755.—Marie-Catherine de Brignole.'" When she signed this declaration she had just attained her sixteenth year."

Madame de Brignole became furious at first when she heard of what she considered the treason of her lover; but her anger subsided by degrees, and, by a strange transformation of feeling, she became the advocate of the Prince de Monaco and undertook to obtain the consent of the Marquis de Brignole. It was not an easy task: six

months were spent in negotiations. Finally, the Marquis gave his consent and the marriage took place at Genoa. A child was born on the 11th of May, 1758, Honoré, Duke de Valentinois. The Prince returned to Paris, leaving his wife and child at Genoa in the midst of her family. In 1760 the Princess joined her husband in France. He found her quite a new person; she was no longer the girl he had known and married; she was now quite sure of herself. She was presented on the 23d of November, 1761, at the waters of Plombières; it was for her a day of triumph. She was very much admired, and her chief admirer was a prince of the blood, Louis-Joseph de Bourbon Condé, who was then only twenty-five years old. He was come from the army, and had shown some talent in the first campaigns of the Seven Years' War.

"Notwithstanding his ambition and his desire to please," says M. de Ségur, "the first impression made by him was not engaging. From childhood he retained, in spite of his efforts, a self-centred disposition, a difficulty in being unreserved, which was long taxed as dissimulation and coldness. . . . He entered public life under the reign of the Pompadour, and believed too easily in the power of petty means, confounding intrigue with politics. Frivolous, at least disposed to treat lightly things reputed grave, he attached too much value to society gossip, to prejudices of caste, to the vanities of the world. On the battle-field he again becomes a Condé. In his eye, his voice, the happy precision of his orders, you can see a spark of his glorious ancestor."

The Prince made love to the Princess de Monaco. He invited her to the festivals at Chantilly, he met her everywhere in society, and his attentions became so public that the Prince became jealous and threatened to shut her up. In July, 1769, the Countess left the conjugal house and retired into a convent—in Paris, first, and afterwards at Le Mans. She took an appeal to the courts of France, and a protracted taking of testimony began before the Parlement of Paris. The Prince, viewing himself as prince-sovereign, refused to accept the jurisdiction of the Parlement, and sent a memorial to Louis XVI. The inquest continued, as the French Government was not sorry to find an opportunity to diminish the prerogatives of the principality of Monaco. The affair suffered a long interruption during the quarrel which sprang up between the parlements and the King. As soon as Choiseul fell from power, and the first time the Parlement sat again, on the 31st of December, 1770, the first case called was that of the Princess of Monaco. The Parlement pronounced unanimously that there should be "separation of body and habitation" between the Prince and the Princess, ordered the restitution of her dowry, and forbade the Prince "to again frequent his wife, or to make any direct or indirect attempt upon her liberty."

Immediately afterwards, the Princess of Monaco threw away the last veil. She returned to Paris, and, in order to be nearer Condé, she had an elegant hôtel built in the Rue St. Dominique, right against the Palais Bourbon. At Chantilly, the liaison was even more public; she remained there for months, in a complete and conjugal intimacy with the Prince. She was then hardly thirty years old; her beauty was in all its brilliancy.

The two years which followed the trial were spent almost wholly in Chantilly. The affair of the parlements kept Condé away from Court; in 1772 he abandoned rather unexpectedly the cause of the parlements, and

surrendered himself unconditionally to the royal cause. He was received again with joy by Louis XV. at Versailles, and the Princess de Monaco could not keep him altogether to herself. The liaison became very stormy, and, from all the memoirs of the time, it appears that Madame de Monaco made for herself the reputation of a very tyrannical and ill-tempered companion. M. de Ségur does not conceal the fact that there were perpetual scenes between Madame de Monaco and the Prince. Her position was a difficult one.

"The Duke de Bourbon and the Princess de Condé bore with disgust their daily contact with the declared mistress of their father. Respect and fear might shut their mouths, but their contempt for *la Madame*, as they called her between themselves, was shown in their whole attitude, in the hostility of their looks, the coldness of their behavior, in the silence which ensued upon her approach."

The young Duchess de Bourbon, who was born Bathilde d'Orléans, was not so patient; she was bold, witty, and knew no other rule than her will and caprice. She became aggressive. One day she took a conceit to have a proverb of her composition played on the stage at Chantilly. The actors were the Prince de Condé, Madame de Monaco, and the Duke de Bourbon. The subject was the story of a light and weak man, unconsciously dominated by an ambitious, intriguing, and jealous woman. Every word, every detail of the play was an allusion. The attitude of the public made the actors conscious that they were exhibiting themselves, and painful explanations and quarrels followed the representation.

Madame de Monaco became disgusted with Chantilly and bought a place, Bets, near Crépy-en-Valois, an old feudal castle which she embellished. She made new buildings and a splendid park; she spent more than four millions on this domain. Her sons came to visit her there—the elder, the Duke of Valentinois, who was married to the only daughter of the Duke d'Aumont, the younger, who was called Prince Joseph of Monaco, and had been married to the daughter of Count de Choiseul-Stainville.

The Revolution interrupted the gay existence at Chantilly and at Bets. Immediately after the storming of the Bastille, the Prince de Condé decided to emigrate. He left Chantilly with the Duke de Bourbon, the Duke d'Enghien, who was seventeen years old, Princess Louise, and Madame de Monaco. "To relate in detail this period of the existence of Madame de Monaco, its peregrinations and accidents, would be to relate the history of the Army of Condé," says M. de Ségur. . . . "In order not to leave the Prince, she sacrificed without regret her comfort, her quiet and easy life; she accepted with joy her new existence as a vagabond Princess." During her Odyssey, Goethe saw her at the house of Baron Stein. "She is," he wrote, "alert and charming. Nothing more graceful could be imagined than this slender *blondine*." This blondine was, at the time, on the eve of fifty-three, but her triumphant beauty had resisted all the efforts of time and the miseries of her new life. She had to sell her jewels, her silver; she found herself after a while as poor as the soldiers of Condé. The domain of Bets had been confiscated and sold.

In 1801 the army of Condé was disbanded. Condé and Madame de Monaco settled in England at Wanstead House. In 1802 he

wrote to Louis XVIII., living in exile like himself, asking permission to marry the Princess of Monaco. The permission was granted, and, on this occasion, Louis XVIII. wrote to the Princess, whom for the first time he called his cousin, an amiable letter, the text of which is given by M. de Ségur. The marriage took place on Christmas Eve, before four witnesses only. In 1803 the Princess was attacked by rheumatism and bronchitis; she died on the 28th of March, and was buried at Wimbledon. The Prince was so poor at the time that he had to appeal to the generosity of the Prince Regent to pay the funeral expenses.

Correspondence.

A FORERUNNER OF AGUINALDO.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The following sentiments are put in the mouth of the Philippine King Tidore by the well-known Spanish writer Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola (1566-1631):

"Are we in possession of the most fertile islands of Asia only to purchase with their products infamous bondage and vassalage, converting heaven's generous bounty into a tribute to the ambition of alien tyrants? We know, by experience, how odious our valor has always been to the Christian commanders, whom, for this very reason, we cannot expect to be either more modest or less our enemies. Remember, accordingly, kings as well as subjects, you who promise yourselves glory as well as you who want safety, that neither of these things may be acquired without liberty, nor the latter without war, nor war without valor or concord. The forces of the Spaniards have increased and their glory is at stake. So, the hidden motive and the cause of this tyranny being clear, who is unwilling to venture the utmost in order to earn liberty, the supremest of all good? Other nations, when they hear of our resolution, will call it despair and ferocity, but when they learn the cause of it, they will award us praise and not pardon. Besides, everybody knows what is becoming to his religion, his honor, and his country better than those who judge of these things from a distance; and, finally, what is life without liberty?"

O. T.

April 1, 1899.

OUR MODELS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Our people are boasting that in colonizing methods they are following the English, the successful colonizers of modern times. On reading Washington's Journal to the Ohio, printed in 1753, I found an incident which illustrates the French method of that day, and, with a slight alteration, may be made to fit the situation in the Philippines just before our soldiers began to shoot down the natives. The alteration would be in names, not in matter.

The Half-King (Thanacrishon) had been to Montreal to make a protest against the encroachments of the French. "Fathers," he said in his speech, "both you and the English are white, we live in a country between; therefore the land belongs to neither one nor t'other; but the Great Being above allow'd it to be a place of residence for us; so, Fathers, I desire you to withdraw, as I have done our brothers the English: for I will keep you at arm's length."

To this the French commander, the Otis of the day, replied:

"Now, my child, I have heard your speech; you spoke first, but it is my time to speak

now. Where is my wampum that you took away, with the marks of towns in it? This wampum I do not know, which you have discharged me off the land with; but you need not put yourself to the trouble of speaking, for I will not hear you. I am not afraid of flies, or mosquitos, for Indians are such as those. I tell you, down the river I will go, and will build upon it, according to my command. If the river was blocked up, I have forces sufficient to burst it open and tread under my feet all that stand in opposition, together with their alliances; for my force is as the sand upon the seashore; therefore, here is your wampum, I fling it at you. Child, you talk foolish; you say this land belongs to you, but there is not the black of my nail yours. . . . It is my land, and I will have it, let who will stand-up for, or say-against it. I'll buy and sell with the English (*mockingly*). If people will be ruled by me they may expect kindness, but not else."

But the French failed as colonists, and they are to-day practising the same methods in Madagascar towards the Malagasy.

WORTHINGTON C. FORD.

Boston, April 3, 1899.

J. Q. ADAMS ON CUBA'S GRAVITATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The *Nation* of March 9 contains an interesting quotation from John Quincy Adams against imperialism. In this connection it is, perhaps, worthy of note that while Adams was strongly opposed to imperialism, he was enthusiastically in favor of expansion. He may, then, be quoted in opposition to the Government's control of far-away islands like the Philippines, but he cannot be quoted rightfully against the acquisition or retention of Cuba and Porto Rico. Permit the following extract from a letter to the American Minister at Madrid of April 28, 1823, to supplement the speech of 1831. Adams wrote during the downfall of Spain's Western empire, when the transfer of Cuba and Porto Rico to some European Power was a harassing possibility, and the need of impressing on our representative abroad the importance of vigilance was strongly felt:

"These islands, from their local position and [are?] natural appendages to the North American continent, and one of them, Cuba, almost in sight of our shores, from a multitude of considerations, has become an object of transcendent importance to the commercial and political interests of our Union. Its commanding position, with reference to the Gulf of Mexico and the West India seas; the character of its population; its situation midway between our southern coast and the Island of St. Domingo; its safe and capacious harbor of the Havana, fronting a long line of our shores destitute of the same advantage; the nature of its productions and of its wants, furnishing the supplies and needing the returns of a commerce immensely profitable and mutually beneficial, give it an importance in the sum of our national interests with which no other foreign territory can be compared, and little inferior to that which binds the different members of this Union together. . . . In looking forward to the probable course of events, for the short period of half a century, it is scarcely possible to resist the conviction that the annexation of Cuba to our Federal Republic will be indispensable to the continuance and integrity of the Union itself. It is obvious, however, that for this event we are not yet prepared. Numerous and formidable objections to the extension of our territorial dominions beyond seas present themselves, . . . but there are laws of political as well as of physical gravitation; and if an apple, severed by the tempest from its native tree, cannot choose but fall to the ground, Cuba, forcibly de-joined from its own unnatural connexion with Spain, and incapable of self-support, can gravitate only towards the North American Union, which, by the same law of nature, cannot cast her off from its bosom."

The italics are mine. If the words Adams spoke in 1831 were prophetic, how much more so were the words he wrote in 1833.

J. C. WATTS.

MADISON, WIS., March 27, 1899.

[The non-prophetic part is left unitalicized—we mean the unfulfilled half-century forecast as to the indispensability of Cuban annexation. Nobody even now thinks it indispensable “to the continuance and integrity of the Union.” Furthermore, if Cuba’s connection with Spain, its mother country, was unnatural, how much more that which we are now foisting upon the Philippines.—ED. NATION.]

EXPATRIATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Allow me to call your attention to the enclosed extract from a letter written by him whom you call “the learned Day.” Is it not a little hard that we who, for health, or business, or philanthropy, choose to reside out of the country of which we are natives, and where we and our forebears have, in our time, done our duty as citizens, and some of us as soldiers, should, for no other fault, be summarily outlawed? We submit, because we must, to the refusal to give us passports, but *this* is a little too much! Please help us with your protest. One who does not wish to be

A MAN WITHOUT A COUNTRY.

PARIS, March 21, 1899.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, March 12, 1898.

A person who voluntarily resides abroad permanently, *forfeits his right to claim protection from this government.* He performs none of the duties of citizenship, and cannot expect to receive assistance from a source which he has separated himself from.

(Signed) WILLIAM R. DAY,
Assistant Secretary.

[We have ourselves, acting for a transatlantic American of international repute, been obliged to listen at the custom-house, from one who perhaps owed his place to a “pull,” to a tirade against Americans found living abroad beyond the short term within which our delightful tariff forbears to denationalize them. And yet our friend’s life abroad was determined by a consular appointment made by President Lincoln.—ED. NATION.]

ERRATA BY ATTRACTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In to-day’s *Nation* I observe in the notice of Mr. Lawton’s ‘Successors of Homer’ a rather ludicrous “scribal error” in the translation from the “Hymn to Demeter.” In the words, “and the incensed smell of it made all the wide sky laugh, and all the earth laugh, and the salt *smell* of the sea,” the italicized word should, of course, be “swell” (translating *oîma*).

Something similar to this appears in the following, quoted from the *New Review* in the *New York Tribune* of October 16, 1897: “But until Mr. Le Gallienne’s heroes desist

from battering on ‘the honeycomb of woman,’ they will form a nasty *spectacle* (in every sense of the epithet) to their creator’s accomplishment of anything even respectable in fiction.” The blunder “spectacle” for “obstacle” is obviously due to “respectable,” which stands nearly under it.—I have the honor to be, sir, very truly yours,

MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE.

BARNARD COLLEGE, March 20, 1899.

Notes.

Prof. Angelo Hellprin, whom the pursuit of science leads now to the arctic and now to the tropics, will publish this spring through the Appletons a work on ‘Alaska and the Klondike,’ which can but rank high in the “literature” of that region.

R. H. Russell announces the publication of “English Portraits,” a series of drawings on stone by Will Rothenstein. The portraits are of men and women of to-day, including Mr. Thomas Hardy, Sir F. Seymour Hayden, Sir Frederick Pollock, Mr. Lecky, Mr. W. E. Henley, Miss Ellen Terry, Mr. Sidney Colvin, Mrs. Alice Meynell, Mr. Walter Crane, Mr. George Gissing, Mr. Henry James, etc., etc.

Prof. William Z. Ripley’s ‘The Races of Europe,’ a sociological study, illustrated with 85 maps and 235 portrait types, and provided with a supplementary bibliography issued separately by the Boston Public Library, will be ready about May 1.

Mr. Gollancz, in his ‘Temple Classics’ (London: Dent; New York: Macmillan), has arrived at ‘Tristram Shandy,’ of which he reproduces the edition of 1781, with the aid of Walter Jerrold for marginalia and notes (mostly of proper names). The beauty of these two volumes is of the kind well known from this companionable series, but in the interest of taste we could wish the regulation title-page abolished in favor of something that would better harmonize with the frontispieces and other daintinesses of the printer’s art.

About a year ago our Paris correspondent gave some account of K. Waliszewski’s ‘Marysienka,’ a swift and rather bombastic narrative of the life of the wife of Sobieski (1641-1716). This has now been translated fluently and for the most part idiomatically by Lady Mary Loyd, and is published with a portrait by Dodd, Mead & Co.

The ‘Annual Literary Index’ for 1898, edited by W. I. Fletcher and R. R. Bowker (*Publishers’ Weekly*), makes its customary prompt appearance. The Periodical Index (Poole proper) is followed by the Index to General Literature, *i. e.*, works of a collective nature, like Dobson’s ‘Miscellanies,’ Chapman’s ‘Emerson, and Other Essays,’ Krehbiel’s ‘Music and Manners in the Classical Period,’ Hubbard’s ‘Little Journeys to the Homes of American Statesmen,’ and, most important of all, Warner’s ‘Library of the World’s Best Literature.’ In connection with the foregoing is an author-index. A list of the American and English bibliographies of the year, an authors’ necrology, and an index to dates of principal events in 1898—*e. g.*, under *Santiago* all the main particulars of the siege; and leading obituary notices the world-over—invaluable to journalists, conclude the thesaurus.

There has undoubtedly been a need for an American ‘Year’s Art,’ ever since Mr. Koehler’s ‘Art Directory of the United States’

suspended publication. A woman now takes up the task, Florence N. Levy, and gives us through Macmillan the ‘American Art Annual’ for 1898. It is a volume of 540 pages in three main divisions. The first deals with the year in question, its sales and exhibitions, its necrology, its publications, together with information about tariff and copyright, and some chapters on art in the public schools. Here, too, is a summary account of foreign exhibitions, with special reference to American participation. The second division is of art galleries, private collections, art societies, and art schools, alphabetically treated under their respective cities (with a niche for Mexico hereafter), and embodying the catalogue in each case of a society or club exhibition. Part III. consists of directories, respectively, of painters, sculptors, illustrators (wood-engravers must be sought under this rubric, but are not distinguished from designers), workers in applied arts; art galleries, societies, schools, and dealers. The compiler gives evidence of little literary skill or sense of order, and the typographic appearance of her annual is unartistic to the point of confusion. Nevertheless, she is to be praised for her undertaking, and for the directories in particular, the utility of which has, in other similar cases, outlived the major enterprise.

Part four of ‘The Old Families of Salisbury and Amesbury, Mass.’ (Providence, R. I.: David W. Hoyt) advances this painstaking and trustworthy work to the Somer family, one of whose members, John Somer, a cooper, residing in Boston, was “a Quaker and twice whipped.” Another victim of independent thought and utterance was Major Robert Pike, who especially distinguished himself in the checking of the witchcraft delusion. Here figures also William Morse, whose house was the scene of witchcraft disturbances which nearly cost his wife her life; and Osgoods and Singletary are cited among witnesses against those accused as witches. The Rev. Joseph Rowlandson got into peril of public whipping by posting (while yet a senior at Harvard, class of 1652) a libel against a fellow-townsmen in Ipswich, to wit, “A wet eele’s tayle and his word were something worth ye taking hold of.” Mr. Hoyt announces a conclusion in part five, with indexes and corrections.

Under the title, ‘The Anatomy of the Central Nervous System of Man and of Vertebrates in General,’ the fifth and expanded edition (1896) of Edinger’s well-known ‘Vorlesungen’ has been translated by Prof. W. S. Hall of the Northwestern University Medical School, and published by the F. A. Davis Co. The volume will be welcomed by English-speaking students, teachers, and investigators who do not read German easily, and the fulness of the index is particularly to be commended. There is no evidence that the translation has the sanction of the author. Whether so or not, the apparent effort at literalness has occasioned some misinterpretations that would be amusing were they not misleading. Since there are unspecified omissions, interpolations, and terminologic changes, the translator becomes practically responsible for the whole, and hence for the perpetuation of deficiencies in the original as regards points of morphology and nomenclature. Respecting the latter, indeed, there is manifested either ignorance or disregard of the recommendations of American and German anatomic and neurologic societies. Inconsistencies, too, are likely to confuse the student, and are by no means atoned for by

the uniform rendering of "Anlage" by "fundament."

Nearly a quarter of a century ago Malwida von Meysenbug published her 'Memoiren einer Idealistin,' a charming book of reminiscences in three volumes, which has passed through several editions and taken a prominent and permanent place in German autobiographical literature. She belonged by birth to an aristocratic family of Hesse-Cassel, and her father held a high position in the government of the Elector, but she estranged herself from all her kith and kin by her political liberalism and active participation in the revolution of 1848. The collapse of that movement compelled her to leave her native land; she took refuge in England, where she lived for a long time, chiefly in the circle of her fellow-exiles and their English sympathizers. These German and Russian refugees were men and women of superior culture and remarkable force of character, and in the second volume of the 'Memoirs' she gives a vivid picture of their daily life in London, their struggles, hopes, and aspirations. Among others she mentions Carl Schurz, who was then only twenty-two years of age, and had just given a striking proof of his cleverness and courage and personal devotion in freeing Kinkel from the dungeon in Spandau. "One need not be a prophet," she says, "to foretell for him a great and fruitful future."

'Der Lebensabend einer Idealistin,' just issued by Schuster & Loeffler in Berlin, is a supplement to the 'Memoirs,' and contains the reminiscences and reflections of the authoress during the past twenty years or more. Indeed, they go back digressively to the laying of the corner-stone of the Wagner Theatre at Bayreuth in 1872, where, on account of her long and intimate friendship with Richard and Cosima Wagner, she thought of making her home, but the rude climate defeated this plan and caused her to return to the more congenial air of Italy. The volume is not so much a consecutive autobiography as a series of sketches delineating the most important events of her life, interspersed with thoughts on various topics, mostly of an æsthetic, ethical, and philosophical character. One of the most delightful of these episodes is the sojourn at Sorrento with Friedrich Nietzsche and other friends during the winter of 1876-'77. The report of the evening readings and discussions is exceedingly interesting and instructive, and presents Nietzsche in a very favorable light. The thought of his subsequent mental eclipse leads her to exclaim: "How mild and conciliatory he was then; how his kind and genial nature counterpoised his keenly analytic intellect!" The narration introduces the reader to many other personages prominent in art, literature, science, and politics, in clear outlines; but the most attractive figure of all is Malwida von Meysenbug herself.

Which "great Democratic party" has at last found a quarterly organ in the *Conservative Review* begun last month in Washington (The Neale Co.), it might be difficult to say. Such a relation is not indicated on the title-page, and there is no prospectus or salutatory or naming of editors. Eleven articles are arranged in orthodox quarterly form, and but three are political—"The Constitution on Absolutism," by Isaac Lobe Straus; "American Policy of Expansion," by Hon. Champ Clark; and "The Treaty with Spain," by Hon. A. Leo Knott—all in one

anti-expansionist vein, with more or less good argument and precedent adduced. Among the literary reviews, those on Henderson's Stonewall Jackson, Col. R. M. Johnston, and Chamberlain's John Adams have a pronounced Southern bias. In the last-named ("New England Statesmen") the present material prosperity of the South as a result of the civil war is made a ground of railing against the unstatesmanlike Northern defenders of the Federal Union. Miss Kate Mason Rowland, reviewing several works on Capt. John Smith, falls foul of "America" and of Alexander Brown for calling it "our national hymn," as if the "Land of the pilgrim's [sic] pride" was all America, or "we must all claim the Plymouth Rock 'fathers.'"

Our English cousins should read with satisfaction the latest record of American library ingenuity, "The Blue-print Process for Printing Catalogues," a paper contributed to the *March Library Journal* by Alexander J. Rudolph, assistant librarian of the Newberry (Chicago) Library. What is here described is the reprinting by the above process, and arranging under one alphabet, the British Museum's catalogue of accessions from 1880 to date. The entries number nearly 900,000, and require more than 20,000 sheets of blue-print paper, to form about 40 volumes of the size of the Museum's general catalogue. The cost is \$20 per 1,000 pages, royal octavo. The process has a wide application in library economy.

The March Bulletin of the New York Public Library is notable for a report of the executive committee retracing the history of the foundation and its rapid growth under Dr. Billings's directorship. Congestion is the fate of the institution till its new building brings relief, five miles of additional shelving in the Astor and Lenox Libraries notwithstanding. In the Astor, the seating capacity has been exhausted. The total collection now equals 485,000 volumes and 180,000 pamphlets. The duplicates accruing from reclassification and from gifts are set aside for use in a future circulating department.

An international journal devoted to the study of leprosy is to make its appearance in the near future. Its publication is one of the fruits of the International Leprosy Congress held in Berlin some months ago. The journal will bear the title *Leprosy: Bibliotheca Internationalis*, and the editorial staff embraces Dr. Besnier of Paris, Professor Dehlo of Dorpat, Russia; Dr. Hansen of Bergen, Norway; Dr. Hyde of Chicago, Dr. Hutchinson of London, and Prof. Neisser of Breslau. Dr. Ehlers of Copenhagen is editor in chief. Articles will be printed in various languages.

The German Orient Society (Orientgesellschaft), organized about two years ago for the special purpose of making diggings and excavations in the Tigris and Euphrates valleys, has now fairly entered upon what promises to be successful work. Twelve months ago a preliminary expedition, headed by Prof. Sachau and Dr. Koldewey of Berlin, proceeded to the East to examine into possible sites for the operations of the Society. The report of this committee induced the authorities to undertake excavations on the site of old Babylon itself, and a firman from the Turkish Government granting permission to do so was readily secured. The Society has chosen as the first object of its attack the mound commonly known as El-Kasr, or the Castle, containing the ruins of the magnifi-

cent castle erected by Nebuchadnezzar, about 600 B. C., in which he lived during the greater portion of his reign, and in which Alexander the Great died. For the present, funds have been secured to carry on the diggings for five years; but as the Society has been liberally supported by the contributions of its members and by the German Government, it is more than likely that the work will be continued indefinitely. The Royal Museums in Berlin are coöperating with the Society. The expedition is headed by Dr. Koldewey, an experienced explorer.

The Selden Society reports a very slight increase in 1898 of the number of its members. Volume xiii. of its publications, for 1899, will be a volume of 'Select Pleas of the Forests,' by Mr. G. J. Turner. Volume xiv., for 1900, will be a volume on the 'Municipal Records of Lincoln and Beverley,' by Mr. A. F. Leach. It has not been thought desirable to carry out the scheme of joint publication of the reprint of the Year-Books of Edward II., which was referred to in last year's Report as being then under consideration. The Council accordingly propose to proceed with their own plan, and hope to commence the publication in 1902 and to continue it in alternate years, with the intention that the Year-Books shall take the place of the ordinary publications for those years. The regretted illness of Prof. Maitland will probably make it impossible to commence the publication earlier. On account of the expensiveness of the undertaking, the Council may have to appeal for special contributions.

—The *Atlantic Monthly* for April contains an article, the first of a series by Charles Mulford Robinson, on "Improvement in City Life." The present instalment deals only with Philanthropic Progress. Even those to whom organized charity is repulsive or uninteresting can hardly read a review such as this without perceiving that the new philanthropy is a great advance upon any development of charity hitherto known. At the same time, when we are told that the New York State Board of Charities, in its annual report for 1898, expressed the belief that there were more than four thousand empty beds in the children's institutions in this city, we see that something remains to be done. The great fundamental principle of the new charity, as distinguished from the old, is stated by Mr. Robinson as follows: "That which merely relieves a social condition without attempting to prevent the recurrence of the need of relief, does not lift the city to higher things. Curative work is better than palliative, and preventive is best of all." It is worth noticing, by the way, how the new philanthropy confirms the teaching of the old political economy—that dismal science which warns against indiscriminate charity, and checks our impulse to give to needy knife-grinders at sight. That sort of charity not only covered, but promoted, a multitude of sins. The main object of the modern system is to promote the virtues by which pauperism is checked—cleanliness, temperance, industry, and thrift. The movements for better housing, baths, and playgrounds are all good in their way, but the root of the matter is in arousing the interest of the individual in his or her own improvement; neighborhood settlements and the personal visiting system draw their life from this. Mr. Robinson thinks that the future only can reveal "what is to be the effect of a patronage by politics of the

philanthropic movement—a condition which has lately become marked, notably in the case of the Citizens' Union campaign in New York in 1897," and adds: "Certainly the past gives little encouragement to hope that the result will be an improvement." What he means is apparently that philanthropy had made its advance hitherto chiefly through extra-political work, and that the type of political charity is the old-fashioned work-house and poor-house nurseries of pauperism. To this the young settlement-enthusiast would probably reply that Politics is to have a new birth too, as soon as he comes into control, and that Philanthropy—as Mirabeau said of Equality—is a good weapon with which to get into control.

—One-third of the contents of the *Century* for this month is made up of illustrated war articles ("The Atlantic Fleet in the Spanish War," by Rear-Admiral Sampson, a second instalment of "The Capture of Manila," by Major-General Greene, and "The Surrender of Manila," as seen from Admiral Dewey's flagship, by John T. McCutcheon). The first two derive their main interest from their authorship, and on one or two historic doubts concerning the Spanish war they throw some light. For instance, one question much mooted last year was the precise strategic meaning and force of the bombardment of San Juan, Porto Rico, by Admiral Sampson. The Admiral himself ought to know, and he says here that the "value of the action lay not a little in the practice it gave the men under fire." The orders of the Department were "not to risk needlessly the loss of a vessel until Cervera had been disposed of," the fleet having been dispatched for this purpose. On arriving at San Juan "a glance was sufficient to show that Cervera's ships were not in port"; to destroy the coal supply or occupy the place was impossible, because "no important part of the squadron could be detained there for this purpose, and the date at which an army of occupation could be expected was uncertain." The sum and substance of the Admiral's account is that, for the sake of a day's practice under fire, he took a good deal of risk—in fact, risked his fleet being disabled and prevented from executing the movement in which he was engaged. This confirms the opinion of those critics who contended at the time that the bombardment had no military meaning whatever. General Greene shows curiously how General Merritt made use of the insurgents to get ~~into~~ position before Manila. He sent his chief of staff "with a verbal message directing me [Gen. Greene] to persuade the insurgents, if possible, to evacuate a portion of their trenches; but I was to do this on my own responsibility, and without intimating that I had any instructions to this effect from him." "He was very anxious to avoid any entangling alliances with Aguinaldo, with whom he had no direct communication." General Greene, therefore, sent his orderly to the insurgent General Noriel, commanding the brigade of insurgents nearest to the beach, and negotiated for a surrender of the insurgent trenches to him, promising to make them more effective with superior artillery. Finally, by permission of Aguinaldo—provided that he (General Greene) "would make the request in writing"—the change was effected. General

Greene, of course, so discreet an officer as General Greene would never have published all the details of the story had he not received full permission from General Merritt. It seems, therefore, that, from the outset, the latter's aim was to make use of Aguinaldo in any possible way, but not to become responsible to him or to the insurgents. Was this because they were to be "ceded" to us? In Cuba, where we appeared as humane protectors, we could be more open in our dealings. In the military as in the political art it is necessary for our wisest and bluffest to resort to finesse; it is our highest boast that we publish it all afterwards with illustrations in the magazines.

—*Scribner's* has several noticeable illustrated papers, one of which, by Frederick Palmer, gives curious information about "A Winter Journey to the Klondike." Prof. William James has an article on "The Gospel of Relaxation," in which he makes psychology vindicate the teaching of common sense as to some national peculiarities. Mr. James is always too eloquent to be condensed; his aim is to show that the nervous, tense, American manner, which many admire—the manner which some writer says enabled his heroine to produce in all who beheld her an impression of "bottled lightning"—is a vice, not a charm. Intensity is not the proper goal of expression, either in look, voice, or gesture; it really suggests "irritable weakness," not reserved strength. The thing to study in manner is harmony, dignity, ease, and simplicity—not, however, by "putting on" or simulating them, but by being simple and easy. Mr. James repudiates altogether the theory that the American manner in question is the product of the climate or the physical geography of the continent. He attributes it to bad habits, nothing more or less, bred of "custom and example, born of the imitation of bad models and the cultivation of false personal ideals." The only way to get rid of it is to imitate good models, of which there are still plenty within easy reach. We cannot help thinking that a great deal of the uneasy tenseness of the manner in question is or was connected with the desire to be "American" *ad hoc*—i. e., to have a manner that should be national, and should be correlated with the superior energy, intelligence, and morality which we feel, in contemplating other tribes and nations, to be our portion. To aim at producing a superlatively local impression, however, is not the way to achieve excellence in anything. Educated Americans of the best sort, down to the most recent times, not merely Washington and Franklin and Adams, but men of a totally different strain, like Lincoln, and men even of the specially "irritable" literary breed—Hawthorne, Lowell, Curtis, and many of their still living descendants—have been marked, as to manner, by the "brave old wisdom" of simplicity. Perhaps the worst American manner of all—worse even than the teeth-gnashing, bottled-lightning variety—is that of the "hustler" of the present decade, the manner of the commercial traveller, not commending, but thrusting his wares down your throat. Naval men, literary men, military men, and even clergymen, have adopted it; it tends to make human society unendurable and

—Cromwell was born April 25, 1599, and his "tercentenary" is consequently a convenient magazine topic for the current month. In *Harper's*, Amelia Barr has an illustrated article on "Cromwell and his Court," consisting of incidents and anecdotes gathered from Cromwellian newspapers and tracts. A valuable article of the solid sort, on Sleep, is contributed by Dr. Andrew Wilson of the University of Edinburgh, under the somewhat fantastic title of "The Ape of Death." Among other things, Dr. Wilson discusses the phenomenon—familiar enough to everybody—of the capacity to wake up at an hour fixed upon in the mind before going to sleep. He thinks that there is something in this foreordination akin to the "dominant idea" which a hypnotist may impress on his subject. "The dominant idea in the shape of the necessity of awaking at a certain time is impressed on the brain, and is probably transmitted to those automatic or lower centres which rule our mechanical acts, which are responsible for visions of the night, and which are capable of carrying out, either in the entire absence of consciousness or in the existence of a subconscious condition, many complex actions." But, when we ask how it is that the time is measured, so that the alarm-clock acts at the appointed hour and not at some other, all that can be said is that people may have a "time faculty," just as they have a sense of direction. But is not this merely a restatement of the phenomenon itself? If "time" faculty and "direction" faculty explain such matters as these, why will not our old friends "will" faculty and "memory" faculty explain acts of volition and recollection? Among novel naval "features" in this magazine is an account, by Peter Keller, boatswain's mate on the *Gloucester*, of the "Rescue of Admiral Cervera," dictated to a stenographer, and "told in his own language."

—The "Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada" which Prof. Wrong of Toronto University began in 1897, has been annually continued and now reaches its third issue. Mr. Langton, who before acted as assistant editor, seems now to be fully associated with the work, but no other change strikes the eye upon the title-page of the publication for the current year. On scrutinising the contents, one observes that the marked tendency is towards anonymous contribution. At the outset, twenty-seven articles were acknowledged by their authors, last year the number dropped to fifteen, and now it is only eight. Perhaps, in a country like Canada, where the literary class is comparatively small and nearly all the authors know or know about each other, it becomes rather invidious to make perfectly frank and sincere criticisms in articles which are signed. Whether this be or not the right explanation of the tendency just mentioned, the publication maintains a high level of honesty and thoroughness. The last twelvemonth has been a very light one in Canadian literature, and if it were not for works which introduce a European or American element, the editors would have been hard pressed to find suitable material for their volume of 200 pages. Fortunately, there are enough works on Canada's relation to the empire, the Cabot question, and other records of early colonization to furnish forth several long and in-

whereas the local histories of seignory and township, the minute cartographical study, etc., will not otherwise be competently appraised. Besides calling attention to the general excellence of this review, we must particularly praise the minuteness of its bibliographical research. Even the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen und Oesterreichischen Alpenvereins* has been ransacked for a description of the Illecillewaet Glacier. The volume is published directly by the University of Toronto, and may be procured from the Librarian.

—The transcontinental African railway connecting Cairo and the Cape is no longer the mere visionary scheme of the British expansionist. The Bechuanaland Railway Co., according to a well-informed writer in the *London Times*, has undertaken to build the link, 1,750 miles long, between Buluwayo and the navigable waters of the Nile Valley. It proposes to begin work immediately on the first section of 20 miles through a promising mineral country to some extensive coal-fields. Thence across the Zambesi to the southern end of Lake Tanganyika a route has been roughly surveyed, and no serious engineering difficulties have been discovered. For the greater part of the distance the proposed line follows the backbone of the continent at an average elevation of some 5,000 feet. The land is well watered and suited for both agriculture and grazing, resembling southern Brazil and northern Argentina. The natives are mostly industrious and peaceable cultivators of the soil, and merely need protection from slave and cattle-raiders to become prosperous agricultural communities. In the original plan there was to be a steamboat service on Lake Tanganyika, leaving 450 miles of road to be constructed from the northern end of the lake to Uganda, either through the Free State or German territory. This route has now been abandoned on account of the apparently successful negotiations between the German Emperor and Mr. Rhodes. According to the latest reports, the road is to be continued through German East Africa, intersecting at Tabora, 200 miles east of the lake, with a German line to the coast now in process of construction. This section will probably be financed in Germany, provided there is a Government guarantee of the investment, and the arrangement is welcomed in both countries as a proof of the harmony of German and English interests in Africa. It is estimated that the 900 miles from Buluwayo to the lake can be completed in five years at a cost of \$25,000,000, and it is hoped that the German section will be built simultaneously with this southern part. The material advantages of the railway are that it will develop a vast country rich in agricultural and probably in mineral wealth, and that it will put an end to the atrocious slave-raiding which blights central Africa.

—With the death of Ludwig Bamberger on March 14, in Berlin, a prominent public character has disappeared from the arena of German politics. Bamberger was born at Mainz, July 23, 1823, studied law and practised for a short time, but was soon drawn irresistibly to journalism, and became editor of the leading paper in his native city. He took an active part in the revolution of 1848, was condemned to death, and fled to Switzerland. He subsequently went to Paris, where from 1853 to 1866 he held the responsible position of director of the great banking house of Bischoffsheim & Goldschmidt. The amnesty

of 1866 enabled him to return to his fatherland, where he was elected in 1868 a member of the German Zollparlament, and in 1871 a member of the Reichstag, to which he belonged till 1893. During the first seven years of his parliamentary career he was connected with the National Liberal party, then with the "secession," which he organized, and later with different factions of the so-called Deutschfreisinnige Partei. He was a man of brilliant parts, independent spirit, and honest purpose, but these excellent qualities made him one of the most efficient agents in splitting up the liberal representation into cliques, and thus throwing the law-making power into the hands of the united conservatives and reactionaries. He was a publicist of distinction. His "Gesammelte Schriften," issued in five volumes by Rosenbaum & Hart in Berlin, contain interesting characterizations of eminent persons, but consist chiefly of valuable and very readable essays on economical, financial, and political topics. He rendered good service to Germany and other countries by his vigorous defence of the gold standard against the assaults of the silverites, was an ardent advocate of free trade and keen adversary of socialism. His last important contribution to the press was a series of articles, entitled "Bismarck Posthumus," which appeared originally in the Berlin weekly *Die Nation*, and afterwards in book form. His estimate of the eminent statesman, whose policy, especially as regards colonial expansion, he so often and earnestly opposed in the Imperial Diet, is fair and wholly free from vindictiveness. He pays a high tribute to the great qualities of the Chancellor, and notes at the same time some of the defects of these qualities; he corrects several serious misstatements in the 'Reminiscences,' without impeaching the veracity of their author. The breadth and refinement of his culture, a lively sense of humor, a lucid and attractive style, a thoroughly liberal spirit, sound common sense, and a complete mastery of the subjects which he discusses, give to his writings a permanent value as contributions to contemporary history, more particularly in the kindred provinces of political economy and financial science.

SHAKSPERE IN FRANCE.

Shakespeare en France sous l'ancien régime.
Par J. J. Jusserand. Paris: Armand Colin & Cie. 8vo, pp. 389.

In this admirable volume, packed full of information, as would be expected by those familiar with the former works of its author, are to be found the following facts.

In the sixteenth century, during the period of the French Renaissance, the existence of any English literature was unknown to Frenchmen—that is, any literature written in English. The works of Englishmen writing in Latin, the works of scholars, historians, and thinkers were widely known and duly admired; but the poets, from Chaucer down, were ignored. Yet the relations between the two nations had been continual, and it was not merely statesmen and scholars and divines who had passed back and forth over the Channel. Henry VIII. sent two poets to France as Ambassadors—Sir Thomas Wyatt and another. Ronsard in his boyhood was two years and a half in Scotland and half a year in London; he made the acquaintance of one of the most charming poets of the day, Sir David Lyndsay,

but he seems to have retained no impression of him, and in all his writings it would be difficult to find an allusion to English poetry. A generation later, Du Bartas, author of 'Les Semaines,' was Ambassador in England, and almost at the same moment Sackville, one of the authors of "Gorboduc," was Ambassador at Paris. Brantôme, an excellent observer, was twice at the court of Elizabeth. He notes seeing a picture, a ballet, and some hunting dogs, but he says nothing of "Gorboduc," which was performed at court the year of his first visit, and does not mention the two or three great theatres lately built in London at the time of his second visit (1579), when Paris had but one.

In 1610 a work (the 'Characters' of Hall) written in English was for the first time translated into French; the next year this first translation was followed by the translation of Bacon's Essays. These experiments, however, remained rare, in curious contrast to the numerous French works that were then to be found in translation in England. But before the end of the seventeenth century the works of Shakspeare had themselves, in their native form, crossed the Channel. Two copies (only two) are known to have been in France. One was in the library of Louis XIV. himself (between the years 1675 and 1684); the other was in that of the great *surintendant* Fouquet, and an inventory of his books shows that it was priced at one "sol"; it was perhaps the folio that now sells for 15,000 francs. In the catalogue of the King's library, the Librarian wrote beside the title an appreciation, in four lines, of the author's genius; it was the first French judgment pronounced on Shakspeare, and it saw the light only ten years ago, at the hands of M. Jusserand. It was in 1685 that (as far as is known) Shakspeare's name was first printed in France, and his name only. It appears in a list of thirteen English poets, English writing poets.

Just at this moment, when classic art had reached its highest point in France, serious doubt regarding this form of art had insinuated itself into some minds. From the Academy itself, the stronghold of literary conventions, came one of the most remarkable protests, in the form of dialogues written by Charles Perrault (equally well known as the author of the charming fairy-tales of our childhood). These dialogues were a series entitled 'Parallèle des Anciens et des Modernes,' which appeared in 1683 and the following years, and was the first scene in the first act of the famous so-called "Quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns." At the conclusion of this opening campaign, success perched on the banners of Perrault and his associates, and respect for antiquity and the consequent imitation of it was henceforth not an obligatory virtue in modern literature. This quarrel did not concern itself especially with the drama, and it is probably for that reason that M. Jusserand takes little notice of it; but it can hardly be questioned that the opinions which gave rise to the discussion were connected with the decline at the end of the seventeenth century of the dramatic art in France. After "Athalie" in 1691 it may be said that, throwing out the theatre of Crébillon, there was no French play deserving attention till the "Brutus" of Voltaire, written in England under the influence of Shakspeare, in 1727.

Voltaire went to England in 1728; three

years later he returned, accompanied by Shakspeare. All that was known about Shakspeare in France was of the most trivial importance till Voltaire published in 1734 his 'Lettres sur les Anglais,' better known as 'Lettres Philosophiques.' In these he wrote of the various religious sects in England, of the English government and English commerce, of inoculation, of Bacon and Locke and Newton, and also of tragedy and comedy and of the men of letters of the day. All these subjects had been treated of before in France, but not by Voltaire, not by any voice that gained attention. Yet, unobserved, a veritable Anglomania had taken root which was to reach astonishing proportions. One of the first of the "Anglomanes" was the Abbé Prévost, author of the famous 'Manon Lescaut' and a hundred other romances of more or less merit. In one of these, the 'Mémoires d'un Homme de Qualité,' the 'Impressions de voyage' of the Abbé himself appeared, in 1728. He speaks of England as "not well enough known," and he describes in a very friendly spirit not only London but the cities of the provinces and the English castles and universities; and he becomes enthusiastic about the English drama, and particularly about Shakspeare.

In the Letters, Voltaire says of Shakspeare: "He had a genius full of power and fruitfulness, of naturalness and sublimity, without the least spark of good taste, and without the least knowledge of the rules. . . . The merits of this author have ruined the English theatre." And after high praise of Addison he continues: "Since Addison's day the English stage has become more regular, the spectators more critical, the authors more correct and less bold"; adding, with an accent of regret: "It seems as if the English were as yet capable of producing only irregular beauties. The brilliant monstrosities of Shakspeare are a thousand times more agreeable than the modern perfection"—praise that was heard with patriotic indignation in France. His sense of the nature, the power, and the life to be found in the best parts of the English stage is summed up in a phrase of which, M. Jusserand declares, even the enthusiasts of 1830 would not have desired to change a word: "The poetic genius of the English resembles now a thickly leaved tree, planted by nature, throwing out at haphazard a thousand branches and unequally increasing in size and strength. It dies if you try to bend its nature and to cut it into shape like the trees of the gardens of Marly." But this phrase had not on the lips of Voltaire the same weight of meaning as to the enthusiasts of 1830. The 'Lettres Philosophiques' and their author belong to an age when in matters of art the trees of the gardens of Marly were the ideal.

From this moment the knowledge of Shakspeare spreads in all directions. The voice of Voltaire reaches everywhere and excites interest of one kind or another. Henceforth the public requires of travellers in England that they should speak of the author of "Hamlet." The Abbé Prévost continued to proclaim his ardent admiration, much more ardent and unreserved than that of Voltaire, but which attracted much less attention. The audacious Abbé even dared to maintain that it was not to be regretted that Shakspeare had not been familiar with the ancients. Another abbé, the Abbé Le Blanc, devoted a number of his 'Letters,'

published at The Hague in 1745, to detailed studies of the genius of Shakspeare, but in his eyes ignorance of "the rules" had ruined this admirable genius, "one of the greatest geniuses that have ever perhaps existed," "but who unfortunately has not produced a single work that can be read from beginning to end." But the Abbé Le Blanc deserves to be honored, if for this alone, that he was the first man in France to take into account the incomparable magic of the style of Shakspeare; he recognized that Shakspeare spoke a language which belonged to him alone, and that makes translation of him almost impossible.

The first attempt at translation of the works of the master was made, in the same year with the Letters of the Abbé Le Blanc, by La Place, a dramatic author whose name is scarcely known outside France. It was impossible to think of translating all, and the courage of La Place carried him at first only through two volumes of very weak, dim, attenuated, but still meritorious reproductions. They were prefaced by a well-written discourse on the English theatre, in which the translator asks not so much that his readers should be won to admiration as to knowledge, that they should learn how it is that "Shakspeare has charmed his countrymen by methods that no French author has known how to practise." M. Jusserand gives a careful analysis of this Discourse, which at times has something of eloquence, and which contains a remarkable prediction of the importance that romance-writing was soon to acquire and of the influence this would exert upon the stage. The appeal of La Place to his readers was readily responded to. Two more volumes were asked of him, in which he added to the twelve plays he translated analyses of all the others, thus giving a general review of the whole body of Shakspeare's production.

During the twenty years after his return from England (1730-50), Voltaire, whose work contains almost all that is of importance in the tragic writing of his time, is constantly occupied with Shakspeare and influenced by him. The English dramatist remains a monster in his eyes, but a monster that at one and the same time attracts and terrifies. But when, during the next twenty years, he saw this monster, whose power he had himself revealed to his countrymen, gaining influence over them, the lover of the classical drama, co-lodger in his brain with the revolutionist, sprang to arms. The position acquired by Shakspeare in France was one against which both the selfish vanity and the national pride of Voltaire revolted, as well as, sincerely, his æsthetic taste. It seems absurd in such a connection to speak of selfish vanity, but it is unquestionable that the adulation Voltaire had received, and in large measure deserved, had affected his judgment of his own greatness, and that from an essential lack of generosity he never enjoyed hearing the praises of other great men, whoever they might be—Euripides, Corneille, Petrarch, Milton, or most especially Shakspeare, whom he rightly laid claim to having discovered. He had been the first, in his own words, to exhibit to the French "the few pearls to be found in this enormous dung-heap," and now to see "ce Shakspeare, si sauvage, si bas, si effrené, et si absurde," regarded as the sole model of true tragedy, excited in the fiery octogenarian autocrat a slowly kindling, but presently flaming wrath, which broke forth in 1776 in

an open declaration of war. The immediate occasion was the publication, under the patronage of the court and many notabilities, of the complete translation of Shakspeare by Le Tourneur. The auspices under which it appeared made it a European event, as had also been, three months before, the great Shakspeare Jubilee at Stratford. The first attack was the famous letter of Voltaire to the Academy pleading "the cause of France," and read in solemn session by the beautiful voice of his friend D'Alembert, the Secretary of that august body. The triumph that day of Voltaire was complete. But he considered a second campaign indispensable, and two years afterwards he came himself to Paris to make a final incursion into the enemy's country with a second letter to the Academy. Exceptional honors were bestowed on him, not only by his academic confrères, but by his admirers of the gay world and by the actors of the Comédie-Française, who performed his last work, his classic 'Irene,' to a wildly enthusiastic audience; his adorers seized "la chère idole" in their arms as he entered the theatre, and carried him to his box, where a few moments later he was crowned with laurel. Three months only afterwards he died.

Shakspeare was now known to every Frenchman; he was to be found in every library and every drawing-room; but as yet only in masquerade costume in the theatres. No play of his own was performed, but there was soon an immense series of adaptations of his plays—a "Romeo and Juliet" which ends joyously, a "Hamlet" in which the Prince of Denmark carries about "l'urne redoutable" that contains the ashes of his father. Of these unconscious caricatures the greater number were made by Ducis, well known through Sainte-Beuve's delightful articles about him; Ducis, the most ridiculous of writers and the most charming of men, and the most passionate admirer of Shakspeare. The success of his strange productions was great, and was not wholly dependent on the "mœurs fluettes" of the period. They outlived the Revolution, were acted under the Consulate and the Empire, and even at the Restoration; what was more, they survived the Romantic whirlwind, but from that time their popularity diminished, and they have now disappeared for ever. With the Revolution, everything changed in the real world; nothing changed in the mimic world of the theatre. Under the Consulate, Shakspeare was as displeasing to Chateaubriand as to Voltaire. The classical methods continued under the Restoration, and Stendahl in 1823 found affairs exactly where Voltaire had left them, and took up the quarrel on the opposite side. That year Shakspeare was played in English in Paris and was hissed.

But 1830 was approaching, and arrived. Victor Hugo sent forth his manifestos, Delacroix was at the head of a bevy of excited artists, Théophile Gautier, at once the most brilliant and the most "romantic" of critics, did yeoman service; French verse, and with it French tragedy, were freed from their bonds. It was the end of an epoch, the achievement of complete liberty—or at least all the liberty that was wished for. The enemy, in acknowledging the victory of the barbarians, ascribed the success to Attila-Shakspeare. There can be no question that he contributed to it; nor is it doubtful that he is to-day intelligently appreciated and highly honored by many French men of letters. Within a month Mounet-Sully has

acted "Othello" at the Comédie-Française, in a translation by Jean Alcard; but it has taken twenty years' persistent effort on the part of both actor and translator to obtain the performance, and the success has not been brilliant. Shakspeare is still, and will always remain, entirely a *foreigner* to the French people. His plays are not, and never will be, "popular" on the French stage. The national taste remains always the same, and M. Jussierand's last sentence makes it evident that his own heart beats in sympathy with his countrymen in worship of their own gods.

Memoirs of Pliny Earle, M.D., with Extracts from his Diary and Letters (1830-1892) and Selections from his Professional Writings (1839-1891). Edited, with a general Introduction, by F. B. Sanborn of Concord, former Chairman of the Board of State Charities and Inspector of Charities. Boston: Damrell & Upham. 1898.

Dr. Earle was a distinguished and successful alienist, and his work as such is reported by Mr. Sanborn with generous and intelligent appreciation. If this were all, the book would be mainly interesting to specialists and to those who have friends afflicted with insanity, though, even so conditioned, it would deserve general attention, the treatment of the insane being a matter of such general importance. But this is not all, and if Dr. Earle had been a man of no professional repute, his experience of travel and society, as here set down, would give the book an independent value that would justify its publication. Here are very serviceable memoirs for the future students of manners in the nineteenth century. For one thing they may, so much was Dr. Earle in Washington, do something to relieve the monotony of reference to John Quincy Adams's "Diary."

Mr. Sanborn has not done a better piece of biographical work. If it is somewhat discursive, it is far less so than his "Thoreau," and his subject is entertained more simply than in that or the S. G. Howe and Alcott books. So deeply involved was Mr. Sanborn in the anti-slavery conflict that his references to that are always interesting, though Dr. Earle's anti-slavery sentiment was very weak in proportion to his opportunities for knowing anti-slavery people. The better-informed may resent some of Mr. Sanborn's footnotes as superfluous, as when he gives a sketch of Daniel Webster; but if he errs in this direction, it is on the right side. The ignorance of the general reader is more easily underrated than exaggerated. A very real exaggeration is that where Dr. Samuel G. Howe is spoken of as "the chief philanthropist of a philanthropic age."

Mr. Sanborn's introduction gives a tragical account of the progress of humanity in the treatment of insane persons. Since Pinel, with the consent of Couthon, the French Revolutionist, unchained the inmates of Bicêtre in 1793, the tender mercies of the reformers have been cruel. Some of these, as for example, "the tranquillizing chair," of which we have a description in one of Dr. Earle's chapters on the German asylums, he thought as bad as the chains it had superseded, if not worse than those. Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia was an alienist reformer in his day, but bleeding was his strong point, and his "moral treatment" supplemental to this consisted of the strait-waistcoat, the "tranquillizing chair," privation of food, pour-

ing cold water into the coat-sleeves, the shower-bath for fifteen or twenty minutes, and "the fear of death." Many of those who followed Dr. Rush owed their partial successes more to the native vigor of their minds than to improved methods. One of the most important of Dr. Earle's services was to disabuse the public mind of the fallacy that insanity is easily cured. Furthermore, "Personal favor and political interests came in to promote the claims of the inexperienced and self-seeking. . . . and the sound principles of the elder alienists, favoring small asylums and greater personal care, were soon set aside, at first on the ground of economy and expediency, and then because great asylums involved larger powers and wider 'patronage' in the hands of politicians, medical or administrative." To combat these tendencies was an important part of Dr. Earle's activity. His ideal asylum would not contain more than 200 or at most 250 patients, and in his later years he had kindly leanings to the Scotch system of isolation in the care of people of trustworthy ability and humanity. Monster asylums and extravagant expenditure (evil fruits in part of Miss Dix's passionate philanthropy) found in Dr. Earle an opponent whose habitual geniality did not prevent his striking hard when there was need of a good stunning blow.

Dr. Earle was born in Leicester, Mass., in 1809, a year extremely rich in much more famous men. The "first citizen" of Leicester, Samuel May, contributes a letter of valuable reminiscences of Dr. Earle and his family. Seeing that Dr. Earle's *magnum opus* was an 'Earle Genealogy,' Mr. Sanborn has shown much self-restraint in referring his readers to that instead of drawing on it freely. The character of Dr. Earle's relatives reminds us of the comment of an English friend, "All you Americans who have done anything seem to be blood-relations." Dr. Earle's mother was Patience Buffum, a sister of Arnold Buffum, one of Garrison's "great allies," whom Thoreau describes, "with his broad face and a great white beard, looking like a pier-head made of the cork-tree with the bark on, and as if he could buffet a considerable wave." Mrs. Elizabeth Buffum Chace, one of the noble company of anti-slavery women, was Dr. Earle's cousin, and it was his brother, Thomas Earle of Pennsylvania, who was candidate for the Vice-Presidency on the first Liberty Party ticket, and who edited the Life of Benjamin Lundy. Pliny's journals and letters are extremely rich in references to people prominent on the anti-slavery stage. The English abolitionists were largely recruited from among the Friends in England. Sixty years ago he saw much of them, the Gurneys, Frys, and Buxtons and their set. Pliny Earle seems never to have been a thorough-going Friend either in his religious or philanthropic interests—his specialty excepted.

Soon after his graduation in Philadelphia in 1837, Dr. Earle went to England, and there enjoyed a vogue much heightened by his anti-slavery associations. He heard with regret that Sarah Grimké had introduced a resolution on the rights of women into an anti-slavery convention. Of Elizabeth Pease, his informant, he wrote that she was "the most beautiful of all the young Quakeresses" he had met in England. Though he never married, he was remarkably susceptible to the beauty of women and often fell in love. Miss Pease seemed to him "no longer a true

Quaker in principle," but "a Tory as regarding the national Church, the peerage, and all the relics of feudal times"—a surprising account of a woman who was already in sympathy with Garrison. Abby Kelley, whose name Mr. Sanborn misspells with some others, "as a practical contender for the rights of woman," arouses our Friend's opposition; but if women "can do more good in this way than otherwise, let them go on; and I bid them godspeed."

From England Dr. Earle went to the Continent, and travelled widely in France, Switzerland, Italy, Greece, and Turkey in the years 1838 and '39, his interest in the insane asylums of these countries foreshadowing the characteristic business of his life. The first indication of his future career is in a letter of September, 1837, written after conversing with Samuel Tuke, manager of a Quaker asylum in Yorkshire, on the predominance of insanity among Friends and the cause of it. His accounts of the reformed methods of the great Paris asylums are sickening. The douche was the great *moral* artifice, one of the managers being a son of the great Pinel. Returning to America, he had hardly established himself as a medical practitioner in Philadelphia when he was invited to take charge of a small Quaker lunatic asylum. This circumstance probably had much to do with his lifelong predilection for small asylums, and it enabled him to experiment with his ideas as he could not have done as a subordinate in a large establishment. His resolve not to deceive his patients was soon formed. At this time he had quite a turn for literature, writing for the *Knickerbocker Magazine*, and being welcomed by Poe to write for another, which never saw the light. He was not a little taken in the snare of the phrenologists, and we have a most amusing account of a patient's mind in the terms of that pseudo-science.

Early in 1844 he took charge of the Bloomingdale Asylum in New York, and remained there five years. At that time there were only 751 patients in all the asylums of the State; now there are nearly 23,000. A statistical history of the institution from 1831 was one of the best proofs of his administration, confirming, as it did, his various theories and methods of treatment. In 1849 he again became a student, going abroad, and in the summer and autumn of that year visiting thirty-five asylums—eight in Great Britain, the others on the Continent. The limits of his visit are not given, and, though we are told that his mother died on the day of his return, no date is written. He remained in Leicester until 1853, when he returned to New York for a year, and published his book on the German asylums. He soon returned to Leicester, and, for ten years, the best-fitted man in America to superintend an asylum waited for his opportunity, which came in 1864, when he was placed in charge of the asylum at Northampton, Mass., where, with some serious qualification, he was able to carry on his work according to the principles which had been steadily maturing in his mind. But he was not idle, either intellectually or socially, in the years of his comparative neglect. He travelled much and saw many places and people, and he writes of them in his journals and letters in a racy fashion. A whole chapter is given to a visit to Cuba, possibly justified by our present interest in that dependency. Much more interesting, however, is a visit to Charleston, S. C., where Dr. Earle's temper was much

that of Thackeray: "Catch me speaking ill of people who have such good claret!"

There is an appendix containing some of Dr. Earle's most interesting papers, and extracts from others.

A History of Rugby School. By W. H. D. Rouse, M.A. Charles Scribner's Sons.

This is a new volume in a series characteristic of the time. Publishers are all nowadays bent on starting some "series" or other, which shall appeal to a particular interest or a particular audience; and, from the money-making point of view, it was a happy idea on the part of the original English publishers of this volume to set going an "English Public Schools" series. But such series have the defects of their qualities. This 'History of Rugby School,' for instance, is addressed primarily to old Rugbeians, who knew all about the daily life of the school as it was in their time; accordingly, it could hardly fail to indulge in scores of allusions unintelligible to the outside world. Moreover, the publishers very naturally seek to add to its attractiveness by intrusting each history to a master in that particular school; and, accordingly, they are likely to secure as their authors men who are doubtless good "scholars" and interested in the great foundations to which they are attached, but who have had little practice in writing and show little skill in narrative or exposition.

The book before us illustrates both these defects. It is more valuable than some others in the series, because the story which it tells of the fortunes of the school for the first two hundred years after its foundation is based upon a certain amount of independent investigation. But even what the author gives us that is new is not told with any lucidity; it would require a good deal of perplexed cogitation over the documents in the appendix to arrive at any more definite impression than this—that the early trustees were careless, and that there were some rogues among them.

The story of Rugby School, as it could be told, might be made an interesting chapter in the social history of England. There is, first, the founder, Lawrence Sheriffe, Queen's Grocer in the reign of Elizabeth, who establishes a free grammar school and an almshouse in close conjunction with it, for the benefit of the people of his birthplace. The faint suspicion of apology for the founder's occupation which haunts us in reading the first chapter shows that Mr. Rouse hardly appreciates what a "grocer" was then, nor what the position was of a Warden of the Grocers' Company, who was also Grocer to the court, in the spacious days of Queen Bess. Then there is the "one-third of the Conduit Close" in Holborn which Sheriffe fortunately put into the codicil of his will instead of a sum of money, and so "made the fortune of Rugby School." When and how this Conduit Close came to be built upon, would form a tale worth telling. The first speculator who saw the capabilities of the neighborhood was that Nicholas Barbon whom some recent writers have found out to have been a great economist. Then there is the village grammar school, with its increasing revenue from London rents, becoming, towards the end of the seventeenth century, a thriving boarding-school for the sons of the neighboring gentry. Here again Mr. Rouse seems just a little ashamed of the school's

humble origin, and a little too eager to reach the time when it ceases to be "merely or chiefly a free school for the boys of the neighborhood." It is apparently with unmixed satisfaction that he arrives at the date when "the names are arranged into two columns, foundationers and non-foundationers being kept apart. Of the twenty-six boys entered in 1675, nearly half lived at a distance from Rugby, and were not foundationers" (p. 88). People can persuade themselves of much, but, with the "Intent" actually printed in the Appendix, it is surprising that Mr. Rouse should hereupon tell us that "the good intent of the religious founder was in a way to be more fully realized" (p. 87). Without maintaining that Sheriffe meant his school to provide elementary education for the agricultural laborers of the parishes around Rugby, it is perfectly clear he did not in the least contemplate what came out of that codicil. Mr. Rouse might well have faced this—might have explained what were the new social needs that justified the change; what continued to be the number and what was the position of the foundationers; and what are the functions of that "subordinate school" which has recently been created out of the trust "to provide for the needs of the town." Finally, there is the great name of Dr. Arnold. Perhaps Rugbeians have been rather overdone with Dr. Arnold; and there is now a tendency, which Mr. Rouse shares, to lay more stress on the merits of his predecessors and successors. But our author hardly realizes that it is Dr. Arnold and 'Tom Brown's School Days' and Matthew Arnold's 'Rugby Chapel' which to most non-Rugbeians give the greater part of its interest to the school.

Of course, in a book like this, as we said in reviewing another of the series, there is much to amuse the careful observer of men and things. The great American public, which has so keen an eye for Anglomaniæ, may be pleased to learn that, in the code of school-boy morals, "however muddy the road, no one but a 'swell'" (i. e., we conjecture, a member of the Sixth) "is supposed to turn up his trousers at the bottom." And that even greater public which discusses the details of football will find the evolution of the Rugby game here set forth with sympathetic touch.

And now a word to the publishers. After they have completed their series, will they not think of a supplementary volume on the English Public Schools in general, and put it into the hands of some one who knows American conditions, and something also of the French and German schools frequented by the children of the "well-to-do"? For it is very probable that schools more or less modelled on the English public school are going to play an increasingly large part in the education of the American youth; and founders, masters, and parents want all the intelligible information they can get. One thing is borne in upon us as we contemplate the great English schools. It is the social position of the headmasters. This has been secured very largely—such is the charming illogicality of England—by the existence of an established church with offices of great dignity and considerable emolument. That a schoolmaster who has edited a hardly decent Greek play should be rewarded with a bishopric, has been a fancy that has delighted many a novelist. But it is the sober fact that for a century the most sure path

to high ecclesiastical preferment in England has been to succeed as a schoolmaster, and the well-to-do classes in England have regarded it as perfectly fitting. That is one problem before us in America if we want to have great schools of the English type. With human nature as it is, we must hold out inducements, consisting not so much in salary as in public honor, which will attract to the profession men of first-class ability. We must somehow or other bring it about that a successful headmaster shall be as respected a personage—by the parents of his boys—as a Senator or a railroad president.

The Structure and Classification of Birds. By Frank E. Beddard, M.A., F.R.S. Longmans, Green & Co. 1898. Large 8vo, pp. xx, 518, figs. 252.

If we were asked to name, among a multitude of ornithologists who have contributed to the general result effectually, four authors who have most satisfactorily brought to book what is now known of the structure and classification of birds, we should cite A. H. Garrod, whose writings were collected in a memorial volume in 1881; Professor Fürbringer, whose 'Untersuchungen zur Morphologie und Systematik der Vogel' was published in 1888; Dr. Hans Gadow, with his contributions to Bronn's 'Thierreich' and to Newton's 'Dictionary'; and Mr. Beddard in the volume now before us. One who should be familiar with these authors would need to undertake special researches of his own to extend his knowledge of avian morphology; and one who now wishes to be set abreast of the subject, by means of the most convenient handbook in the English language, may turn with confidence to his Beddard.

The author has occupied for many years the office of prosector to the Zoological Society of London, immediately succeeding Mr. W. A. Forbes, who was himself the successor of Garrod. In this position his opportunities for the dissection of birds have been exceptionally good, and he has made the most of them, working along the same lines as his two predecessors, whose results were his legitimate inheritance, and whose mantle he now wears. Each of his predecessors, in fact, had planned such a treatise as Mr. Beddard has prepared, when their respective careers were cut short by premature death. "I have," he says, "determined to make an attempt to carry out this plan of my two forerunners, and the present volume is the result."

Like most methodical and systematic treatises, the work is easy to describe and appreciate. It runs to p. 158 with a general sketch of bird structure, avoiding histological detail and elaborate description of anatomical facts not at present of much use in classification. But the main body of the book is an account of the special anatomical characteristics of the several leading groups of birds, now commonly called orders or sub-orders. The bent is thus practically taxonomic, and we get a summary anatomy for purposes of classification, of the greatest utility to the greatest number of ornithologists; for few of this class concern themselves with the internal structure of birds with any other end in view. We are given no formal bibliography of the subject, but the copious footnotes, on almost every page, point out the principal previous treatises on special points, and collectively amount to the required bibliographical references. We are

sorry to see how few American names appear in this showing, and that the only one extensively quoted is a person whose best work is barely mediocre. Though Mr. Beddard's facts of bird structure are largely drawn from published memoirs, most of them have been verified by himself, especially in osteology and myology; and his command of existing materials has been immensely extended by original research. The clear illustrations, indispensable in any anatomical treatise, are very numerous; most of them have appeared before in the Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London, in the *Ibid.*, or elsewhere.

The integrity of any scheme of avian classification based, as are all the schemes which have any vogue nowadays, upon morphology, is a thing apart from the validity of such anatomical facts as may be adduced to support it. Taxonomy is still a matter of expert opinion; the key to evolutionary processes remains at the bottom of the well, and each may draw his own conclusions from indisputable premises. The day of confessedly artificial systems, hardly more than indexes to chaotic facts, is happily long past; but the time is not yet come for ornithologists to agree upon the interpretation of their facts on the theory of evolution they all profess. The steps by which we have progressed from obviously unnatural classifications towards those seeming to be more and more natural, have invariably been marked by too great insistence upon some special set of anatomical characters. Take Huxley's classification for an egregious example of what we mean. He set forth a system based upon the structure of the bony palate, in the most masterly manner, with all the forcefulness of perfect exposition; yet the groups he devised on this basis have stood or have fallen according to their coördination or lack of coördination with groups founded upon less special considerations. Garrod and Forbes both insisted strenuously upon presence or absence of an ambiens, and correlated arrangements of other muscles of the legs; upon colic cæca and plumosity or nudity of the oil-gland; and upon a few other features regarded by them as of prime taxonomic significance. That they went too far in this way, and gave us some bizarre collocations and sequences, no one now doubts.

Mr. Beddard belongs to their "school," as we have said, but he is less extreme and more judicious; he adopts the most reasonable views of his teachers, but also thinks for himself, and has produced on the whole a better system. Not all ornithologists will adopt his thirty-six ordinal groups, nor follow his sequences, especially the intercalation of *Accipitres* between *Ichthyornithes* and *Tinami*; while the appearance of *Stercorornithes* in his system simply perpetuates a blunder. The prime division, *Anomalognathæ* (including *Strigæ*!), for the Passerine and Picarian groups, is duly set forth, but we do not find the antithetical *Homalognathæ*. Our author does not finish the game of battledore and shuttlecock with several disputed forms; lapses on gallinaceous groups, is obscure on saurognathism and at a loss among limicolines, and makes some misstatements regarding cormorants and swifts. But it would obviously take us too far afield to go into detailed criticism on any such points. We believe that most of Beddard's groups will receive the assent of most ornithologists as natural and definable; they are all defined by him, with much additional description of

their anatomical peculiarities, as clearly as and more conveniently than we have found them to be treated elsewhere. This is a boon in itself, enabling us readily to agree or disagree with our author, and form our own conclusions.

It should be observed here that the absolute taxonomic rank of Beddard's ordinal groups is something aside from the naturalness of such divisions. Nothing is more certain than that the so-called class *Aves* is so compact and homogeneous that its extreme members differ less among themselves than do the several orders of reptiles. Birds are therefore no more than an order of a higher class of vertebrates, and their subdivisions have lower taxonomic rank than the so-called orders and families in other vertebrate classes. But if we assume a class *Aves*, as we all do, the division of birds into orders, families, and so on becomes a necessary classificatory device.

Returning, in conclusion, to our main contention above indicated, we venture the assertion that Beddard's groups will stand or fall, not according to the convenience of the definitions he gives of them, based upon the particular characters he employs, but upon their agreement or disagreement with the affinities or genetic relationships which are indicated by the totality of any bird's organization. The possible classification of the future will rest upon a morphological sum of characters, without insistence upon the taxonomic preponderance of any one of the factors in that sum.

The book is ill indexed and well printed. The page has a somewhat glaring effect upon the eye, from the needless printing of all personal names in small capitals, together with the incessantly recurring italics for technical terms. But this is a very small blemish, perhaps offset by some advantage, and we are not looking for smooth literature, but for sound science and ready reference, in a book of this character. Needless it may be to close by saying that the treatise becomes indispensable to every working ornithologist; but we give ourselves the pleasure of making this best of all possible commendations.

Lectures and Essays on Natural Theology and Ethics. By William Wallace. Edited by E. Caird. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde. Pp. xxxix, 566. 1898.

The sad accident which cut short the career of the most literary, and therefore the most widely known, of Oxford's professors of philosophy has naturally inspired his friends with the desire to enshrine in a memorial volume such portions of his manuscripts as seemed to them most suited for publication; and it is as the outcome of such a desire that the present work must be regarded. It contains an excellent portrait of the late professor, a brief sketch of his life from the expert pen of the Master of Balliol, notes which Wallace prepared for the Gifford lectures delivered in Glasgow University in 1894-'95, (undated) essays, presumably connected with his professional lectures, which take their titles from some of the chief problems of moral philosophy, and three or four critical appreciations of modern philosophic writers, of which some appeared as reviews in Wallace's lifetime.

In so much matter there is much that is readable, a good deal that is interesting, not a little that is brilliant; but, on the whole, the importance of the compilation is hardly

commensurate with its bulk, and it will probably prove something of a disappointment to those who expected from Wallace constructive work worthy of his brilliance in criticism and exposition. This result is no doubt mainly due to the difficulties which Wallace's method of work bequeathed to his editor; for while he lectured most admirably from the scantiest of notes, he was yet a most fastidious and painstaking craftsman in working up whatever he deemed worthy of publication. But the manuscripts out of which the present volume has been made up represent, for the most part, neither his finished literary work nor his impromptu lectures; and though the editor vouchsafes us only very scanty information as to their real character, we can easily suppose that Wallace himself would not have regarded them as forming more than the raw material for a book. Hence the sufficiently glaring defects of this volume. The essays on natural theology are avowedly fragments of a larger discussion. The essays on moral philosophy are a torso, of which the parts rarely make an attempt at artistic rounding off. And, throughout, great improvements might have been effected in matters of compression, digression, arrangement, and connection. It would have been well if the editor had exercised a large discretion in these respects, and it would at least have been politic to provide the reader with a more adequate guide through the labyrinth of argument than is supplied by the headings of the chapters. As it is, large tracts of the book present the appearance of having been pieced together in virtue of a general affinity of their subjects rather than of logically belonging together. This effect is, doubtless, mainly due to the conditions of publication, but it is doubly unfortunate in that it suggests an element of self-knowledge in Wallace's complaint, quoted by Dr. Caird (p. xxiv.), about "the wretchedly episodic character" of his mind.

We must not search the present volume for a systematic account of Wallace's philosophic convictions: its tendency is rather to confirm an impression that Wallace was happier in interpreting the thoughts of others than in stating his own. Not that he leaves any doubt as to the character of his predilections—he is constantly repeating the familiar phrases of a Hegelian of "the Right"—with, it may be added, the usual ominous hints at times of the ease with which he could glide over to "the Left," and descend to depths of naturalism which would leave no practical differences between this degenerate "idealism" and the "materialism" which it set out to combat. But all this is introduced by way of comment, suggestion, nay, innuendo. It is almost impossible to pin him down to anything definite, the more so as he allows himself a large license in seeing contrary sides of a subject, and generally follows up a significant statement which appears to commit him by a contrary one which appears to undo its work, and shows little consideration for less nimble-minded mortals who find it hard to follow the leaps of his logic. In so doing he of course only conceives himself to be practising the Hegelian sport of letting thesis meet with antithesis and engender synthesis; and if any one finds it hard to follow and complains, why, then he is to be numbered among "the wiseacres who love to criticise where it is hard to understand" (p. 170). The rebuke is crushing; but, in view of the infirmity of the finite intellect,

it would be well if the process could be rendered somewhat more evident, and the public were, merely as a guarantee of good faith, occasionally permitted to see how the synthesis issues from the conjunction of thesis and antithesis. Wallace's great powers of literary exposition seemed peculiarly to fit him to perform the function of a hierophant in such matters; but unfortunately he also does not avail himself of his opportunities; his synthesis is always performed out of sight and has to be taken on trust; the Hegelian faith remains based on assurances concerning things unseen.

For these reasons the most satisfactory portion of the book will probably be found in its concluding essays, especially in those dealing with Lotze and Nietzsche. Indeed, Wallace seems quite at his best in estimating Lotze, whose character lends itself to appreciation by his critical method. In Nietzsche's case he hardly, perhaps, brings out into sufficiently bold relief the fact that Nietzsche was essentially of the brood of the giants who from time to time are impelled to insane attempts to storm the strongholds of Olympus, and that his philosophy springs from a profound exasperation with the established order of the world, social, natural, and religious. It is perhaps not wholly ill that such revolts should occur; it is well also that they should fail; but the tragic *dénouement* of Nietzsche's actual life possesses at least a dramatic power and propriety which raises its æsthetic value immensely above Wallace's rather commonplace suggestion (p. 539-40) that if he had been able to continue his work, he would have outlived his attitude of revolt.

In conclusion, a word of recognition must be accorded to the literary excellence even of the less elaborate portions of Wallace's writings, and the wealth of literary allusion which illumines his pages. American readers, however, will probably notice one curious slip (p. 163) which ascribes the authorship of the finely progressive sentiment, that "they didn't know everything down in Judea" to John C. Calhoun. The shade of Hosea Biglow must surely rise in protest against this despoliation of John P. Robinson!

The Story of the Railroad. By Cy Warman, author of 'Tales of an Engineer,' etc. [The Story of the West Series.] D. Appleton & Co. 12mo, pp. xix, 280.

One would hardly believe so much romance and adventure of every kind was connected with the seemingly prosaic business of extending railways into the Far West. But Mr. Warman has made the story far more interesting than the average novel, and, when he has told it, we wonder that we had not seen what a wealth of curious and interesting matter was implied in opening transcontinental ways for civilization through the Great American Desert and around its flanks upon the north and the south. The origin of the idea was in the brain of those who passed for dreamers and visionaries, and who were in fact visionaries in so far as they repeated, in a way, the older notion that the wealth and the trade of the Indies were to make rich those who found the shortest track around the world. The truth was not at first apprehended that the local trade, made by rapidly advancing civilization, would be the financial justification of the vast schemes, and that international commerce would prove only a drop in the bucket.

The dissolving views begin with the boundless plains peopled by the scattered Indian tribes following the countless herds of buffalo as they roam north and south along the base of the Rockies. Then come the faintly marked trails of the trappers, feeling the way by the woodsman's instinct to the lower and more practicable passes over the backbone of the continent. The gold discoveries on the Pacific Coast turn the trails into wagon roads, roughly engineering the footpaths into possible routes for loaded wagons over the shoulders of the mountains, or zig-zagging from water to water across the arid and alkali-crusted desert. The engineer with transit and level is not far behind, and the enlightened daring of business enterprise is ready to risk millions in coöperation with broad national policy in penetrating the waste places with the two or three pioneer lines of railway which, in a generation, have already grown to a great network of steel tracks that are rapidly abolishing the desert.

Mr. Warman's volume seizes this wonderful picture in its totality, and makes us feel and hear the rush of modern civilization. It gives us also the human side of the picture—the struggles of the frontiersman and his family, the dismay and cruel wrath of the retreating savage, the heroism of the advance guard of the railway builders, and the cut-throat struggles of competing lines. He does not deal greatly with statistics, but the figures he uses help make up the stunning effect of gigantic enterprise. There is not a dull page in the book.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Altgeld, J. P. *Live Questions*. Chicago: G. B. Rowan & Son.
American Art Annual 1898. Macmillan, \$3.
Ansoorge, W. J. *Under the African Sun*. Longmans, Green & Co.
Barr, Amelia E. *I, Thome, and the Other One*. Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.25.
Barwise, Sidney. *The Purification of Sewage*. D. Van Nostrand Co. \$2.
Beale, Harriet S. B. *Stories from the Old Testament for Children*. Chicago: H. S. Stone & Co.
Benson, E. F. *The Capelin*. An Historical Novel. Harpers. \$1.50.
Bernstein, Herman. *The Flight of Time, and Other Poems*. F. T. Neely.
Blow, Susan E. *Letters to a Mother on the Philosophy of Froebel*. Appletons.
Breul, Karl. *Goethe's Iphigenia auf Tauris*. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan.
Brown, Vincent. *The Romance of a Ritualist*. John Lane. \$1.50.
Bruce, Prof. A. E. *The Epistle to the Hebrews. An Exegetical Study*. Scribners. \$2.50.
Buckley, Arabella B. *The Fairy-Land of Science*. Appletons.
Cable, G. W. *Strong Hearts*. Scribners. \$1.25.
Chamberlain, J. L. *Universities and their Sons*. Vol. I. Boston: R. Hurdon Co.
Claretie, Jules. *Vicomte de Paris*. R. F. Fenno & Co. 75c.
Cook, T. A. *The Story of Rouen*. London: Dent; New York: Macmillan. \$2.
Crockett, S. B. *The Black Douglas*. Doubleday & McClure Co. \$1.50.
De Leon, T. C. *Joseph Wheeler*. Atlanta: Byrd Printing Co.
Dilts, H. P. *Hollow Bracken*. G. W. Dillingham Co. \$1.50.
Dix, Beulah M. *Hugh Gwyeth, A Roundhead Cavalier*. Macmillan. \$1.50.
Dodd, Ira B. *The Song of the Rappahannock*. Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.
Dresser, H. W. *Methods and Problems of Spiritual Healing*. Putnam. \$1.
Dunbar, Paul L. *Lyrics of the Hearthside*. Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.25.
Duncan, Sarah J. *Hilda: A Story of Calcutta*. F. A. Stokes Co. \$1.25.
Farand, Hiram A. *Poems*. Philadelphia: The Author.
Force, Gen. M. F. *General Sherman*. [Great Commanders.] Appletons.
Ford, W. C. *Washington's Farewell Address*. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. 50c.
Franklin, A. B. *The Light of Reason*. Chicago: C. H. Kerr & Co. 35c.
Gore, Rev. Charles. *St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. A Practical Exposition*. Vol. I. Scribners. \$1.50.
Gorham, G. C. *Life and Public Services of Edwin M. Stanton*. 2 vols. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$6.
Gray, Zelma. *Addison's Sir Roger de Coverley Essays*. Macmillan. 25c.
Gregory, C. O. *The Sultan's Mandate. An Armenian Romance*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.
Gunther, J. H. A. *A Manual of English Pronunciation and Grammar for the Use of Dutch Students*. Groningen: J. B. Wolters.
Halm, T. J. *The Wind-Jammers*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. \$1.25.

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Philosophy.
New York:

Macmillan. \$3.
Pulitzer, Walter. *That Duel at the Château Mar-
sacac*. Funk & Wagnalls Co. 75c.
Richmond, Emma. *Through Boyhood to Manhood*.
Longmans, Green & Co.
Roberts, Prof. W. R. *Longinus on the Sublime*.
Cambridge: University Press; New York: Mac-
millan. \$2.75.
Rogers, Anna A. *Sweethearts and Wives*. Stories
of Life in the Navy. Scribners. 75c.
Rogers, E. C. *For the King, and Other Poems*.
Putnam. \$1.25.
Rosenberg, Adolf. *H. von Gebhardt [Künstler-
Monographien.] Leipzig: Velhagen & Klasing;
New York: Lemcke & Buechner.*
Rossetti, W. M. *Rossetti: Rossetti: Prose and Po-
etry*. London: George Allen; New York: Dodd,
Mead & Co. \$3.50.
Russell, Frank. *Explorations in the Far North*.
State University of Iowa.
Russell, H. R. *Life's Peepshow*. London: T. F.
Unwin.
Savage, R. H. *The White Lady of Khaminavatha*.
A Story of the Ukraine. Rand, McNally & Co.
\$1.
Schoenfeld, Prof. Hermann. *Banke's Kaiserwahl*.
Karl's V. American Book Co. 50c.
Scrutton, Percy E. *Electricity in Town and
Country Houses*. 2d ed. London: Constable &
Co.; New York: Macmillan. \$1.
Sedgwick, W. J. *King Alfred's Old English Ver-
sion of Boethius De Consolatione Philosophiae*.
Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Henry
Browne.
Sedgwick, Anne D. *The Confounding of Camilla*.
Scribners. \$1.25.
Seiden, Camille. *Heinrich Heine's Last Days*.
London: T. F. Unwin.
Sergiyenko, F. A. *How Count Tolstoy Lives and
Works*. T. Y. Crowell & Co. \$1.25.
Sigerson, Dora. *My Lady's Slipper, and Other
Verses*. Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.25.
Stern, S. M. *Aus Deutschen Meisterwerken*.
Henry Holt & Co. \$1.20.
Sterne, Laurence. *Tristram Shandy*. 2 vols. [Tem-
ple Classics.] London: Dent; New York: Mac-
millan.
Taylor, F. G. *An Introduction to the Differential*

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 13, 1899.

The Week.

We have now heard at last from the President's Philippine Commissioners, with their recommendation how he is to solve the problem. They have issued another proclamation inviting Aguinaldo to treat, and offering him attractive terms if he is willing to give up his dream of independence. That he is sincere in this desire for independence we have every reason to believe. He has given the only proof of sincerity that any people has ever given—readiness to fight for it against enormous odds, and to maintain the fighting in spite of continuous defeat. It is to be observed, too, that he has been fighting in the teeth of another proclamation which promised him numerous benefits in case he would submit and be quiet. All would-be conquerors do as we are doing. They all promise good treatment in return for obedience. George III. promised it to the Americans repeatedly by proclamation, but they refused to believe him, although they were already his subjects, spoke his language, and professed his religion. The Austrians promised it also frequently to the Italians, in terms which by no means led the Italians to believe they would whip Italian ladies in public—which they did. The Russians also promised good things to the Poles if they laid down their arms. In fact, it is the normal accompaniment of conquering enterprises. It is therefore natural for Aguinaldo, who is said to be a man of some education, not to be won over by the promises of proclamations which avoid all mention of independence. It would be so even if no fighting had taken place, or, in other words, if there had been no invasion of the Philippine soil against the will of the de-facto government. But fighting has taken place. Some thousands of Filipinos have been slain defending what they believe to be the right. We have sent against them all the troops we have, and a powerful navy. On the 8th of February, Gen. Otis telegraphed that "Aguinaldo now applies for a cessation of hostilities and conference; have declined to answer." The fighting has gone on ever since, with burning, looting, slaughter, and all the usual accompaniments of "chaos." His capital has been captured after it had been burned. It was not much of a capital, but if it was fine of the Russians to burn theirs in spite of a very good proclamation, we cannot help admiring his burning his, such as it was, in spite of our President's proclamation.

A Spanish General, who has seen

much service in the Philippines, made the prediction some time ago that the Americans would win every battle in the island of Luzon, and yet lose the campaign. This prophecy it is clearly within the power of the insurgents to fulfil, if they choose to. Fighting and running away day after day, they can count upon the nature of the country and the nature of the climate to do the rest. It is evident that the War Department grossly underestimated the difficulty of the military problem in the Philippines, to say nothing of the even more difficult civil problems remaining. We speak of all this only to ask again why the Government does not exhaust every effort to come to some peaceable arrangement with the natives without further fighting. Enough killing has been done to convince the natives of our superior power. Chasing them all over Luzon for two years would not make them any more sure of this or any more ready to treat. With his Philippine Commission on the spot as his chosen instrument of negotiation, and in an impregnable military position, the President should not lose a day or omit an offer or appeal in securing a truce and a settlement in a peaceful way. His Postmaster-General said at Chicago on Monday that Mr. McKinley was dutifully and anxiously waiting for the American people to tell him what to do with the Philippines. Well, they are telling him by every reputable and recognized organ of public opinion to stop the aggressive fighting in those islands. Will he do it?

Whatever comes of the proclamation by the Philippine Commission, its issue has accomplished one melancholy result. It has seriously damaged the reputation of the President of an American university. Only a little over six months ago, President Schurman of Cornell declared that "this republic, whose soul is self-government, does not want Asiatic dependencies or the military despotism they would entail," and added:

"We are not called upon to rectify the tyrannies of Africa or Asia. Nor are we under any obligation to Aguinaldo and the insurgents. Let us keep to our own hemisphere, seeking only naval stations in the Old World."

Last week he signed his name to a flamboyant proclamation, insisting that the United States must have an Asiatic dependency, and will kill all the Filipinos who resent our supremacy; sustaining the military despotism under which our soldiers "let no insurgent live," and "burn hundreds of houses and loot hundreds more"; and adding insult to injury by promising all sorts of blessings to the Filipinos in the future at the hands of the Algerized Administration, which, at this very moment, is slaughtering and

robbing them. It is a deplorable thing to see an instructor of the young thus turning his back alike on his own principles and on the teachings of history.

One of the speakers at the Boston meeting last week to protest against the war of conquest in the Philippines was Mr. H. C. Parsons, a Republican member of the State Senate. Among other things which he said was this:

"We American people are some day to pass on this question. The first right of the American people is to know the truth, the whole truth, as it passes from day to day, and what this country is doing in the distant Philippine Islands."

The reference here is to the fact that the United States Government maintains a censorship of news at Manila, and that the military authorities permit no intelligence to be sent from the Philippines—or even to the islands—which does not meet their approval. The cable company has warned all persons that no dispatch will be transmitted having the least relation to politics without the assent of the military authorities of the United States. A gentleman of high standing in Hong Kong undertook to send to the Philippine Islands an abstract of the remarks made by Mr. Hoar in the United States Senate on the 9th of January, and its transmission was refused. Only a short time ago Reuter's, the European news agency, was forced to send a news letter by steamer from Manila to be placed on the wire at Hong Kong, because its tone was too pessimistic to suit the American authorities. Every careful reader must have observed the sharp contrast between the dispatches which the censor allows to leave Manila, and the private letters which get into print in this country.

Thus, step by step, does the United States follow the example of Spain. Our Government goes forth to conquer in the alleged interest of civilization, it "thrashes the natives" in order to "send the Christ there," and it conceals the methods which it pursues—in each respect imitating what we have always denounced as the outrageous system of Spain. But, after all, nobody can wonder at the establishment of this censorship. The Administration sends a commission to the Philippines which issues a proclamation that "guarantees an honest and efficient civil service." It would never do to let the natives know that the President who authorized this action appointed a worthless politician as Secretary of War, and retains him after the exposure of his gross unfitness, and that the Congressmen who are expected to pass a law establishing the merit system in the Philippines, have just refused to apply that system in the taking of the

census at home. But the Government thus far has failed to apply the censorship to letters from Manila, and in this way we tardily learn such truths as have been told by the correspondent of the *New York Sun*, who reported that "the orders were to let no insurgent live"; the Californian in charge of the Red Cross work, who set forth "the determination of our soldiers to kill every native in sight," and the way in which the bodies of slaughtered natives "were stacked up for breastworks"; and the private from the State of Washington, who wrote home that all the "boys" have come to be of the opinion that "the only good Filipino is a dead one," that "we burned hundreds of houses and looted hundreds more," and that "we have horses and carriages and bull-carts galore, and enough furniture and other plunder to load a steamer." Nor have our authorities yet stopped the publication of pictures, like the graphic collection in the last issue of *Harper's Weekly*, which tell the shocking story far more eloquently than can any words.

An ugly obstacle in the way of Cuban pacification and upbuilding has been removed by the voluntary dissolution of the so-called Cuban Assembly. What broke it down, and showed that it was not really a sovereign Legislature, was the fact that it had not the "power of the purse." It could not levy taxes or negotiate a loan or float a bond. Now an Assembly which can do none of these things becomes ridiculous, even to the Cuban mind, after a time, and when, in addition, its further obstinacy stood in the way of the distribution of \$3,000,000 among Cuban soldiers, who had never before received as many pesetas as pay, the moment for the Assembly to disappear had evidently come. Its withdrawal from the scene will most of all make for peace because it implies the speedy disbandment and disarming of the Cuban army. The existence of large bodies of armed men in cities and camps, who had been for three years leading a roving and pillaging life, was a standing threat to peace and order. The only wonder is that collisions between them and our troops have not occurred before this. Now they will give up their weapons and show whether they are sincere in their professed intention of settling down and going to work. More of our own volunteers, moreover, will be released, and can be sent home in time to avoid the perils of the rainy season in Cuba. All told, the situation is much cleared up by the dissolution of the Cuban Assembly and the prospect that the Cuban army will be speedily paid off and disbanded.

Full details of the Samoan row reached the public on Friday, and they certainly show a lamentable state of affairs. Here were the representatives of three

great nations, charged with the duty of caring for the feeble folk of the islands, and the first thing they did was to fall to quarrelling among themselves. A measure of technical right was on the side of the German Consul. Under the Berlin Treaty, the action of the three foreign consuls must be unanimous in order to be binding. So Herr Rose appeared to be within his legal rights in asserting that a proclamation of the other two consuls, without his assent, was null and void. But it was a most reckless thing for him to come out with a counter-proclamation, which he must have known would be a firebrand among the natives and lead to the fighting and slaughter which did indeed promptly follow. A prudent, sensible Consul would at least have waited for instructions from his home Government. On the other side, Admiral Kautz and the English were no doubt acting under instructions. Both at Washington and at London, it had been decided that the previous defiance by the German Consul of the decision of the Chief Justice against Mataafa had put him out of court, and that whatever the English and American representatives should agree upon was to be done. But while the two sides were wrangling over these nice points of law and treaty interpretation, the natives had to be shelled and slaughtered. It will be strange if these savages hereafter value as highly as they should the benevolent tutelage of three great Powers. But for the name of it, Mataafa and Malletoa might as well have been left to cut each other's throats without assistance.

The rotten-beef trail was brought into the immediate vicinity of Alger and Eagan on Thursday by some very important evidence. William A. De Calndry, Chief Clerk of the Commissary-General for twenty years, testified that he had, at the instance of Gen. Eagan, sent out forty or fifty telegrams to dealers in beef, asking for bids to supply refrigerated beef, Gen. Eagan himself supplying the form of the telegram. He had also been instructed to prepare a draft of a contract for beef supply. When he submitted it a controversy at once arose between him and Capt. Davis, Assistant Commissary-General, as to the length of time which the beef should be guaranteed to keep. Capt. Davis favored twenty-four hours, saying the understanding was that refrigerators were to be built on the shore in the rear of the moving troops. This was the only explanation he could obtain for the change from seventy-two to twenty-four hours in the contract. In one of the revisions of the contract, Eagan himself put in this clause in his own handwriting, referring to the time: "Which shall not be more than seventy-two hours from the time of storing the same in such refrigerators." The Chief Clerk said he did not

understand this clause at the time, but he had no authority to strike it out. He said also that Eagan himself was "dubious" about the twenty-four-hour limit. He seemed to have been something more than dubious, for, according to the Chief Clerk, all memoranda relating to the matter, which the Chief Clerk carefully preserved, have disappeared from the files of the Department.

When an official thinks it necessary to destroy documentary evidence of his doings, it is a pretty sure sign that he has been engaged in operations that will not bear the light. Memoranda on the time clause of the contracts were not the "only things" that the Chief Clerk said had disappeared from the files of the Commissary Department. The bulk of a letter from one of the contractors, relating to the Powell process of preserving beef, had also been returned to them at their request. The reason for such return was revealed a moment later when Major Lee, counsel for Gen. Miles, presented the full letter in evidence. It described the preserving, or embalming, process fully, claiming complete success for it in tests made at Tampa, and declaring the contractors' belief that "such results have never before been accomplished in the history of the fresh-meat business." After this, it will be needless to make any further denials as to the use of chemicals. The contractors themselves claimed "exclusive control of the Powell process for preserving fresh meats." They did not say they kept it sweet by means of ice, but by means of a "preserving process." How the process worked with our troops, everybody knows.

The election in Chicago Tuesday week was a great victory for the independent voter. The city would undoubtedly go Republican again by a large majority, as it did in 1896, on the national issues between that party and Bryanism; yet it has reelected a Democratic Mayor by about 42,000 plurality, despite the diversion of about 46,000 Democratic votes to ex-Gov. Altgeld. The Mayor owes his success to the support of hosts of Republicans who admired the fight he has made against the ring that tried to grab valuable street-car franchises, and who were disgusted with the Republican machine which named that party's candidate for Mayor. One ward, which has been a "Republican stronghold," and which went Republican by over 1,000 plurality on the Town Treasurer issue, was carried on the same day by Harrison; and equally remarkable exhibitions of independence were made all over the city.

The Municipal Association of Cleveland, which led the successful movement of the city's independent voters for the overthrow of Boss McKisson and his

machine in last week's election for Mayor, has issued an admirable statement regarding the moral of this result and its lesson for the future. "Never before in the history of the city," says this address, "was the question of machine politics and government by 'pulls' so squarely put before the people, and the seal of condemnation has been set upon machine politics and all its attendant evils." The best thing in this statement is the announcement that the Association has no idea of considering its recent victory as a final triumph of its principles; that "it is not merely a temporary affair," and that "no notion could be more mistaken than that it has sprung into existence for the promotion of the welfare of any political faction or the furtherance of any private interest." To prove this, it points out that Farley, the Democrat who has just been elected Mayor, is pledged to carry out certain reforms, and declares that "this Association intends, in so far as its power may go, to insist that these promises be kept; and should the Farley administration fall into any of the evils of its predecessor, the Municipal Association will attack it with the same vigor it has attacked the administration of Mayor McKisson." The rise of such organizations of public-spirited men in our great cities is one of the most hopeful signs of the times.

Gov. Roosevelt's message to the Legislature on the subject of the canal-frauds investigation is likely to result in the granting of the special appropriation which he desires. In the communication from Messrs. Fox and MacFarlane, which he sends with the message, the real cause of the backwardness of the legislators about granting the appropriation is revealed. They hope by delaying the inquiry to have the statute of limitation put an end to all chance of bringing canal rascals to justice. Aldridge and his beneficiaries all along the line of the canals have great influence with the Legislature, since both political parties have had their fingers in the pie; and if they can stop the inquiry at its present point, there will be nothing to fear from it henceforward. But the Governor will not let it be stopped. He will raise the necessary funds by a call for popular subscription, if necessary, and the legislators know this. A refusal to grant the appropriation would be effective only upon their own reputations, consequently, and that to their detriment.

The first day's session of the Mazet Investigating Commission removed all doubt about the thoroughness of this inquiry so long as Mr. Moss is in charge of it. Whether it was intended to be thorough by its originators or not, it cannot be made otherwise since the start which he gave it on Saturday, un-

less his services be dispensed with, which is not a possibility. He headed it directly at the source of all our municipal evils when he made Croker the centre of his attack. It was an extraordinary achievement to score at the very beginning, yet this is what Mr. Moss did. We have all known from the outset of the Croker régime that it was based on blackmail, but we have never had the proof laid before us so clearly as it was on Saturday. It was established by witnesses on both sides that the Building Department is under the control of Croker, through a nephew, and that builders can get such favors as they may desire by retaining the nephew as "counsel" at fees ranging from \$5,000 to \$10,000. The testimony on this point was compact and conclusive. One witness, a contractor, testified that previous to January of the present year it was impossible to get the Building Department to approve of what is known as the Roebling system of fire-proof construction. In one case, in which the Roebling bid was \$25,000 below other bids, the veto of the Department made it impossible to accept it. The manager of the Roebling Company testified that the company was reorganized in January last, and a son of Croker was taken in as a stockholder. After that, contracts for work on school buildings which had the Roebling system of construction in them, passed the Building Department without trouble. Curiously enough, the Department put out a new set of requirements for fireproofing systems in the construction of school buildings which were a verbatim copy of the pamphlet descriptions of the Roebling system, and consequently made it impossible to have any other system used. This wonderful transformation in the Department's attitude was completed by the simple process of retaining Croker's nephew, McCann, to appear before the Building Code Commission, and make an "argument" in support of the change, in return for a fee of \$5,000.

After this achievement with Croker, Mr. Moss put the Chief of Police on the stand, and in a very short time exposed his system of administration almost as thoroughly as he had Croker's. He got him to admit that every day, after midnight, he takes his stand on a street corner in front of a liquor-store, and in a neighborhood bristling with dens of vice, and remains there for an hour or more, "smoking and getting the fresh air." While standing there he never notices that the liquor-saloon behind him is violating the law by selling after hours; never notices that dens of vice of various forms are flaunting their business in his face; and does not know that some of them are kept by men who went on his bond when he was on trial as a police captain, a few years ago, on a charge of taking bribes. His ignorance

on these points is equalled by that on all others, as Mr. Moss showed. In fact, according to his own statements, we have for a Chief of Police a man who is an absolute ignoramus so far as the duties of his position are concerned, and a man who is so dull in moral sense as to make admissions which are absolutely destructive to his own reputation as either a capable official or an honest man.

The Irish elections to the county councils, under the new local-government act passed by the Conservatives, have resulted in sweeping victories for the Nationalist party. In other words, what the Tories used to get black in the face denouncing Gladstone for proposing to do, they have themselves gone a great way towards doing. They have turned over Irish local government to the Irish people. Ex-dynamiters for mayors, and the fiercest of separatist agitators in control of the county councils—this is the result, not of legislation attempted by Mr. Gladstone, but of laws enacted by Lord Salisbury. Yet the Conservatives and the nation seem to be taking the thing quietly. It is a fresh illustration of the old political truth that it takes a conservative party to put through radical legislation. Parnell was long if not always of the opinion that genuine and far-reaching home rule for Ireland could be had only of the Tories. They could pass a home-rule bill, and the country would regard it as a mild and wise and healing measure. For a really less radical bill, Gladstone would be damned up and down the land.

A very disagreeable impression has been caused in England by the admission of the Government, made in the House of Commons, that a state of slavery exists in Uganda under an English protectorate. It was in evidence that escaped slaves had been returned to their masters by English authority, very much after our old Fugitive Slave Law style. What was the Government's explanation of this extraordinary state of things under the British flag? Well, it was that by the decree of 1890, under which England took over the government of Zanzibar, it was expressly stipulated that the subjects of the Sultan "shall remain as they are at present, and their status shall be unchanged." As many of the said subjects are in the status of slavery, what can be clearer than that the British Government is bound, by its solemn agreement, to keep them slaves? But the same agreement provided that England might abolish slavery by compensation to slave-owners, so that the Government's hands are not really tied as it pretends. The whole thing leaves a bad taste in the mouths of English philanthropists. But what are humane traditions to do except give way when Imperialism commands it?

THE CZAR'S CONGRESS.

Our Commissioners, named on Thursday by the President, to go to the Peace Congress at The Hague, which will be convened on May 18, will, on the whole, worthily represent the United States. It might hastily be objected to Capt. Mahan that his way of disarming is to knock the weapons out of the hands of his antagonists, while keeping his own powder particularly dry and his finger on the trigger. But this would be to do this distinguished military expert a wrong. If his writings have fed, as we believe they have fed, the passion for war, it has been because they have been wrested from their author's intention. He has consistently argued for more powerful armaments only as a defensive measure. We doubt if a plea, or an excuse, for an aggressive navy can fairly be found in all his books. Capt. Mahan is, therefore, peculiarly a Commissioner to be impressed by the main proposal which is to be made to the Congress in the Czar's name. This is for an agreement among the Powers not to increase their military expenses for a fixed term of years. As the great argument for increase, both in this country and in England, has always been that the army and navy of one country must be kept up to the level aimed at by other countries, it is clear that the Czar's plan is one which must appeal to Capt. Mahan above all men.

It is equally clear that the United States will cut no great figure directly in the deliberations of the Congress. Our army and our navy are comparatively insignificant. No matter what the Congress does, there is no likelihood that our national legislature will ever vote the money for a great standing army. It was only by main strength and desperate appeals that the Administration was able to get the troops imperatively needed in the Philippines and in Cuba. Congress has been less grudging in money for the navy, yet, even with the shadow of war still upon us, the last naval bill was most disappointing to naval experts, and it is still doubtful if the new ships apparently authorized can be built at all on the narrow terms exacted by Congress. It will be, therefore, the easiest thing in the world for our Commissioners to agree to make no increase in our military budget. As the case stands, we have troops and ships enough for the needs of the country in time of peace; and even if the Government wanted more money for national armament, it is certain that it could not get Congress to vote it in time of peace.

Yet, indirectly, the influence of the United States in the Czar's Congress will be great, and we regret to say that we cannot think it will be on the side of peace. This results not from what we say, but from what we do. Five years ago the United States could have gone to a World's Peace Congress and exerted

an enormous moral power. We were then the one great example of a nation whose main preoccupations and aims were peaceful. If the question had then been raised, "How can a country be great or strong without mighty armaments and crushing taxation for military purposes?" our proud answer might have been, "Look at us and see." But we have changed all that. If not in our own thought and purpose, yet in the impression we now make upon the rest of the world, we are no longer what we were, but have taken our place among the heavily armed nations.

That our new attitude distinctly makes for international suspicion, and for drawing the sword instead of sheathing it, is curiously shown in a little pamphlet which has just been published in this city. It is in Spanish, is written by a South American to South Americans, and is substantially a loud call upon the countries to the south of us to be warned in time, and to arm themselves against the aggressive rapacity of the United States. This is the lesson which the author, Señor Zumeta, draws from our war for humanity. He sees in it a threat against the independence of the South American nations. Bolivar's prophecy he thinks on the point of being fulfilled, that the time would come when there would be a general assault of brute strength upon liberty. Señor Zumeta tells his countrymen that the United States is "voracious," and his cry is, "Let us arm!" to defend lands and liberties. This is largely fanciful, no doubt, yet it does serve to show the impression we make on others; that we have provoked doubt and jealousy where once we enjoyed sympathy and admiration, and that we are going to a Peace Congress violently under suspicion of having our tongues in our cheeks.

It is unfortunately true, also, that the Czar, or the Russian Government, will come to the Peace Congress under a cloud. The recent trampling upon the rights and liberties of Finland was most ill-judged, in its effect upon public opinion, on the eve of the Congress at The Hague. It seems to give color to the assertion that the Czar has really little to do with his own Government; that he is allowed to express generous aspirations to the top of his bent, but that the great bureaucrats do the actual work. It is certain, in any case, that a painful impression has been made in England, and even in France, by the rough way in which the rights of the Finns have been ridden over. There seems to have been a clear violation of the compact under which Finland became a part of Russia in 1809; while the brutal disregard of the protests and appeals of the inhabitants has been complete. It will set many people to wondering whether, in the words of the Paris *Temps*, the author of the disarmament proposals wished to give, in the eyes of Europe, the lie to

his liberal language and his humane designs.

Still, the mere calling of a Peace Congress is a great event, and its deliberations cannot but result in good. Luckily, the programme is not too ambitious. It proposes, in brief, to discuss the possibility of arresting excessive armament, of making war more humane when it is unavoidable, and of lending fresh sanctions to arbitration as a means of averting war. For the attainment of all these high aims our Commissioners may confidently be expected to bend all their efforts. They would be false to their country, as well as to their own characters, if they did not. In particular may we look to see them eagerly embrace every plan tending to exalt peaceful arbitration. If this necessarily draws us into better relations with England, our Commissioners are not the men to shrink on that score. Capt. Mahan cannot refuse to accept the fulfilment of his own prophecy. "When we begin really to look abroad," he wrote, in 1890; "when we begin to busy ourselves with our duties to the world at large, and not before, we shall stretch out our hands to Great Britain, realizing that in unity of heart among the English-speaking races lies the best hope of humanity in the doubtful days ahead." There, at least, we have a man ready for an English alliance, not for reasons of gush or sentiment, but on grounds of solid good to the world.

"Dare to love England? And to say so? Yes.
Though the Celt rage, and every half-breed
scowl,
Though Hun and Finn and Russ and Polack
howl
Their malediction, coddled by a Priest
Alert at cursing, indolent to bless."

THE WALL STREET INCIDENT.

The violent tumble of speculative values with which Wall Street was entertained last week, is interesting chiefly as proof that a halt will be called somewhere to crazy speculation; that if the speculators will not stop of their own choice (and they usually will not), they will be brought to at least a temporary standstill by outside agencies. For the wild commotion on the Stock Exchange, during the last month or two, the blame is commonly laid at the door of the so-called "industrial" incorporations. This is true to the extent that the spirit of reckless speculation has perhaps concentrated more on this class of stocks than on others. But the fact is that, in the peculiar position of the public mind at the opening of the year, it was merely a question of finding something which the promoter could foist upon the public at inflated values. It is not at all improbable that if circumstances had not made feasible the "industrial" enterprises as an absorbent of the public's speculative capital, we should have witnessed a wild movement in mining shares, or in colonial "exploration and development" companies. When the

public is in a mood to speculate, and has accumulated the money for the purpose, the promoter is not very far behindhand in discovering means for meeting the demand. That the existing craze is by no means distinctively a result of the industrial incorporations, is pretty conclusively proved by the fact that the wildest of all the recent movements on the Stock Exchange were not in shares of the industrial combinations, but in the stock of the city traction enterprises.

The problem, however, which presents itself under such circumstances to the conservative classes of the community is not necessarily affected by the particular character of the speculative enterprises. The reason why so great account has been taken of the "industrial" speculation lies in two facts—the enormous magnitude of the supply of new stock issues of the kind brought upon the market, and the absolute impossibility of learning exactly what is the financial situation of any given enterprise. As to the volume of such incorporations, take the *Financial Chronicle's* summary of the amount of "industrial" shares and bonds authorized since the 1st of January. The summary for the first two months of 1899 showed authorized capital of \$1,106,300,000 for something like forty-two separate enterprises. Moreover, a month ago, comment was very general, even in the circles of promoters themselves, to the effect that "everything of value had been already capitalized," and that the movement would thenceforth fall to small proportions. The first of these assertions may or may not have been true; the second certainly was not; for the new summary shows a further increase in such authorized capitalization, during the month of March, of \$480,000,000. The total since the opening of 1899 reaches the handsome figure of \$1,586,325,000.

Such a deluge of new speculative securities, on all of which, sooner or later, loans will be asked from the city banks, would constitute a sufficiently perplexing problem, even if the intrinsic value of the new undertakings were known through frequent and official statements. But when, to the enormous volume of such incorporations, is added the fact that not one of them submits a statement which an intelligent business man would accept as a basis for an individual purchase in his own line of business, the extraordinary character of the situation is at once apparent. We have taken the trouble to examine a number of the "prospectuses" put out by these new concerns—the "prospectus" being, in the great majority of cases, the first and last official statement to the public of the company's financial situation. Without exception, the documents which we have examined assure the subscriber or speculator that the companies combined into the larger concern made so many thousands or millions of dollars last year,

that they hope to make more in the years to come, and that if they do, they will be able to pay such-and-such dividends to their shareholders. It would be difficult to conceive of any more absurd basis of appeal for the capital of prudent investors; yet we are assured by bank officers that, in the case of some of these securities now most active in Wall Street, the most patient inquiry has failed to obtain anything more in the line of trustworthy information.

This, it appears to us, is an almost entirely novel situation for a speculative movement on such a scale as has been threatened. The "Kaffir craze" of 1895 in London had at least the monthly returns of output from the mines on which investors might rationally base their judgment. Even in the earliest and most reckless days of railway-building the returns of passengers and traffic were more or less frequently submitted. From the "industrials" not only has the investor no information of true value to reckon on to-day, but he may rest perfectly confident that he will get no such information in the future. The most strenuous efforts of State law officers during several years have failed to extort from the Sugar Refining Company, the type of these recent combinations, anything more than the vaguest and most ambiguous summary even of assets and liabilities.

Whoever carefully considers the facts above set forth will hardly express surprise that the banks have been discriminating, as Wall Street expresses it, against the industrials. If any sort of collateral on loans ever required discrimination, it certainly is this, whose quantity is unlimited, and whose intrinsic value is absolutely unknown. The public, too, had plunged headlong into the wildest and most reckless speculation in these issues; market prices for some of them had risen 50 to 60 per cent. within two months; and the great bulk of the buying was known to be undertaken blindly, and purely for the purpose of selling again at some vastly higher level. It appears to us that if our bank officers, under such conditions, had not taken the stand which most of them have done, and refused to extend their loans on any such security, they would simply have proved themselves unworthy of the responsibility imposed upon them.

CHARACTER AND ASSOCIATION.

It has been our steadfast contention for many years that any man who consents to associate himself politically with Tammany Hall, thereby places himself under suspicion as to his character. That organization is in no sense a legitimate political body. It does not aim in any way to secure good government, but to secure support at the public expense for its followers. Nobody has ever heard of a Tammany meeting at which

the principles of real government, or any question of public policy, were discussed. Its sole and persistent objects are "places" for its men, jobs for its leaders, blackmail and plunder as the means of personal wealth for its boss and his favored intimates. Everybody knows this to be the simple truth about the concern. It deals in nominations, appointments, and everything connected with the public business on a commercial basis. It has government for sale to the highest bidder, and its daily existence is at the cost of the fundamental principles of popular, constitutional government.

This being the case, how is it possible for an honest man to associate with it and maintain his character? As a matter of fact, it is extremely difficult to cite an instance in which any presumptively honest man has been able to escape this loss. Many have been able to retain an appearance of preserved integrity for a time, but ultimately something has happened to show that either the character had been lost before the association was formed, or that it had been sacrificed later under the necessities of the case. Tammany has a use for ostensibly honest and respectable men, in order to give an appearance of decency to it on election days, but it has no use whatever for them in office. They must do the boss's will, or out they must go. It is a safe calculation, therefore, that any man whom Tammany puts into office is prepared to sacrifice both the public interests and his own character whenever the boss desires him to use his office for the benefit of the organization. He may make all possible excuses for his conduct, and emit furious outcries against plain speech and just criticism of it, but the fact will remain that he has yielded to his environment, and has lowered his character to the level of his associates.

A few weeks ago Tammany succeeded in getting control of the Board of Education in this city, and it at once elected Mr. Little to the Presidency. One of the first acts of the Board subsequently was the payment of \$7,000 rental for precisely the same building for which the Board, under the anti-Tammany control of the previous year, had paid \$5,000. Mr. Little, who professed to be a man of very high character, and who resented furiously assertions to the effect that he had always done Tammany's bidding as a member of the Board, made no opposition to this inexcusable waste of \$2,000 of public money. There were Tammany owners of the building who were to profit by the job, and that was sufficient reason for it. A short time later, Prof. Nicholas Murray Butler published in the *Educational Review* some remarks about Mr. Little, in which he spoke of him as a "fine old educational mastodon." Mr. Little was so jealous of his character that he went at once to the District Attorney, who allowed him to go before the

grand jury with his complaint, and the grand jury, for reasons which it is beyond the power of human intelligence to conceive, had Prof. Butler and Mr. Henry Holt, the publisher of the *Review*, indicted for criminal libel. Mr. Little's object in this proceeding was to establish the integrity of his character, and thus to show that an honest man could associate with Tammany and hold office at its hands.

Alas, how vain are human calculations! Instead of establishing his character, Mr. Little invited its injury, for he prompted an investigation of his record, with the result that a decision of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court was discovered and published in which he was declared to have been guilty of "fraudulent" acts in his capacity as the receiver of a bankrupt business concern. The court charged him with "exercising his ingenuity to deceive the creditors and the court as to the true character of the assets, and, by a series of sharp practices, getting the funds, which belonged to the creditors, into his own hands and into the hands of his accessory in the fraud." That is much more unpleasant to have said of you than to be called a "fine old educational mastodon." It will not strike Mr. Croker as constituting a disqualification for high public office, but, in any genuine political organization, it would be so considered. It throws a great deal of light upon Mr. Little's conduct in the choice of his political associates. He is himself a good deal bewildered by this unexpected result of his libel proceeding, and says he "can only account for the decision and the language of the court upon the theory that it has failed to understand the intricacies and complications involved in the case." Mr. Little's sense of humor does not appear to be acute.

One other observation occurs to us, and that is, that most of the persons who are eager to bring libel suits against newspapers and other publications which criticize their conduct in public matters, have something in their records which will not bear the light. It is this which makes them think that something must be done to vindicate their reputations. No man with a mind conscious to itself of rectitude would think an indictment for criminal libel against his accuser necessary to ward off from himself the disgrace of being spoken of as a "fine old educational mastodon." He could safely leave his reputation to withstand the shock of such an assault. It is because there are so many shady and shaky reputations in Tammany Hall that all Tammany men are so alarmed by free criticism and comment upon them, and wish to frighten the press into silence on the subject. Their attitude is comprehensible enough, but that they should be able to induce a grand jury to help them in their purpose is one of the

most astonishing developments of our time.

BETTER DAYS IN CUBA.

Most of the newspaper correspondence from Havana—French and English as well as American—dwells on the contrast between what Cuba now is and what it was at any time during the three years past. By such comparison it is not, of course, difficult to make out an overwhelming case for improvement under American control. Almost any country at peace would contrast pleasingly with the same country when the theatre of war. And in Cuba war was so doubly horrible, was waged with such unspeakable atrocities on both sides, and involved such frightful suffering for non-combatants, that six months' respite on any terms from rapine and massacre could not but seem to have brought paradise after Gehenna.

But there are, we take pleasure in saying, signs that the American régime in Cuba is doing something more than merely to bind up the wounds of war. It is addressing itself to the inveterate evils which partly caused the war. It is going back to those age-long abuses and neglects of the Spanish government of the island which made its condition for years one of smouldering rebellion, and is reforming and correcting with firm and patient hand. Already Cuba has a postal service better than she has ever known, and improvements in this branch of the public service have only begun. Already her cities are cleaner and safer than they have ever been before. Order and honesty have for the first time been established in her custom-houses. Railway and telegraphic communication between the principal cities and towns of the island is restored and will be speedily made better than anything Cubans have known; a Cuban merchant marine is about to be created; and plans for docks and harbors and other public improvements are on the point of being executed. All these things mean a great amelioration of the conditions of life in Cuba; and perhaps more significant and far-reaching than any of them is the latest sweeping reform effected, namely, of the Spanish system of taxation.

Next to Turkish taxation, Spanish taxation is probably the most burdensome and exasperating on earth. Crushing and grievous to be borne in Spain itself, in Cuba the system was keyed up to an extra pitch of oppressiveness and vexation. It was said of our Continental currency that you could not touch it without being taxed in the act. It is certain that you could not touch Cuba, under Spanish rule, without being taxed. Taxes caught you rising up and lying down; hit you in your home and shop and on your farm, travelling or stationary, living or dead. Industry and agriculture and manufactures were strangled

by the coils of taxation twisted about them in every conceivable way. To have or to buy the prime necessities of life meant to be taxed for them. If you carried products out of a city you had to pay a tax to get them through the gates, and if you brought them back again you had to pay to get in. Professions and trades had to be taxed as such. In short, the Spanish tax-gatherer pursued every symbol of wealth, and fined and mulcted its possessor with an ingenuity and a political blindness worthy of Ottoman Turks.

Now this vicious system has been taken in hand by the American military government of Cuba, and a notable beginning of reform made in it. By a decree of March 25, the full text of which has now come to hand, the old jungle of taxation is cleared up in a surprising way. Many of the old taxes are abolished outright; others are reduced from 25 to 50 per cent. We should judge that the net result could not be other than to reduce the total burden of taxation in Cuba one-half. And the work has been done intelligently. Mediæval taxes are cut up by the roots. Article ii. of the decree abolishes the tax of 4½ cents the kilo on beef-cattle; article iii. forbids the levying of taxes on prime necessities, such as all kinds of food and fuel. Next comes the entire abolition of *octroi* duties (*alcabala* tax, we believe the Spanish call it)—the taxes, that is, with which municipalities punish anybody who brings merchandise within their jurisdiction. The tax on real estate is revised and reduced, being now fixed at a single tax of 6 to 8 per cent. of the net income, instead of the former 12 to 18 per cent. with no end of surtaxes added in. As for manufactures and trades and professions, the taxes on them are either abolished or greatly reduced.

All told, this beginning of a revision and reform of Cuban taxation is a great achievement, and should go further towards pacifying the island than twenty regiments. Most political evils connect themselves in one way or another with excessive taxation. Cuba was undoubtedly squeezed by the Spanish like an orange. Minute and multiplied taxes strangled her industrial life. If the intolerable pressure is now removed, if industry and thrift are encouraged instead of being repressed, the economic improvement will be vast and cannot fail to lead to moral and political improvement. Taxes cut in half will be a stronger argument than any that prejudice or passion can advance. If the American military government can go on making life in Cuba easier and safer, can strike off the fetters from industry and commerce, it will diffuse a general well-being against which the mutterings and agitations of disappointed and disaffected Cuban politicians will be powerless.

THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

NEW HAVEN, April 10, 1899.

Once in three years the Oriental Society, in accordance with a not unpleasant restriction imposed by its charter, revisits the scene of its earliest activity and meets in Massachusetts, usually in Boston or Cambridge. But, owing to an intervening session in Andover three years ago, it chanced to be six years to a day since the Society had assembled in Cambridge, where this year the members foregathered on April 6. The spacious hall of the Faculty of Harvard University was kindly put at the disposal of the Society, which mustered above fifty members in attendance. It is not very many years ago, as one of the older members observed, when an attendance of ten was considered a large meeting; a remark that recalls how much the Society owes to the energy and patience of the late Prof. W. D. Whitney, who carried it through all its formative period and really made it what it is to-day. At the annual meeting this year, for example, thirty new members were added to the rolls, which now contain the names of nearly four hundred.

The first session of the Society, President Gilman being the presiding officer, was held on Thursday morning, April 6, when the annual business was transacted, and several of the thirty-four papers offered at this Meeting were read. Prof. Gotthell of Columbia University presented the report of the committee on the cataloguing of Oriental MSS. in this country, a large number having recently been inspected and catalogued by Prof. Hyvernat of the Catholic University of America; two of these forming the subject of a special paper by Dr. Casanowicz of the National Museum in Washington, under the caption, "Two Hebrew Manuscripts." The routine business of the morning was agreeably varied by the suggestion that a telegram of congratulation be sent to Prof. Salisbury of New Haven, for many years an active member and President of the Society, who on this day attained the completion of his eighty-fifth year. This pleasant office was undertaken by his old friend, Col. Higginson. Greetings were sent also to the venerable lexicographer, Otto Boettlingk, who, though nearly eighty-four, still retains a lively interest in Sanskrit studies, and contributes from time to time essays of his own to the German Oriental journals.

The papers read at this first session were few in number, as the greater part of the morning had been given up to business, but the Society listened, before adjourning, to one of the two technical papers offered by Prof. Barton of Bryn Mawr, who gave some explanatory notes on the forty-fourth and forty-fifth Psalms, and a critical note on one of the contract tablets in Meissner's 'Altbabylonisches Privatrecht.' A paper followed from the other side of the house (for, like most Oriental societies, that of America falls naturally into Aryan and Semitic divisions), by Mr. Gray of Columbia, on Pali and Persian phonology, a scholarly attempt to trace parallel lines of phonetic development in the dialectic variations of these two Aryan branches. After an interesting interpretation of the name Jerusalem by Prof. Haupt of Johns Hopkins, who held that the name meant originally 'Stronghold' or 'City of Safety,' the morning session closed, and the visiting members became the guests of the Cambridge members at a pleasant luncheon in the Colonial Club.

The afternoon session was opened by Prof. Morse of Salem, who spoke on the possibility of communication between the West and East in early times. Prof. Morse's paper was restricted to the question whether the American stringed instrument was pre-Columbian, but, handling the subject on broader lines, he came to the conclusion that there was no communication at all before Columbus. This, belonging to neither side of the house, was one of the general papers which occasionally refresh the Society when the alternative of Sanskrit and Semitic becomes monotonous. A technical paper by Prof. Hopkins of Yale, who followed Prof. Morse, offered some new words to Sanskrit lexicography, and, among other points of grammatical and archaeological interest, pointed out two Sanskrit parallels to the famous "automatic" conflagration of Thucydides, ii. 77. Modern observers testify that, in the jungle, fire often is lighted by the friction of bamboos rubbed against each other by the wind; Prof. Hopkins gave extracts from the Hindu epic showing that this fact is recognized in the native literature.

Two other Sanskrit papers were then given, one by Prof. Jackson of Columbia, and one by Prof. Lanman of Harvard. The first of these was a supplementary series of notes on certain dramatic elements in Sanskrit Plays. Prof. Jackson has opened a very attractive field of research in comparing the principles of construction in Sanskrit and in the modern drama of Europe, his special theme in this paper being the observance of the unities by the Hindu dramatist. Prof. Lanman's paper bore the title, "Indian Proverbs which Occur both in Sanskrit and in Pali Books." The subject is one of great literary importance, involving as it does the interrelation of whole branches of Hindu literature, such as the Buddhist Jātakas and the Brahman epic. The illustrations given, though they appealed only to the ear, were striking enough to make the hearer hope that Prof. Lanman would increase his already valuable collection of parallel proverbs.

Considerable discussion was aroused by the next paper, offered by Prof. Lyon of Harvard, on the identification of *alattu* as a variety of stone. Prof. Lyon showed that it was not a precious stone, as has been assumed; but whether the word connoted a special kind of stone or any kind of "striped" stone, which might be used for utensils, remained doubtful. The second session closed with the reading of a technical paper by Prof. Haupt on the vowels of the preformatives of the imperfect in Semitic, and with a very curious parallel, drawn by Prof. Torrey of Andover, between the modern tale of King John and the Abbot of Canterbury and a Coptic original, which Prof. Torrey has found in an unpublished manuscript. In Prof. Torrey's opinion the modern story was brought to Europe via Spain, and he appears to have good reason for his contention that the resemblance between the Oriental and Occidental versions of the tale is too close to be accidental.

The afternoon of Friday being devoted to the papers for the Section on the Historical Study of Religions, an effort was made to have all the remaining essays read on Friday morning. One of the newly elected members, Mr. Montgomery Schuyler of Columbia, gave as his maiden paper an interesting analysis of the part of the buffoon in Sanskrit Plays, and Dr. Christopher Johnston

of Johns Hopkins presented *in absentia* through a fellow-member a new interpretation of the Letter of an Assyrian princess. Prof. Lyon's second paper, giving the record of a Babylonian law-suit, was also read at this session, and Prof. Jastrow of the University of Pennsylvania contributed a discussion in regard to the significance of tearing the garments as a symbol of mourning. Prof. Lyon's record contained much more of general interest than is usually given by Babylonian tablets. Prof. Jastrow's contention was, in brief, that the tearing of garments was not originally a rending, but a stripping or tearing off. On the Sanskrit side, Prof. Hopkins gave the results of an analysis of epic metres in Sanskrit, the epic norm being markedly freer than the classical. Some new inscriptions sent as Indian to Prof. Gotthell were exhibited, and shown by him to be Palmyrene instead of Sanskrit. Prof. Oertel of Yale read by title a communication on the relation of the 'Jāminīya Brāhmana' to the 'Pancavināśa,' and the session closed with two papers, one by Prof. Torrey, to show that three unpublished letters attributed to the pillared Simeon are not genuine, and one by Prof. T. F. Wright, on Saph and the Tell es-Safi. The Society then adjourned to partake of a luncheon hospitably given to the members by President Elliot.

There remained for the afternoon session the papers intended for the newly created section already referred to. It was found that there were many persons who took an interest in the religious papers and discussions of the Oriental Society without caring for the technical papers. The Section for the Historical Study of Religions receives such quasi-Orientalists, and, on the payment of a small fee, sends them all the papers which properly belong to the Section. These are naturally read at one session, to accommodate the more general audience interested in the study of comparative religion. On Friday afternoon, the Society thus had the pleasure of listening first to Prof. Everett of Harvard on the psychology of the two great Hindu philosophers, Vedānta and Sāṅkhya. Prof. Everett showed that in reality both systems were idealistic, though the latter is popularly reckoned as dualistic. The relation between magic and religion formed the topic of a paper presented at this session by Prof. Toy of Harvard. It was Sir Alfred Lyall who first emphasized the difference between magic and religion, claiming that while the latter takes the gods as helpers, the former is always opposed to the gods and works by coercing them. The difference was somewhat exaggerated at its first presentation, and Prof. Toy very rightly pointed out that to a considerable extent the question is one of terminology. Even in India, witchcraft does not always stand in such sharp antithesis to religion.

The meaning of *gog* in Gog and Magog formed the subject of the next paper. It was presented by Prof. Haupt, who held that *gog* was a gentile term equivalent to Northern Barbarian, while *magog* was a repetition of the same word, its prefix meaning no more than *place of* (the Northern Barbarian). A somewhat similar paper, lighting up old names with etymological meaning, was given soon after by Prof. Jackson, who, in analyzing the ancient Persian idea of devil, showed that Ahriman is to be interpreted as the 'Spirit of Antagonism,' who is called also by another epithet that

signifies 'full of death'; just as the Buddhist devil Māra is Death.

The Qur'an as seen by an Oriental Christian was discussed by Mr. Arbeely of New York as the next number of the programme, after which Mr. Newell of Cambridge read a short paper on mediæval fairy castles and the tales of the blest. As the afternoon was drawing to a close, Prof. Jastrow thought best to read by title only what promised to be an important paper on the historical study of religions in America, while Prof. Barton and Prof. Hopkins summarized the contents of their final papers on sacrifice among the Wakamba, an African tribe, and the economics of primitive religion, respectively. The Society then adjourned, after a vote of thanks for courtesies received, to meet again in Philadelphia on April 19, 1900.

The "Meeting," as it is called officially, was favored with perfect weather, and the members carried out the unwritten law of keeping the evenings free for social intercourse among themselves. This, to many, with the opportunity thereby afforded for quiet talk and general discussion, is one of the pleasantest features of the annual convention of the Society, though on this occasion it was combined with regret, as it necessitated the refusal of a very kind invitation on the part of Prof. Norton to meet at his house on Friday evening.

WASHBURN HOPKINS.

Correspondence.

STEVENSON AND NEWMAN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your recent review of Mr. Lewis E. Gates's 'Three Studies in Literature' the reference to Cardinal Newman's style reminds me of a very interesting comparison that may be made between a passage from Newman's 'Grammar of Assent' and one from Robert Louis Stevenson's 'Ebb Tide.' The citation from 'Ebb Tide' was made in the *Nation* when the book was reviewed, and was very justly put forward as a beautiful example of style. It is as follows:

"... The Virgil, which he could not exchange against a meal, had often consoled him in his hunger. He would study it, seeking favorite passages, and finding new ones only less beautiful because they lacked the consecration and remembrance. Or he would pause on random country walks, sit on the pathside, gazing over the sea on the mountains of Etna, and dip into the 'Æneid,' seeking *sortes*. And if the oracle (as is the way of oracles) replied with no very certain or encouraging voice, visions of England, at least, would throng upon the exile's memory—the busy school-room, the green playing-fields, holidays at home, and the perennial roar of London, and the fire-side, and the white head of his father. For it is the destiny of these grave, restrained, and classic writers, with whom we make enforced and often painful acquaintance at school, to pass into the blood and become native in the memory; so that a phrase of Virgil speaks not so much of Mantua or Augustus, but of English places and the student's own irrevocable youth."

This is indeed very beautiful, but who would expect to light on a passage to the same effect, and perhaps even more beautiful, in a volume with so dry a title as Cardinal Newman's 'Grammar of Assent'? He is considering how differently young and old are affected by the words of some classic author such as Homer or Horace:

"Passages which to a boy are but rhetorical

commonplaces, neither better nor worse than a hundred others which any clever writer might supply, which he gets by heart and thinks very fine, and imitates, as he thinks, successfully in his own flowing versification, at length come home to him when long years have passed and he has had experience of life, and pierce him as if he had never before known them, with their sad earnestness and vivid exactness. Then he comes to understand how it is that lines, the birth of some chance morning or evening at an Ionian festival, or among the Sabine hills, have lasted generation after generation for thousands of years, with a power over the mind, and a charm, which the current literature of his own day, with all its obvious advantages, is utterly unable to rival. Perhaps this is the reason of the mediæval opinion about Virgil, as if a prophet or magician; his single words and phrases, his pathetic half-lines, giving utterance, as the voice of Nature herself, to that pain and weariness, yet hope of better things, which is the experience of her children in every time."

J. C. H.

ATLANTA, GA., April 2, 1899.

TWO INDEXES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the very interesting and instructive article on "Americanism, or the Catholic Church in America," published in the *Nation* of March 30, the author speaks of the rules governing the Index Expurgatorius. Permit me to state that such an index, and consequently such rules, do not exist. The only index which is sanctioned by the Church officially is the "Index librorum prohibitorum." If a book is prohibited, not on account of its general tendency, but on account of some objectionable passages, it is published in the Index with the remark: *d. c.—donec corrigatur*.

All attempts to publish a catalogue of books which have to be purged from heresies are of private nature, published by governments or universities, but none of them recognized by the Church. The only Index Expurgatorius which was published in Rome appeared in 1607, and was withdrawn by the author, Guanzelli, a master of the sacred palace, as quickly as 1611. The Papal See has never officially recognized this or any other Index Expurgatorius.

In this connection it may be interesting to state that even the present Pope adorns the list of those whom the official Index honors with the mark, *Auctor laudabiliter se subjecit*, although the book was fortunately published without the name of the author.

It might further be new to a number of your readers to learn that the Index is a sort of compromise. The original rules of the Roman Catholic Church, as laid down in a decree of Leo X., dated May 4, 1515, require that every book, before it be printed, be submitted to the proper ecclesiastical authorities. This "censura prævía" was superseded by the Index, because it had become impracticable.

GOTTHARD DEUTSCH.

CINCINNATI, O., April 6, 1899.

[Milton observed the distinction when, in 1641, he wrote: "Your Monkish Prohibitions and expurgatorious Indexes." But the shorter designation has become a concept so convenient as to be loosely used even in an historical connection.—ED. NATION.]

A NOVEL ENTERPRISE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: There has recently come to my no-

tice the Breck School in Wilder, Minnesota, with an educational aim so novel, to me, and so interesting, that I venture to call the attention of your readers to it. The principal writes:

"All through the West there are hundreds of young men and women whose early advantages were nothing, and who, having reached maturity, come to realize that they need more schooling, but, because of their age and backwardness, cannot enter the graded or even the district schools. To this class of pupils the Breck has its mission. There is no other school in Minnesota that provides especially for this class of pupils. Many are the pupils the Breck has started on the road to a higher education, pupils who had despaired of ever going to school again.

"This winter a man twenty-eight years of age, the owner of a good farm and well to do, came to see if we could take him. He was the eldest of a large family and always helped to support the family, so had never been able to attend school while a boy. He now realizes his want and, through a student of the school, learned that the Breck was for just such as he. I told him that we could take him. 'But,' said he, 'you don't know how ignorant I am.' He was much relieved when he learned that there were others here just as backward as he, and that he would not feel out of place. He is so pleased with the advancement he made in twelve weeks that he expects to rent his farm another year and be in school six months. After he has finished our Agricultural School preparatory course, he will enter the State Agricultural College and complete a course. The rapid progress of this class of pupils—pupils who have ability, maturity, and an incentive—is something remarkable. Were it not for this school, the majority of them would never go to school."

Yours truly, JAMES M. HUBBARD.

BOSTON, April 8, 1899.

AN EXCEPTION TO THE RULE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Will you allow me to point out an instance in the Old Country of keeping to the right being the "rule of the road"? It may be of interest to some of your readers.

On that section of railway running from London Bridge Station to the town of Greenwich—one of the first, if not the very first suburban line run out of the metropolis, and formerly known as the Greenwich Railway Company—the trains pass each other on the right. When I had occasion, a few years ago, to use this line regularly, it seemed to me amazing that such should be the case, and I never could get any good reason why it was so. The general belief was that, the Greenwich Railway Company having been one of the first lines started, its managers determined to follow the Continental style and expected all other companies would follow suit. Palpably they were in error, and they have kept it up ever since. It is an interesting bit of bigotry or pig-headedness, for when the working of this line was taken over by the London, Chatham and Dover Company or the London, Brighton and South Coast Company (I forget at the moment which), it was stipulated that the "right of way," if one may so call it, was to be adhered to.

I remain, yours faithfully,

AUBURN GLEN.

101 N. FREMONT AVE.,
LOS ANGELES, CAL., April 6, 1899.

Notes.

The late Archibald Lampman's complete works, edited by Duncan Campbell Scott, a brother Canadian poet, and Dr. S. E. Dawson, Queen's Printer, with a biographical sketch,

a portrait, and a facsimile of one of the sonnets, are to be published in Canada by subscription for the benefit of the widow and two young children of Mr. Lampman, who are left in slender circumstances. The price will be \$3.25, and subscriptions may be sent to W. D. Le Sueur.

The second five volumes of the "Beacon Biographies" edited by M. A. DeWolfe Howe and published by Small, Maynard & Co., will be 'Franklin,' by Lindsay Swift; 'Audubon,' by John Burroughs; 'Aaron Burr,' by Henry Childs Merwin; 'J. Fenimore Cooper,' by W. B. Shubrick Clymer; and 'Edwin Booth,' by Charles Townsend Copeland.

'The Heart of Man,' essays by Prof. George E. Woodberry of Columbia, embracing "Democracy" and a "New Defense of Poetry" among other topics; 'The Quest of Faith,' by Thomas Bailey Saunders; and 'The Development of the English Novel,' by Prof. W. L. Cross of Yale, are to be issued this month by Macmillan Co.

Thomas Whittaker has nearly ready 'An Epic of the Soul,' a cycle of eighty short poems by an anonymous but not untried or unknown writer; 'Irish Life and Character,' by Michael MacDonagh; and 'The Warden,' a biographical sketch of the late head of St. Stephen's College, Annandale, N. Y., by his son, Henry A. Fairbairn, M.D.

L. C. Page & Co., Boston, who have taken over from George H. Richmond & Son D'Annunzio's works, promise shortly a new volume in the series, viz., 'Fire' ('Il Fuoco'). They will also hereafter be the publishers of Magda Stuart Sindici's works. To be brought out this month is 'Yale, her Campus, Classrooms, and Athletics,' by Walter Camp and Lewis S. Welch, with many half-tone illustrations.

'True Tales of the Insects,' a copiously illustrated large octavo, by L. N. Badenoch, is soon to be issued by E. P. Dutton & Co.

An edition of Rudyard Kipling's collected letters of travel for the years 1890-1898, together with other matter more or less accurately printed heretofore, is announced by Doubleday & McClure Co.

The Portfolio of National Portraits already announced by R. H. Russell, New York, will consist, it appears, of Japan proofs of Gustav Krull's eight most remarkable engravings on wood, a rare study in technique in view of the utter absence of mannerism in these great works, viz., Lincoln (two aspects), Grant, Sherman, J. R. Lowell, Garrison, Webster, and Robert E. Lee. The last-named of these (and certainly not the least) is the newest, and has, we believe, not heretofore been put upon the market. The others are known to all connoisseurs, and are now issued collectively at an average price much below the original. The Portfolio will be limited to 250 copies.

Two dainty reprints are the little volume published by Macmillan, bracketing Arnold's "Sweetness and Light" and Pater's "Essay on Style," and 'Washington's Farewell Address,' of which Mr. Worthington C. Ford gives briefly the genesis, and supplies a facsimile of one page of Washington's letter constituting the first draft submitted to Madison in May, 1792 (Boston: Small, Maynard & Co.).

Prof. Herford's handsome ten-volume Every-day Edition of Shakspeare (Macmillan) advances with a second volume embracing the "Taming of the Shrew," "Merchant of Venice," "Merry Wives," "Twelfth Night," and

"As You Like It," each with its concise introduction. Of "Taming of the Shrew" the editor remarks that on the German stage its popularity far surpasses that of any other Shakspearian comedy, and is inferior only to that of "Othello."

'Baedeker's United States' established itself instantly in popular favor as a model guide-book to this country. Six years have elapsed since Messrs. Scribner sent us the first edition, and now we have the second, revised. From the new subway in Boston, the erection of Greater New York, the creation of the Public Library, the transfer of Columbia College, the advent of electricity in our tramways, the completion of the Grant monument, to the newest and southernmost Florida watering-place, Miami, the vigilant editorial eye of Mr. Muirhead has noted our developments in this period. Slips and errors have been corrected. The expansionist or "manifest destiny" future is no further discounted than in the first edition, in which Mexico found a place; the only Cuba visible is in New York and in Alabama. For the sake of the tourist, at least, the island will doubtless be both described and mapped in the next edition, along with Porto Rico.

In the second edition of 'The Day-Book of Wonders,' by David Morgan Thomas (London: T. Fisher Unwin), there is a little "reading-matter" for every day in the year, about dwarfs, an African coronation, the Florence burning-glass, Oliver Cromwell, compensation pendulums, the Wesley ghosts, corpse-candles, Wheatstone's "enchanted lyre," gigantic squids, Kepler's choosing of a wife, Layard's Nineveh exhumations, mistletoes, and all that. The author goes to the trouble of telling us whence he compiled his wonders. The list of authorities in eight pages embraces all sorts and conditions of modern books, with a fond leaning towards such as are not over-trustworthy. Whoever enjoys Hone's 'Every-Day Book' will be likely to enjoy this more, because Mr. Thomas has a decided faculty for these holiday manoeuvres of facts. It would amuse anybody's idle quarter of an hour daily through a year. Add to this that it is printed on such thin paper that, though but an inch thick and well under two pounds' weight, it contains some 400,000 words, or as much as three ordinary volumes of to-day. Would it might be imitated in this by those American publishers who make our wrists ache with books of too slender souls incorporated in too ponderous bodies.

In his lifetime, the late R. H. Hutton had published a volume of 'Theological Essays,' and now we have, garnered from his many kindred writings in the *Spectator*, 'Aspects of Religious and Scientific Thought' (Macmillan). The gleanings cover many years, yet everywhere appears the characteristic note of the author when dealing with religious themes—an almost tender tolerance for unbelief; an almost wistful eagerness to make Christianity comprehensive (or vague) enough to embrace all truth, and, too often, a certain strained ingenuity in making a point for his own side. "The Spiritual Fatigue of the World" is a typical subject; every old reader of the *Spectator* would know just how it would be treated.

Lovers of art, and especially of the history of art, and not Bible-readers alone, will be interested in the new venture of the firm of Velhagen & Klasing of Leipzig, who propose

to publish an edition of the Four Gospels, with reproduction of more than 300 paintings made by German, Italian, and Dutch masters in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, the period of classic masterpieces in religious art, and found in churches, museums, and private collections throughout the civilized world. The illustrations will all have direct reference to the life, doings, and death of Christ, and the collection is intended to be a representative body of the best work of the masters. The first *Lieferung* has appeared and promises well for the whole work, which will be completed within a twelvemonth. An appendix will contain biographies of the artists and the history of the paintings reproduced. The title of the work is simply 'Die Vier Evangelien'; the size is large quarto.

The appearance of volumes I. and II. of the works of Origen, edited by Paul Koetschau of Jena, draws attention anew to the monumental literary project of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Berlin, in the publication of a complete and thoroughly critical edition, with brief introductions and notes, of the entire Patristic literature, orthodox and non-orthodox, of the Greek Church of the first three centuries, in worthy companionship to the excellent edition of the Latin Fathers for years in course of publication by the Vienna Royal Academy. The series opened something more than a year ago with the first volume of the works of Hippolytus, edited by Profs. Bonwetsch and Achelis. The near future will bring an edition of the works of Eusebius, Julius Africanus, and Clemens Alexandrinus. The prime mover in the project has been the indefatigable Prof. Harnack of the University of Berlin. Quite naturally it is impossible to determine exactly how extensive this series will turn out to be, but the publisher, Hinrichs of Leipzig, reckons upon about fifty volumes in the course of twenty years.

The treatise entitled 'Die Botchaft des Csars,' by the Austrian Field-Marshal-Lieutenant, Freiherr von Sacken (Vienna and Leipzig: Braumüller), is important enough to deserve the attention of those who may have a voice in the coming Peace Conference. The fact that disarmament is not alluded to in the Csar's message is recognized by the writer in the sub-title: "No disarmament, but an ennobling reform of the defensive and military system." Hostile encounters between nations, and hence the maintenance of armies, are considered as unavoidable, but the latter should be limited in size and of the highest imaginable perfection. The present Continental system of universal service should be much restricted, or be replaced by one not involving the continued increase in numerical strength. It is the "people in arms" that causes the powerful warlike impulse among the nations of to-day, and will bring on wars in spite of rulers and Parliaments. The author's forecast of a general European war with the present *Militionen* leaves stuns the imagination. His plans for preventing the cataclysm seem fraught with difficulties, but not positively impracticable.

The aptitude of woman for the pursuit of political and social science has often been questioned, but is plainly maintained in an inaugural address by Prof. Herkner of Zurich, 'Das Frauenstudium der National-ökonomie' (Berlin: Heymann). The writer, supplementing the publications of Prof. L. von Stein on the same subject, shows briefly what has been achieved by women, more

especially in England, in the field of political and social economy, and then considers the consequences likely to result, for woman herself and for society, from her continued and more general devotion to those subjects.

The April number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly* is wholly taken up with the records of Isle of Wight County, on the right bank of the James River, Va. They go back to 1622, beginning with a list of the massacred by the Indians on Good Friday, March 23, when more than a quarter of the population of Virginia was slain. Musters, deeds, wills, grants, etc., supply much valuable personal, historical, and social information down to 1783.

Longevity, especially if hereditary, is always an interesting topic, and is illustrated in the *New England Magazine* for April by the Rev. J. W. Chadwick, whose text is the life-work of the Rev. Samuel May of Leicester, Mass., now entering (like his parents before him) on his ninetieth year. Mr. May was on the higher intellectual and social level of his Harvard class of 1829, of which he remains the Secretary and all but the sole survivor. Dr. Holmes, Justice Benjamin R. Curtis, Rev. James Freeman Clarke, Prof. Benjamin Peirce, and the author of "America," were some, but not all, of his eminent classmates. He became a Unitarian clergyman with his home at Leicester, till his engrossment in the anti-slavery cause led him to connect himself officially with the organization of which Mr. Garrison was the leader. As general agent of the Massachusetts Society, he conducted, with admirable competence and fidelity, the propaganda through lectures in the field, rendering a service rivalled only by the abolition press. He has outlived the ill-favor caused among his parishioners and neighbors by his philanthropic sentiments and connections, and Mr. Chadwick's agreeable sketch will be read nowhere with greater pleasure than in the hill-town which honors Mr. May as its oldest and most public-spirited citizen, and most revered.

A staunch advocate of Mr. Dewey's decimal classification of the knowledgeable, Comm. Desiderio Chilovi, librarian of the National Central Library of Florence, discusses at once acutely and temperately the question of the London Royal Society's proposed catalogue of current scientific literature, in the *Nuova Antologia* for March 1. The scheme is by collaboration in various countries to produce a Poole's Index (in the largest sense) on cards, and ultimately in volume form, and to distribute the cards at the will of the subscriber, according to his specialty—something in the manner of our press-clippings bureaus. Signor Chilovi is sensibly adverse to any printed book catalogue, and equally opposed to the plan of translating titles not embraced in a restricted group of languages into (say) English. He denies the need of selecting a universal language for this purpose or for classification, and points to the perfect adaptability of the Dewey symbolism. In fact, it is actually in use by Mr. Herbert Haviland Field, who, under the auspices of the International Zoological Congress, is issuing at Zurich and distributing at cost price cards in that domain. (The Zurich office is styled *Concilium bibliographicum opibus complurium nationum Turici institutum*.) Signor Chilovi's article is decidedly worth reading.

The meteorological observatory of Mont Blanc has published, under the direction of

J. Vallot, the third volume of its *Annales*, a continuation of the meteorological observations made simultaneously on the summit of Mont Blanc, in the Grands Mulets, and at Chamonix, together with studies of the variation of the barometer at different altitudes. There are also papers on the progress of the survey of Mont Blanc and on glacial erosion. M. Vallot contributes accounts of his scientific researches in the Mont Blanc tunnel, and his explorations of the moulins of the Mer de Glace. Half-tone illustrations and a map accompany the volume. "Geological and Petrographic Researches on the Mont Blanc Group" is the title of an elaborate paper by Louis Duparc and Ludovic Mrasec, forming the latest number of the *Mémoires* of the Society of Physics and Natural History of Geneva. It begins with a description of the topography of the mountain, and of the position which it occupies in the Alpine range. The eruptive and crystalline rocks are described in connection with theoretical views concerning metamorphic phenomena. The concluding portion treats of the geological history of Mont Blanc. The illustrations include views of the different peaks and glaciers, and a series of plates showing the minute structure of various rocks.

The proceedings of the International Congress of Diplomatic History held at The Hague last September have begun to be published (*Annales Internationales d'Histoire: Congrès de la Haye, No. 1*). The complete "actes" of the congress may be had for twenty francs of the Count de Tarade, 45 rue Cambon, Paris.

—Those who hesitated about becoming subscribers to the 'Jesuit Relations' (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers Co.) from fear that a work of sixty or seventy volumes would be long in production, and might be retarded altogether, must feel encouraged and gratified at the rate of progress which has been made. During 1898, publication advanced at just double the speed which the prospectus promised, and the same alacrity is maintained this year. If the half-way point may be regarded as the Rubicon of such an enterprise, it has already been passed. Students of American history have every reason to be gratified with the editing, and purchasers can find no fault with the presswork or other mechanical features. 1900 should see the successful end of a noble undertaking. Vols. xxxvii. and xxxviii. contain the following documents: the last of the Relation for 1650-'51 (or more strictly, three papers supplementing the Relation proper); the Relation for 1651-'52; the Journal of the Jesuit Fathers for 1652 and 1653; and a general account of the mission, written in Italian by Bressani, who had served in Huronia for four years. This last was not printed by Cramoisy, but appeared at Macerata in 1653. It contains little which has not been brought out in the previous narratives, and we therefore restrict our brief comment to the fresh material. Lower Canada and the Abenaki region were the only parts of New France where the Jesuits succeeded in accomplishing anything between 1651-'53. Drulillettes, after his fruitless negotiations in the English colonies which we have already noticed, returned to his post among the Abenakis and won their affection completely. How different was his treatment on the banks of the Kennebec from that which his brethren received in the valley of the Hudson,

and westward along the Great Lakes! Ragueneau thus describes in the Relation for 1651-'52 the Abenakis' disposition towards him: "They honored him at their feasts with the viands which they ordinarily give to their Captains. If he went on a journey with them, the best canoe was chosen, and he was given the most comfortable seat; and if he wished to ply the paddle, they snatched it out of his hands, saying that his occupation was to pray to God. 'Pray for us and we will paddle for thee,' they would say."

—Meanwhile the nations of the St. Lawrence basin proved equally amenable. In March, 1651, Jacques Buteux, accompanied by three Frenchmen and forty savages, set out on a mission to that most docile of all the tribes, the Attikamegues. His route lay through a region which is now well known to sportsmen and geologists, the Laurentides, or Laurentian hill country. Le Jeune had traversed some part of this remarkable district in the first days of the mission, but Buteux probably saw more of it than his predecessor did. The characteristic feature of the Laurentides is their endless succession of small rocky hills, between every two of which lies a lake or a bog. Buteux and his party, by walking steadily all day, could advance only six leagues, and the obstacles which they constantly met with aroused their admiration while causing them dismay. Ice falls, cataracts, swift streams, perpendicular cliffs, and lodged timber beset their path. The difficulties of the route may be estimated by the statement that for over forty people only two bushels of Indian corn meal, one of peas, and a small sack of sea biscuit were taken. "We had barely enough to ward off death, rather than to sustain life. For my part, I had enough of my few effects; the difficulties of the road, the fatigue, and the fast, which I did not wish to break in Passion time, did not allow me to load myself with food." Those who are familiar with the district in question will read this early account of its exploration with heightened interest, but in any case it is very graphic. Alas, during the next season the good father encountered the Iroquois, with the usual result. The *Journal des Jésuites* for 1652 contains a bald entry of the fact. "On the 10th day of May, Father Jacques Buteux, in company with a Frenchman named Fontarable, and a Huron named Thomas Tsoudoutannen, was killed by a band of 14 Iroquois. The two Frenchmen remained dead on the spot; the Huron was led away captive. This took place on the Three Rivers, at the third portage." However, Buteux's life and martyrdom are fully described by Ragueneau at the beginning of the Relation for 1651-'52.

—Scholarly study of the every-day Latin of the ancient Romans, that dialect, as Quintilian has it, *quo cum amicis contigibus liberis servis loquamur*—the dialect which merged gently and imperceptibly into the Romance languages—is only just beginning. Five years ago, Columbia University made her first contribution to it in Dr. Cooper's treatment of the Sermo Plebeius, and now she gives us another, by Dr. G. N. Olcott. In his doctor's dissertation, 'Studies in the Word Formation of the Latin Inscriptions: Substantives and Adjectives: with special reference to the Sermo Vulgaris,' he has collected in convenient lists those substantives and adjectives of terminations which are most prominent in the

Romance languages, proceeding on the assumption that such formations were prevalent also in the common Latin. This assumption is fully confirmed, for more than one-sixth of the words in his lists are quite unknown to literary Latin. We are glad to observe that Dr. Olcott uses the term *Sermo Vulgaris* in its proper sense, therein differing from most of his fellow-investigators. As Quintilian employs it (12, 10, 43), it is far from signifying mere slang, or low, indecent language, or that which is "vulgar" in the modern society sense of the word; it has a much wider meaning. Sometimes it may deserve the application of these adjectives, but in general it is not so much the language of low life and ignorance as it is the natural language: in fact, it is what we term colloquialism. Of course, it was tabooed by literary men in their books, and consequently the inscriptions are our best source of information on its nature and development. As Dr. Olcott says: "The writers of the inscriptions used the language of every-day life, not the 'book-Latin' which they had forgotten since their school-days, if, indeed, they had ever learned to use it in the schools." His dissertation, however, contains little in the way of general discussion of the subject; it is rather of the *pour servir* variety. It consists chiefly of thirty-four classified lists of substantives and adjectives, with references to the most trustworthy books in which the inscriptions furnishing them are treated. Many such collections of forms of other classes of words as well as studies of the syntax of the inscriptions must be made before some scholar of the future sits down to compile his epoch-making Grammar of Latin Inscriptions. That scholar, however late he may come, will have Dr. Olcott's dissertation in his revolving bookcase. For present needs, we may note that this young American's work is printed by the Sallustian Typography in Rome, and that it is to be had of Gustav Fock in Leipzig. Which of our universities will be first to establish a real University Press of its own, to print and publish the productions of its faculties and students?

—At length the long-standing promise of the Clarendon Press has been fulfilled, and a trustworthy English translation of Gesenius's Hebrew grammar has appeared (New York: Henry Frowde). It was made in the first instance from the twenty-fifth German edition (1889) by the Rev. G. W. Collins, and after his death revised from the twenty-sixth edition by A. E. Cowley. It has also enjoyed the advantage of revision in proof by Prof. Driver. The result is most satisfactory. It is the only complete and full Hebrew grammar in English. For accident it is absolutely the most exhaustive and trustworthy statement in the language, and its treatment of Hebrew syntax, if somewhat timid in parts, may be called fairly good. But in this last respect our want was not nearly so great. Curiously enough, while Hebrew grammars in German tend to remain incomplete, and their syntax volumes seldom appear, English grammarians are rather stronger in syntax than in anything else. We have long had Driver's exceedingly able if frightfully involved and tenebrous 'Tenses'; Müller-Robertson is a masterpiece of lucid skill and linguistic tact; Davidson's 'Syntax' is admirably simple, yet full of detail and first-hand observation; all this apart from the English translation of the monumental and epoch-making Ewald. Be-

side these books, the syntax in this grammar seems lacking in philological grasp and acuteness; much *bearbeiten* has pounded it into flabbiness. The student will often have cause to groan over its be-figured paragraphs and winding convolutions of division. Yet, with all this, it contains much that is excellent, and its copious references to different and differing authorities and statements of their conflicting views will be especially useful. The grammar, as a whole, may also be said to be fairly up to date. We have noticed but few mistakes or omissions. One, of some importance, is on p. 135, where we are told that *wāw* consecutive is found in Phœnician and Hebrew only. That is not so. Nöldeke some time ago ('Zur Grammatik des classischen Arabisch,' Vienna, 1896, p. 68) pointed out its occurrence in old Arabic. There are about 21 pages of tables and 40 of indices.

—In June, 1893, a year and a half before Dreyfus was arrested, a novel entitled 'Les Deux Frères,' by Louis Letang, appeared in the Paris *Petit Journal*, the plot of which may be concisely described as follows: A young officer, Capt. Philippe Dormelles, who holds a position of confidence in the War Department, is envied and hated by two colleagues, named Aurélien and Daniel, who conspire to effect his ruin by accusing him of selling to a foreign Power the secrets of the national defence. It is arranged that a compromising letter, imitating the handwriting of Dormelles and addressed to a foreign military attaché, shall fall into the hands of the head of the department, Lieut.-Col. Alleward. Dormelles is arrested and thrown into the Cherche-Midi prison, and at the same time Daniel causes an article to be inserted in a newspaper, *Le Vigilant*, charging him with high treason and seeking to excite public opinion against him. This article concludes with the statement that a search in Dormelles's apartment had led to the discovery of important documents referring to the fabrication of smokeless powder, and that Dormelles thereupon had confessed his guilt. He is then sentenced to the galleys, but his betrothed is convinced of his innocence and finally succeeds in detecting the forgeries. Thereupon Lieut.-Col. Alleward is arrested and commits suicide in prison, not with a razor like Henry, but with a revolver. One scene in the novel describes the appearance of a veiled lady on the very spot near the Champs-Élysées where the veiled lady is said to have appeared to Esterhazy three years later, and for much the same purpose. The French Minister of War, Mercier, was forced to proceed against Dreyfus by the *Libre Parole*, which published lies about his confession, as *Le Vigilant* did about the confession of Dormelles. Can it be that the method of conducting the conspiracy against Dreyfus was suggested by Letang's story?

MISSOURI COMPROMISE REPEAL.

The True History of the Missouri Compromise and its Repeal. By Mrs. Archibald Dixon. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke Co. 8vo, pp. xii., 623.

Archibald Dixon was in 1854 Senator from Kentucky in the Thirty-third Congress, filling the unexpired term of Henry Clay. On the 16th of January, the bill to organize the Territory of Nebraska being under consideration, he introduced an amendment abrogating the prohibition of slavery by the Missouri Com-

promise Act of 1820. After a momentary dismay, Douglas, Chairman of the Committee on Territories, dallied with the temptation and soon yielded to it, embodying the amendment in substance in his bill, which, after a memorable contest, became a law.

This was immediately followed by the disruption of parties, and by the organization of the Republican party, which swept nearly all the Northern States at once, and, though it failed to carry the Presidential election of 1856, elected Abraham Lincoln in 1860. As everybody knows, secession and the civil war were the next immediate stages in the logic of cause and effect. The armed raid of Missourians into Kansas to organize the Territorial government there by a brief military campaign, with the incident of a pretended election in which leaves of a Cincinnati directory served as fictitious poll-lists, increased the excitement over the great wrong, but did not alter its character. It was so also with the sham of framing the Lecompton Constitution declaring Kansas a slave State in defiance of the will of an overwhelming majority of the citizens, and the reckless efforts of Buchanan's Administration to force it upon the people. These were only the resorts of desperation in carrying out the fatal policy of repealing the slavery prohibition in these Northern Territories. They were subsidiary acts in furtherance of the dominant purpose to make Kansas a slave State, cost what it might, and were the legitimate fruits of Douglas's bill, though he himself was forced by the public opinion of his own State of Illinois to repudiate the final steps in the outrage.

The responsibility for the first distinct insertion of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise into the Kansas-Nebraska bill was so awful, as tested by its results, that one would expect disclaimers instead of claims to it as an historical honor. We can understand how Douglas, had he survived, might have wished it to appear that he had only yielded to the demands of the South through Mr. Dixon as its mouthpiece; but we cannot understand how one to whom the Kentucky Senator was dear, can, at this day, offer the world an elaborate presentation of his authorship of the fateful measure, and of arguments to persuade us that it was right. Yet that is what is done in the work before us, even to a facsimile of the original paper in Mr. Dixon's handwriting, with the official endorsements of the Clerk of the Senate.

The author was the second wife of Mr. Dixon, married to him in October, 1853, and, as his health was not firm, she acted as his amanuensis and became intimately acquainted with his thoughts and beliefs. The book is proof of no ordinary mental power in its writer, and of no ordinary strength of will and of devotion to her task. She began the study of the subject in 1877, a year after her husband's death; her library and the partly completed manuscript were destroyed by fire in 1893. Daunted only for the moment, she soon began again the collection of material and the second writing of her work, and has lived to give us the result in the stout volume now published. She has adopted Mr. Dixon's point of view, and mastered with indisputable thoroughness his theory of the great subject and what logically flows from it. We cannot fail to assume that his positions are adequately and sympathetically stated. If she defends the system of slavery and its consequences in ways that would seem contrary to a woman's na-

tural bias toward freedom and the sacredness of the family, we are permitted to see in it the stress of her reverential devotion to one whose conclusions she must regard as authoritative for her.

Mr. Dixon was a Whig who professed devotion to Henry Clay, yet he was, in his person, a proof of the decay of the Whig party and its practical absorption into the mere pro-slavery party of the South. He was a lawyer by training, but had become a wealthy slave-owner, and saw the "institution" with quite other eyes than those of the great Whig leader. A convention to revise the Constitution of Kentucky met in 1849, and Clay had taken the occasion to urge the adoption in it of a system of gradual emancipation. He declared his belief that most people in every section of the country regretted the introduction of slavery, and lamented "that a single slave treads our soil." Mr. Dixon was elected a member of the convention, and signalized his radical difference from Mr. Clay by attacking the emancipation proposal. His widow tells us that he "opposed and denounced it with all the energy and vehemence of his nature." He introduced a resolution declaring that, as slaves are property, even the Constitution could not deprive the owner of them otherwise than any other property could be taken. He secured its incorporation into the Constitution in the declaration that "the right of property is before and higher than any constitutional sanction, and the right of the owner of a slave to such a slave and its increase is the same and as inviolable as the right of the owner of any property whatever." We are told that Mr. Dixon's speech in support of this section "was so earnest, its arguments so convincing, its eloquence so powerful, that it carried the convention by storm."

This enables us to understand what progress in revolution was marked by Mr. Dixon's election to serve out, in the national Senate, the remainder of the term when Clay was dead. It gives a certain appropriateness to his official demand that the principle of absolute chattelism of man should be held to abrogate every limit to the spread of slavery, and to send the Ordinance of 1787 as well as the restriction of 1820 to the limbo of exploded frauds upon the supra-constitutional right of property in slaves. It adds significance to his declaration in the course of the debate that, as a pro-slavery man, he knew no party when the interests of slavery were in question. To this complexion had Kentucky Whiggery come at last. Not only was Clay as dead as Cæsar, but it seemed as if he were as long dead.

Yet the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise was put forward as necessarily included in the principles of Clay's compromise measures of 1850; and it was now only 1854! The simple fact was, that the Missouri Compromise was assumed as the basis of Clay's "omnibus bill" of 1850; and, instead of being impliedly abrogated, the new measures had none of their alleged efficiency as a permanent quieting of controversy except as they implied that that compromise was and remained in full force. It was a palpable falsification of the facts of history to deny this. It was so plain that argument was embarrassed by the simplicity of the case, and Greeley rightly cried out that it was hard to say whether the new bill was more an insult or a fraud.

The inspiration of Clay's efforts in 1850

had been to make a "finality" of the anti-slavery agitation by removing all the practical causes of dispute. The only "principle" in it was to find some viable expedient in each subject of quarrel, which might give peace through a mutual yielding by the combatants. It was his reputation as the putative author of the Missouri Compromise, which for thirty years had been thought to be, in Buchanan's words, "hardly less sacred than the Constitution," that made it seem his prerogative to add to it a further compromise regarding regions which it did not cover, and which, by settling the new strifes, should give the promise of permanent peace. He notoriously sought to add to it, not to supersede it. The peace it was supposed to have given for a whole generation, was one of the strongest arguments that there might be a similar settlement of the questions which grew out of the acquisition of territory by the war with Mexico. Arrange these amicably, and sectional antagonisms would cease for lack of a real bone of contention.

Instead of having weight with Northern men, the argument would have ruined every chance of compromise if it had once been suggested that, under pretence of applying "squatter sovereignty" to Utah and New Mexico, the whole great valley of the Missouri and its tributaries be thrown open to slavery. On the other hand, the real argument was, Since you of the North are already secured in the almost boundless regions of the Northwest, to which we are willing now to add the admission of California as a free State with boundaries reaching from Oregon to Mexico, why cannot you give the South the feeble chance of natural competition in the settlement of Utah and New Mexico, where Webster and Douglas unite in declaring that a higher law, that of Nature herself, has decreed that slavery can never enter, because it can never be profitable there? Such reasoning carried the compromise of 1850. In 1854, the audacious claim of political might against right was that Utah and New Mexico had dragged as a tail the whole Northwest into the net of the slave power. Every intelligent man in the country knew that the assertion was false in fact, and it only kindled wrath in Northern men to hear it argued that it was the logical result of Clay's measures of 1850.

The truth, of course, is that compromises are, in form, the discarding of logic. There neither is, nor in the nature of things can be, any "principle" in them from which anything can be argued. They are bargains to settle difficulties by mutual concessions. They begin and end in the specific arrangement made in each case. The North claimed the admission of California with her free Constitution; the South refused it. The South claimed the right to carry slaves into the region taken from Mexico; the North asserted that it was free under Mexican laws and must stay so. Texas claimed New Mexico; it was objected that it never was part of Texas, and had never been occupied by Texans. The North claimed the closing of the slave-markets in Washington; the South demanded a more stringent fugitive-slave law. The compromise admitted California, gave Texas ten millions for a quit-claim to New Mexico, allowed slaveholders to settle Utah and New Mexico if they could do so in peaceful and fair competition with other immigrants, abolished the slave-trade in the District of Columbia, and passed the fugitive-slave law. To pretend that this con-

geries of measures impliedly abrogated the Missouri compromise was regarded by Northern men as the mere impudence of arrogant power. The North might as well have claimed that it was an implied agreement that no new State should ever be admitted except with a free constitution like California. As if to repudiate explicitly the idea of any system of measures having a common principle and mutually dependent on each other, they had been defeated in the form of the "omnibus" which united them, and were passed by the Senate separately.

But Mr. Dixon, however willing to praise the Douglas bill and to applaud the specious argument of the Illinois Senator made for a Northern audience, planted himself and based his amendment upon the ultra-Calhoun doctrine that all restrictions of slavery were unconstitutional. He stood for the recognition of this, as he had succeeded in putting it into the Constitution of Kentucky—a law even "higher than any constitutional sanction." In his brief part in the debate he said, "I look upon the act of 1820 as a violation of the Constitution of the United States." The right to take and hold slaves everywhere was, of course, the logical conclusion from his proposition that slaves and their increase are as absolutely chattels as sheep and oxen.

Earnest anti-slavery men at the North always had a respect for Calhoun and his school, because of their willingness to stand by the logical results of slavery. With them the issue was intelligible, and the debate reached first principles of law and morals. The anti-slavery principle was that slavery was a creature of municipal law, and could exist only when it was established by positive law; that outside of such limits there were no presumptions in its favor, and it was condemned as contrary to the inalienable rights of man. In this contention the whole current of civilized law fully sustained them. Its logical results were also clear. The Federal Constitution did not establish slavery, it only tolerated it within the States which by their own laws established it. Outside those State limits the wrong system had no standing in law, and when easy-going comity of friendly States was repudiated by the South and constitutional rights asserted, the way was open to bring "righteousness to the line, and justice to the plummet."

We should belie our English blood if the majority of our people had not been willing to forego logic in favor of any tolerable arrangement of conflicting interests. As long as sufficient room was left for the westward migration of our teeming millions without immediate contact with the system which degraded free labor, the practical situation could be endured, and only a small minority cared to make a political issue upon it. Why could not the Calhoun doctrine be allowed to work, and the North and South take their chances of the natural migration to the Territories? Mrs. Dixon has answered this as clearly as one could desire, though on this point we may question whether she finds her inspiration in the Senator's writings. As to those "fertile fields," she says, the Northern people "were excluded by the existence of slave labor as effectually as though by act of Congress" (p. 2). Again, speaking of the region taken from Mexico, she says: "No one can blame the people of those Territories for objecting to having slaves brought into their country; and yet one cannot, either, blame the Southern people for demanding a

portion at least of the land which they had so largely contributed to gain" (p. 228).

This essential incompatibility between slavery and free labor is stated by Mrs. Dixon in almost the identical terms which were used in 1820 by the New York leaders, Tallmadge and Taylor, and in 1854 by the Ohio Senators, Chase and Wade. Because it was truly stated by them all, Senator Dixon's amendment in 1854 reduced the struggle to simple and irreconcilable elements. A total surrender of all the Territories was demanded of the North, and we cannot dispute Mrs. Dixon when she says, "It was a question of land, for which the Anglo-Saxon race will always fight." Clay had seen it. He had warned the South that there could be no peaceable secession, and told them that if war should come he would be found on the side of the Union to which he owed his first allegiance. It marks the long gap between Clay and Dixon that the latter, from his home on the banks of the Ohio, did not see the portents of the storm he was raising, and seems to have thought he was doing no more than offer the decision of an academic question of constitutional law. As to Douglas, we know too well the effects of political ambition to wonder so much at his blindness.

The author's perception of the real character of the contest might well have modified her judgment of the public men and measures which she treats; but it has hardly done so. The Northern men who led the opposition to slavery extension are painted as unscrupulous demagogues, the Southern advocates of the great breach of faith as unsullied patriots. The materials used in the book are almost wholly drawn from the Congressional debates, and we find no evidence that even such general histories as Hildreth's, Von Holst's, or Rhodes's have been read or consulted. A number of collateral historical questions are mooted, and it might be interesting to criticize the treatment of some of them if there were space; but there is not. Near the close of the book is an intimation that Senator Dixon condemned the final effort of Buchanan and the party he represented to force upon the Kansas people the Lecompton Constitution, in the making of which the citizens of that Territory had no part, and which they repudiated with wrath. Authentic evidence of the manner in which such a man as Dixon viewed the events of the civil war as they passed, would have a most instructive historical value, could the work be brought down to emancipation in Kentucky.

The First Philosophers of Greece. By A. Fairbanks. Scribners. 1898.

The Ionian philosophers embody for us more than one aspect of the brilliant and restless life of Ionia in the seventh and sixth centuries B. C. Their philosophy sprang into being as the expression of that overflowing life and splendid spontaneity that had made the Ionians the creators of the Greek epic; and perhaps even more was it the outcome of the restless Asiatic curiosity that caused the greatest of them, like Herodotus, to become wanderers on the face of the earth. Before philosophy and poetry had quarrelled, the earliest of the Pre-Socratics expressed in majestic, rugged verse or in abrupt, vivid prose their burning interest in the unexplored universe. What is it all made of? What is its basis, its *Apv*, its underlying

element? That was the inquiry they were eager upon. Human action and human society lay without the sphere of their research; hardly, before Socrates, did men change the form of their question, to ask, "What is it all made for?"

For the characteristic attitude of the Ionians was aloofness. They stood apart. Heraclitus of Ephesus, uttering on the mutability of things words "solemn, unadorned, unsweetened," as he himself said of the Sibyl, declined to instruct his fellow-men. "For what sense or understanding have they? The very best choose one thing before all others, immortal glory among mortals, while the masses eat their fill like cattle." The tears of this great first pessimist, this "weeping philosopher," are symbolic of his despair of mankind, as the laughter of Democritus the Atomist symbolized his doctrine of contempt. All things flow from us—nothing abides; that is the burden of the "harsh protesting cries" that have come down to us in the name of Heraclitus "the Obscure." He must have seemed to himself a sort of Cassandra as he stood preaching, in words that his fellow-citizens failed to understand, the unreality of all the visible tangible phenomena which they took so seriously for realities. Aristotle has told us, in the *Metaphysics*, that the Platonic doctrine of Ideas arose from the universal definitions of Socrates—those definitions of courage and justice and friendship which he extorted or failed to extort from the amazing patience of the Athenian youth—and the Heraclitean doctrine of the flux of all things. In fact, one would not be far wrong in saying that the main preoccupation of Plato's teaching was to bring about a reaction against Heraclitean relativity and mutability. Plato stands between the living and the dead—opposing unchangeable types, as the only realities, to that flux which Heraclitus had taken for a law of all existence. This idea of the unchangeable he borrowed from Parmenides the Eleatic; though he was, perhaps, indebted to Democritus the Atomist for the term itself—*idea*, or *idea*.

This, then, is the origin of the Platonic doctrine of the baseness of matter, which Huxley thought, at best, but a "splendid folly." In the *Phædo* we read of Plato's disappointment in the case of another pre-Socratic, Anaxagoras, who had made so real an advance by introducing a guiding intelligence into the universe, and yet in the end had adduced only secondary and trivial causes for his explanation of its problems. It was from Anaxagoras's teachings that Pericles had acquired his subtlety of statesmanship, for Anaxagoras, at any rate, with some danger to himself, tried to influence human action through his pupil. It was Xenophanes, the founder of the Eleatic school, who inspired Plato with his hostility to anthropomorphic notions of the gods, and to him we may trace the avowed monotheism of the *Republic*. Plato's method of dialectic was derived from the Eleatic Zeno. We have said so much to show that Plato's writings are a palimpsest, because Mr. Fairbanks in his Appendix hardly leaves the correct impression of Plato's use of the pre-Socratic doctrines. He says (p. 264): "Plato's writings betray no particular interest in any of the pre-Socratic thinkers except Parmenides and the Pythagorean school, nor do they convey any hint as to the value of the work of the other early thinkers."

Not explicitly, perhaps. But "they are everywhere in it, not as the stray carved corner of some older edifice, to be found here or there amid the new, but rather like minute relics of earlier organic life in the very stone he builds with." No one has so admirably stated Plato's debt to the pre-Socratics as Walter Pater, from whom these words are quoted.

Mr. Fairbanks's book is, in some respects, disappointing. He seems to have conceived the idea of furnishing students who have no knowledge of Latin and Greek with an English substitute for the first volume of Ritter and Preller's monumental *Historia*. He has, therefore, arranged the fragments with a parallel English translation. The critical notes, however, appeal to another class of students, and might have been omitted; for we cannot suppose that any student who desires a thorough knowledge of the Ionian philosophers will neglect Ritter and Preller for Mr. Fairbanks. We are surprised to find that their invaluable work is not even mentioned, and that Mr. Fairbanks can say (Preface, p. 1) that "the student who desires to examine the evidence for himself still finds the material difficult of access." Diels has naturally been the editor's main source, and his debt is acknowledged. The volume may be recommended to all who read their Plato in Jowett and their Aristotle in Welldon or another.

The term "doxographer," which is throughout used for the familiar "doxographer," does not strike us as a happy innovation. On page 78, Lasus is called "son of Hermiones"; surely Hermione was his birth-place.

The Philippine Islands. By Ramon Reyes Lala. New York: Continental Publishing Co.

Still they greet us—books on the war and our new territory; the last but not the least appearing under the above well-worn title. All of them, with the exception of *'Yesterdays in the Philippines'*, treat the subject in more or less the same way. They invariably begin with the discovery of the islands, their acquisition by Spain, and early history, and continue with observations on the character of the people, soil and climate, the resources, physical geography, and commercial importance. Mr. Lala's book, however, gives us observations made from the point of view of a native Filipino. From Manila, where he spent his early life, he went to Europe to be educated, returned later to the Philippines to study his own people, and has now come finally to America to write about them and their land. In his preface he says: "It has been my aim to give, rather than a long detailed account, a concise but true, comprehensive, and interesting history of the Philippine Islands; one, too, covering every phase of the subject, and giving also every important fact." This is a large task to perform in 342 pages, diminished by the space occupied by 133 illustrations.

Mr. Lala begins with the early history of the islands, from the occupation of Mindanao by Magellan, and comes down through the attacks on Manila by the Chinese and Dutch to the point where the English arrive to hold the Philippines for ransom, and finally to give them over to Spanish colonial rule. He then, without ceremony, jumps into the middle of things as they are at the present day, and tells of the evils of the tax system, the corruption of church and state, the

tardy justice administered by the courts, and the relations between the governing people and the governed. Then, warming up to his work, he discusses the various tribes in different parts of the archipelago, and tries to give due consideration to everything, from the height of the principal volcanoes to the length of village feasts.

In speaking of the religious orders, whom he believes to have been the cause of incalculable harm and injustice, Mr. Lala says that their future treatment is one of the hardest problems to solve. He considers that the most effective way of dealing with the friars is to expel the whole body from the islands, and says: "I do not believe that these good brethren will soon cease to foment insurrection against the hated Protestant conqueror. They have ever been breeders of mischief under the congenial rule of Catholic Spain; what won't they do under the régime of enlightened America, whose first thought is the liberty that means death to extortion and oppression—the cardinal principles of their order?" Mr. Lala here speaks as a Catholic as well as a Filipino, and his radical sentiments are probably shared by a large majority of the civilized natives in the archipelago.

In discussing native characteristics, the author credits the Filipinos with being so far fatalistic that they are resigned to the inevitable. "Incomprehensible inconsistencies," says he, "obtain in nearly every native." We learn they are not noted for foresight or energy—qualities which one would expect to find lacking in tropical races. They are calm, but not secretive; curious, but polite; passionate, and cruel to their foes. They are fond of family life and of children, are superstitious, have no sense of humor, are seldom witty, and are not easily moved to anger. Regarding the feeling which the native holds for the Chinese who have swarmed pretty well over the Philippine archipelago, Mr. Lala says: "Like all courageous people, he despises cowardice and pusillanimity. He has, therefore, but little regard for the meek and humble Chinaman, who will pocket an insult rather than avenge himself." But the Chinaman, though hated throughout the Philippines, is indispensable; and as the labor problem is to be one of the great questions in the future development of the islands, it is worth while to see what the author further says regarding the Celestials:

"The Chinese," he remarks, "have been a great boon to the colony—they have had a civilizing influence on the natives, and have taught them many important things. They have ever been the leaders in commerce and the chief middlemen of the colony; without them trade would almost be brought to a standstill. But by their superior shrewdness and cunning, they have excited the hatred of the natives, who despise them. Their expulsion would, however, be as unwise as it is impracticable, and the only remedy is in state control."

In treating of the various wild tribes of the interior, the author generalizes to such an extent that we do not feel as if he had had the personal contact with them which enabled Prof. Dean Worcester to make his accounts of aboriginal life so interesting in his 'Philippine Islands and their People.'

About the middle of the book Mr. Lala decides to describe Manila, its various suburbs, the customs of the people, and points of interest. He then takes up many of the chief commercial towns in various parts of the archipelago, giving a short description of each. In the latter pages he gives the

history of the commerce with the archipelago in detail, and this in turn is followed by a treatise on agriculture. The cultivation of rice, sugar-cane, hemp, tobacco, coffee, and cocoanut is considered in separate chapters. Following these come others in which are discussed the forests, animal life, and mineral resources. The author believes the archipelago to teem with vegetable and mineral life in inconceivable richness, and thinks that only good government and enterprise are necessary to turn these resources to account. And yet, in another chapter on climate, he hints that the hot weather soon causes the energy that one has in cooler climes to evaporate; and without energy, where is enterprise? The work ends with an account of the struggle of the Filipinos for liberty, the battle of Manila Bay, and the American occupation. Although the book is replete with information, facts are jumbled up in such an uncomfortable way that the reader finds himself frequently wishing for more sequence and less sudden transition from mountain to mole-hill or vice versa. On the whole, however, the volume is creditable to the author, whose father, by the way, keeps one of the best-patronized hotels in Manila to this day; and it is full of illustrations.

Spinifex and Sand: A Narrative of Five Years' Pioneering and Exploration in Western Australia. By the Hon. David W. Carnegie. M. F. Mansfield & Co. 1898. 8vo. Pp. xvi, 454; illustrations, maps.

The author of this book is an excellent representative of the class of men who have made the British empire. The younger son of a Scotch nobleman—Mr. Carnegie himself gives no hint of this—he went to Western Australia, when just of age, in 1892, to try his fortune in the newly discovered gold-fields of Coolgardie. Here he worked as a "surface hand" in a mine "at £3 10s. per week, with water at the rate of one gallon per day"—the water having to be brought from a well thirty-six miles distant—and as a prospector. In this latter employment he travelled extensively through the region searching for "color" or auriferous rock. This occupation was abandoned in turn for that of the genuine explorer, and, with four companions and nine camels, he was first to cross the great interior desert from south to north. Returning by a different route, he reached the southern settlements in July, 1897, after an absence of thirteen months. His aim was not simply to fill up the blank places on the map, but also to discover a practicable stock-route by which the cattle from the Kimberley pastures in the north could be driven to the gold-fields. In this he was unsuccessful, the wells and "soaks" being too few and uncertain to admit of the passage of any animals but camels, nor did he find any trace of gold.

The story of these varied experiences is told in vigorous English colored by the frequent and unstudied use of miners' slang. The first portion is a vivid picture of pioneer life, with descriptions of the different rude methods of getting gold, of the "rushes" to new fields, above all of the eager search and frantic strife for water. This is, in fact, the prevailing topic throughout the narrative, the great Australian desert containing possibly the largest waterless regions on the face of the globe. In his second crossing it he travelled "a distance of about

800 miles" without finding what was apparently "permanent" water. Often the means of discovering it was by capturing a native and compelling him, through thirst—he would not do it freely—to lead them to the tribe's water-hole. Mr. Carnegie acknowledges the cruelty of the practice, but says that without this forced aid of the natives we "should not only have lost our own lives, but possibly those of others who would have made search for us after." The desert, the northern half especially, is remarkable for its sand-ridges, running parallel to each other from east to west, with an average height of sixty feet and a quarter of a mile apart. One day's entry on the route-map is: "Crossed 88 sandhills in 8 hours' travelling." Seen from a height, it seemed "as if the whole country had been combed with a mammoth comb." The predominating vegetation is spinifex, a species of *Triodia* growing "in round isolated hummocks one to three feet high; these hummocks are a dense mass of needle-like prickles, and from them grow tall blades of very coarse grass to a height of sometimes six feet. . . . Most accursed vegetation to walk through, both for men and camels." Scattered through it are small tribes, or families rather, of natives who wander from well to well, living mainly on rats, reptiles, grubs, and seeds. Notwithstanding their wretched life, they are often well formed and of good size, while a certain degree of intelligence is shown by the fact that they are "governed in their social life by marriage laws and class systems of the most intricate kind." In an attempt to explain these laws Mr. Carnegie is obliged to use algebraic symbols.

A pleasant note in the narrative is the good feeling which existed between the author and his companions, in his various expeditions, and the evident sincerity with which he often acknowledges the value of their services. But, strong as was his attachment for them, it was, if possible, stronger for his camels, whom he calls, not without reason, "one of the noblest of creatures and most marvellous works of the Creator. Brave, dumb heroes, with what patience and undaunted courage do they struggle on with their heavy loads, carrying what no other animal could carry in country where no other could live, never complaining or giving in until they drop from sheer exhaustion!" He gives instances of their affection for him in return for treatment so kind and careful that not one perished from the terrible privations and horrors of the desert.

The illustrations are interesting, but the elaborate route-maps show remarkable powers of observation in so youthful a traveller.

Observations of a Ranchwoman in New Mexico. By Edith M. Nicholl. Macmillan Co.

Mrs. Nicholl is an Englishwoman who, after a residence of nearly twenty years in this country, fled for refuge from ill-health to New Mexico. Like all sensible invalids who do not seek a propitious climate till too late, she determined to give herself a more exhilarating occupation than brooding over her ailments, and therefore took a thirty-acre ranch in the Mesilla Valley, near the old Pueblo of Las Cruces. In her little book she gives some vivid descriptions of the arid landscape, the bare battlemented Organ Mountains, and (what constitutes the greatest

charm of the Southwest) its pellucid atmosphere and the infinite variety of tints it throws over the hills and plains at sundown, from gorgeous crimson through every shade of green to deepest blue. Glorious as is an Eastern sunset, it affords no conception of the radiance of light and color which at that hour bathes the horizon of this dreary land, still less of the awful splendor with which it clothes the heavy masses of threatening clouds, which in the rainy season so often hurl down destruction, rather than shower blessings, on the parched earth.

Mrs. Nicholl tells with sincere emotion, though with tiresome amplitude of detail, of all the troubles she had to put up with from the lazy and mendacious Mexican servants, and the still more vexatious disappointments she had to endure from imported American help. The book is written for her countrymen, and this may account for such wearisome prolixity, and for her loading her chapters with trivial comments on our common schools, on the deficiencies of our judiciary, on our political methods and consequent political corruption, on the silver question, and on every other phase of American life and manners, when any excuse offers. As an intelligent resident of long standing, her reflections on ourselves are just and appreciative, and those on the faults of her own countrymen and women candid and keen, but we could have wished that she had confined herself to her farming experiences, and given us the balance-sheet of her ranching operations, and more of the daily routine of her work, and her conclusions as to why one rancher makes so signal a success and another so deplorable a failure. She touches on these delicate points—but only touches. The main drawbacks to the prosperity of the Rio Grande valley, all will agree with her, are the Mexican population and the dearth of water—two radical, and yet she thinks remediable, defects. She contends that the second must be remedied before the first will disappear. If, by the storage of water, certainty of crops could be assured, white ranchers would be induced to enter and displace the indolent New Mexicans, who are the most worthless item of the Gadsden Purchase.

The sonorous title of the river which takes its rise in the mountains of Colorado, the Rio Bravo (Grande) del Norte, is, from the Eastern standard, a ridiculous misnomer. Except when the snows are melting at its source, its bed below Albuquerque is occupied almost wholly by moving sand instead of flowing water; and as more and more water is drawn from its upper reaches for irrigation, that long stretch of river below El Paso which marks the boundary between this country and Mexico, is at certain seasons practically dry. Thus lands on the Mexican side, once under cultivation, have relapsed into aridity, and, as a consequence, the adjustment of international water rights has become one of the diplomatic questions pending between ourselves and the Government of Gen. Diaz. Impounding the water during flood, as is being done in Egypt, or catching the rainfall in reservoirs, are the alternatives. Damming the impetuous Rio Grande is in itself a very different feat from damming the sluggish Nile. All the Western rivers, when in flood, carry down, besides vast stores of fertilizing mud in suspension, incredible quantities of sand, gravel, and boulders, which soon fill up any reservoir erected across the channel. Storage reser-

voirs to store water and not stones must be filled by rainfall or by water tapped, through lateral canals, from the rivers during the short periods of flood. The average rainfall in New Mexico and Arizona is about ten inches, or far more than sufficient to irrigate all the arable land in these two vast but mountainous Territories, if it could be impounded and distributed over their marvelously fertile valleys, which compose but a small proportion of their total area. The climate of the Southwest is ravishingly beautiful and exhilarating simply because of the scanty rainfall. If to the attractions of such a climate could be added the exuberance of vegetation which springs up as if by magic under irrigation, our Western Territories would be in very truth the garden of the earth. The narrow stretches of garden orchard and alfalfa meadows which line the banks of the Rio Grande, the Gila, and the Salt River owe their vigorous life and prolific yield to the water these streams grudgingly and intermittently lend them. But the river valleys are insignificant in extent compared with some of the vast plains of South New Mexico and Arizona, which are composed of soil as rich as that of the river bottoms. Though they are to-day sandy wastes, they would reward with harvests, such as our Eastern farmer never dreams of, the skill of man distributing at regular intervals over their surface the rain which falls in sufficient volumes only during the rainy seasons. Difficult as the task may be, our engineers will accomplish it, and thus add to the Union, without bloodshed or injustice to any one, territory as prolific as Cuba or Porto Rico. To expansion by such means all parties will heartily agree.

Our author justifies the continued exclusion of the last two of our old Territories from the privileges of statehood, while peopled by so many of the original native population, and till the whites attain greater predominance numerically and settle down to more sedentary habits of life. Neither mining nor cattle-ranching is conducive to sobriety of thought and quietness of spirit; and these two employments absorb the energies of the bulk of the Americans of New Mexico and Arizona. Few are willing to endure the toils and reap the slow small gains of farming, and these few are in great measure Mormons.

The Cruise of the "Cachalot." By Frank T. Bullen, First Mate. D. Appleton & Co. 1899.

In these days a book that treats of the whale fishery offers a wide field for the imagination. There was a time, however, before the decline of that industry, when an author was forced to adhere to great accuracy of statement, as being under the scrutiny of a large audience learned in the technique of every phase of the subject. The least deviation from realistic precision, either in the navigating of ship or handling of boat, or in the thousand and one details of the business, or any unfamiliarity with its argot, excited the derision of an army of knowing and exultant critics. The author of *'The Cruise of the Cachalot'* is fortunate in that the composition of his book has been deferred to the last years of the present century.

Mr. Bullen does not dally in proclaiming that he is an Englishman. On the second page of his first chapter he falls into the

trap that writers of his nationality invariably set for themselves when they attempt to transcribe what they consider genuine Yankee dialect. Mr. Bullen's is that employed in London music halls to arouse British hilarity, but which is as far removed from the original as is cockney speech from that of the Southern negro. The hero of the story, an English youth, is at New Bedford, Mass., looking for a berth on a ship. He meets a seafaring man to whom he addresses an inquiry, and who in reply says, "Wall, I should surmise," etc. Nothing can convince an Englishman that this is not a common affirmative of the average American. No Yankee skipper that ever lived has used the word in the sense with which Mr. Bullen applies it. The impossible sort of lingo that he puts in the mouths of the American shipmates of his hero is irritating and fatiguing, and casts a cloud upon the verisimilitude of the narrative. So does the circumstance that, in the last pages of the book, when the ship is within a few hours of reaching New Bedford on the return from a two years' whaling voyage, the author speaks of sighting "Cape Navesink or Ole Never-sunk," as if it were a landmark indicating proximity to the port of destination. He is probably alluding to the Highlands of Navesink, near the entrance of New York harbor, 150 miles more or less west of New Bedford. This disregard of geographical accuracy is unpardonable in a writer who claims to have attained to the grade of first mate in the (presumably) British merchant marine, which he could not have done without having passed a severe technical examination.

It is hardly fair to consider this book seriously. It is the story of an English youth, originally a London street Arab, who, with some previous nautical training, ships on board a New Bedford whaler for a long cruise after sperm whales. He encounters the usual stock adventures—brutal "Yankee" officers; the inevitable battle between a giant octopus and a sperm whale, this time by moonlight, *pour encourager les autres*; opportune gales and convenient lee shores, smashed boats, physical suffering, etc. All the old properties are brought out in succession. The hero, notwithstanding his origin, calling, and youth, possesses literary tastes. Among his other effects he has a copy of the Bible, Shakspeare, and two of Dickens's works. These prove a source of great intellectual solace not only to him, but also to the polyglot crew of the ship, composed of negroes, Portuguese, and the offscourings of a seaport town. Mr. Bullen has gifts of narration and description that would avail as much for adventures on land as for those which he has located upon the sea. The frontispiece to the book is a beautiful example of the best school of wood-engraving.

History of the People of the Netherlands. By Petrus Johannes Blok. Translated by Oscar A. Bierstadt and Ruth Putnam. Part I. From the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Fifteenth Century. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1898.

We have met with one or two ardent admirers of Motley who considered it an impertinence that any one should, after him, presume to write on the subject of Dutch history. We therefore lose no time in stating that Dr. Blok, though a professor in the University of Leyden, is free from the charge of poaching within the American his-

torian's enclosures. Beyond doubt the struggle against Spain is the *Glanepunkt* of Dutch heroism, but for a long time before William the Silent the people of the Netherlands had interesting annals, nor did the race exhaust itself by a single, if glorious, effort. Dr. Blok in this work does not select any one incident, movement, or period for minute examination, but writes comprehensively of the Dutch and Flemish folk in their social as well as their political progress. In the first volume, which is the only one at present translated, he begins with the earliest inhabitants—to wit, cave-dwellers—and reaches the death of Count William VI. in 1417. But as the primitive and Roman periods are rapidly dismissed, this instalment might almost be termed a separate treatise on the mediæval history of the Netherlands.

For purposes of convenience, the translators have added to the first volume six chapters which, following Dr. Blok's own division, belong to the second part. Thus rearranged, the pages before us admit of ready analysis, because a logical break occurs almost exactly midway in the book. Although the Dutch Republic was declared free from allegiance to the Empire only at the Peace of Westphalia, the Netherlands virtually cut adrift from Germany during the great interregnum. Certainly by 1300 "the German kingship had become but a name in the Netherlands, respect for which was ever growing less. The counts and dukes were in fact kings in their lands; they had acquired almost all the royal rights as they were more and more impelled to undertake the King's obligation to maintain peace." After glancing at Roman occupation, Dr. Blok describes the condition of the Low Countries during the Inroads, its status under Merovingians and Carolingians, and its emergence from the profound territorial changes of the ninth century. After this, four chapters on the rise of small fiefs, early feudal society, the Netherlands in the Crusades and domestic broils, bring us to the dividing line already mentioned. The second portion of the volume is more distinctly occupied with Flemish and Dutch affairs, inasmuch as, with isolation from Germany, Netherlands history assumes its special and local aspect. In the first half, Dr. Blok must perforce traverse territory which has been pretty thoroughly surveyed by the numerous writers on mediæval imperialism. After 1300 he enters his own province.

By way of adding a single word to this analysis of contents, we may state that the chapters which have interested us most are the ones standing at the head of the second part. In a little less than a hundred pages Dr. Blok presents an admirable picture of Netherlands society at the beginning of the fourteenth century. After considering the position of the territorial lord, he passes on to the three estates, regarding clergy and nobles separately, and dividing the commons into country people and citizens. Such a sketch puts one in a position to understand perfectly the struggle of the Flemish communes in the days of James and Philip van Artevelde, and is an equally serviceable introduction to the relations of Holland and Zealand during the Hook and Cod quarrels.

The translation of this first volume has been made mainly, but not entirely, by Mr. Oscar Bierstadt of the Astor Library. In most respects the English is unexception-

able, but at times we have noticed a certain haziness in the use of personal pronouns. It should also be indicated that the English text does not altogether represent the Dutch original. Some abridgments of the political narrative were deemed advisable by the author, and have been made, "while the account of the development of social, industrial, and intellectual conditions is given in full." We must express regret at the almost total lack of footnotes, an omission which now and then is rather glaring. Thus, in writing a chapter on mediæval nobility, Dr. Blok gives the passage from John of Beka wherein William of Holland's knighting at Köln, October 3, 1647, is picturesquely described, but one of its most distinctive features is left in a mutilated state through the absence of a brief explanatory note. In Dr. Blok's version we are told that the "Lord Cardinal [acting for Pope Innocent IV.], in full dress, spoke to the squire, starting out from the signification of the word knight: 'Every one who wishes to be called a knight must be constant, noble, generous, spotless, and strong.'" Now the adjectives which Capuzius actually used were *magnanimus*, *ingenuus*, *largifluus*, *egregius*, and *strenuus*, constituting, as will be seen, an acrostic upon the word *miles*. Dr. Blok gives no hint of this, and so the point is completely lost. It would also be interesting to know what authority there is for the extraordinary statement that, in a tournament at Neuss, one hundred knights were suffocated by the dust.

The volume is, however, an admirable study, not merely in Netherlands history, but in the life of mediæval Europe. We must state in conclusion that one very useful feature is the appendix, which contains a detailed account of the authorities for early Dutch and Flemish history.

Rights and Duties of American Citizenship. By W. W. Willoughby, Ph.D., Associate in Political Science at the Johns Hopkins University. American Book Company. 1898.

This work is hardly elementary enough, either in substance or in statement, for a wide use in the public schools, nor does it go far enough beyond their requirements to satisfy the needs of college classes. The reader will at once detect in the author a combination of the political scientist and the political reformer. On controverted points he sometimes declares himself and sometimes not. He does not hesitate to oppose suffrage for women and the "Initiative and Referendum," for instance, but gives a summary of arguments on the silver question without any statement as to his own views, and fights shy of the problem of the liquor traffic. We note a number of statements so inexact as to be misleading to the uninformed reader. The time of election for Representatives is not absolutely uniform, as one would infer from the statement on page 162. In case of a vacancy in the House, the Governor *shall*, not *may*, order a new election. In case of a vacancy in the Senate, the appointee of the Governor holds his place "until the next meeting of the Legislature," not until a successor is chosen, as Mr. Willoughby says. All appropriation bills are not given to the committee on appropriations, as is implied on page 176. The statement that "the United States has never found it either necessary or expedient to

levy export duties" is superfluous, in view of the fact that they are forbidden by the Constitution. The prohibition of import duties by the States is put into the text without the qualifying exception that such duties may be laid, under the supervision of Congress, to the extent necessary to secure funds for executing inspection laws. The statement that the inhabitants of the District of Columbia have no right of suffrage at local or national elections should have been accompanied by mention that a considerable proportion of them retain a voting residence elsewhere. The course of action laid down for the introduction of a new State into the Union is not legally obligatory, as the uninformed reader would surely infer. The Constitution puts no limit on the method to be employed by Congress in this matter, and it is important that this should be known at a time when there is so much feeling in favor of putting at the disposal of Congress a large amount of possible material for new States. The pledging of Presidential electors does not result in election by the people "as much as if the people voted directly," since a large majority in any State has no effect outside the State where it is cast. Being a teacher and not a capitalist, the author is excusable for falling into the error that gold certificates are all of the denomination of \$20. Mr. Willoughby's definition of independence in politics, as implied on the closing page of his book, is too nearly that of the enemy. As a reformer, he ought to be satisfied with no use of the term which would bring it into play only when one or both the great parties go wrong.

If a second edition of the book is called for, these infelicities can easily be removed in revision, and a form given to it which will adapt it better to general use in the public schools.

The Referendum in Switzerland. By Simon Deploige. Longmans, Green & Co. 1898.

Not the least meritorious part of this work is the introduction, by the translator, Miss Lillian Tomn of Girton College. In fact, except to the student of politics, this introduction is the only readable portion of the book. M. Deploige's study is extremely thorough. He goes back to the origins of Swiss institutions, and traces the growth of the referendum in every canton. The material that he has collected is of great value, and his work will be peculiarly appreciated in this country, where the referendum is much talked of, but little understood. But these details are quite too minute to be comprehensible to the ordinary citizen, who must in such matters content himself with the testimony of experts as to general results. Such testimony is very well summarized by Miss Tomn; and there is also a letter from Prof. Van den Heuvel of the University of Louvain, in which strong reasons are given for holding the referendum inapplicable in Belgium.

One of the most conclusive arguments against the introduction of the referendum in this country is the fact, on which emphasis is laid by all competent observers, that the institution belongs to democracies of small size. As Mr. Lawrence Lowell, whose opinion is accepted as conclusive by Miss Tomn, has pointed out, the larger the population the harder is the problem of free government. The population of Switzerland is only three millions; its government is efficient and economical, free from corruption and from the

vacillations of our party system. When these conditions are changed, the methods of government which have been successful may cease to be so. Moreover, the evidence here collected is overwhelming to the effect that the referendum in Switzerland has been of very doubtful advantage. Its opponents are as numerous and as determined as its advocates, and the political consequences of these attempts at popular legislation are very generally deplored. It has encouraged the growth of professional politicians, and the mass of the people are altogether incapable of judging of the legislative measures submitted to them.

But we cannot enter into this broad question, and will content ourselves with advising those who wish to understand it to apply themselves to the study of this instructive treatise.

Political Crime. By Louis Proal. With an Introduction by Prof. Franklin H. Giddings. [The Criminology Series, edited by W. Douglas Morrison. IV.] D. Appleton & Co. 1898.

This is a translation of a work called '*La Criminalité politique*,' by M. Louis Proal, a judge of the Court of Appeals at Aix, and a writer on the theory of crime and punishment. The term "political crime" with us generally means one committed against some organized government; *e. g.*, treason, murder, pillage, and destruction of property in aid of insurrection, and outrages having some political aim. The *criminalité politique* of M. Proal, however, means something very much more comprehensive than this, for it includes crimes committed by governments, or by persons engaged in the work of government, for political advantage or reasons of state. The book consists of a vast array of facts drawn from the history of Europe (America is barely mentioned), showing that in politics the maxim that the end justifies the means has been commonly taken as a legitimate guide by men who in private affairs would have been extremely reluctant even to avow any such principle. We have consequently on one side the whole system of statecraft which Machiavelli expounded in one century, which Napoleon attempted to revive in another, and which even to-day finds many defenders in practice if not in theory; on the other, the extraordinary phenomena of criminal Anarchism, in which crimes are committed the political object of which, beyond the fact that they involve the murder of persons connected with the Government (or in some cases merely persons in the well-to-do class), the perpetrators themselves are unable to explain.

With the facts of Anarchism, however, the world is pretty familiar, and M. Proal does not add much to our knowledge of the subject, though his manner of treating it throws new light upon it. His main point is that the Anarchists are egged on by all those modern teachers who deny spiritual beliefs, raise the negation of morality to the dignity of a system, extol egotism and the struggle for existence, and proclaim the right of every one's enjoying everything that he sees in any one else's possession. One teacher proclaims "free love"; another, the right to have food; a third, the right to "material satisfaction"; a fourth, the right to be supplied with work at a price which suits him. What wonder if the doctrine "To every one according to his needs" craves weak and half-educated men and turns them into wild

beasts? There is a direct connection, too, according to the author, between Anarchism and the sentimental speculative philosophy which preceded and helped to cause the French Revolution: "Man is born good," says Rousseau, "and society depraves him." So Ravachol, when the judge says to him, "You commit murder to satisfy your passions; what can society expect of a man who manifests such sentiments?" replies: "It is I who have something to expect of society. It is its duty to support me. . . . All that has happened, I tell you, is the fault of society."

The more important part of the book is that which deals with crimes committed by Governments, or persons in authority. These are not the acts of madmen or criminals, but of respectable and enlightened men, who deliberately lie, steal, murder, and, in fact, commit on occasion any wrong that seems necessary, for "reasons of state." There is a striking chapter on "The Corruption of Law and Justice by Politics." As the author says, judicial crimes are the worst of all, because wrong done by means of judges, through false accusations, not only results in murder or spoliation, but in establishing against the victim the truth of a false charge. The list of the victims comprises some of the most distinguished names in history, Phocion, Socrates, Aristides, Miltiades, Themistocles, Sidney, Russell, the Duc d'Enghien, the Girondins. All ages and every country contribute to it. Instead of saying "O, Liberty," it might have been said, "O, Justice, how many crimes are committed in thy name!"

The strength of M. Proal's book lies in the presentation of the case; its weakness, in the fact that he does not seem to be aware that, to prevent what he calls "political crime," other remedies than moral exhortation and reproof and criticism are within our reach. He seems to think that the only cure for the tendency to abuse power in the way he describes, is a general regeneration of the community, and he enforces the lessons, first, that the use of evil means by Government debauches (through the force of example) every one under it; second, that a good state cannot exist unless it is composed of good citizens. Fortunately, it is not necessary to wait till we are all good before we can have good government. The commission of crimes by those engaged in the work of government can be repressed, and has already in most modern countries been very much repressed, by making those who commit them responsible to the ordinary tribunals. Of course, this cannot be done entirely—occasions will arise in which power will still be abused; but most of the political criminality of the past has come from want of legal responsibility. The principle that officers of the Government are responsible to the ordinary law courts, universal throughout the Anglo-Saxon world, makes such proceedings as disgraced France during the Revolution impossible with us. It prevents the erection of special tribunals to accomplish particular ends, precludes wholesale proscriptions by popular bodies, and, provided the courts themselves are left independent, secures justice even in cases where the rights of the citizen conflict with those of the men who govern him. Another safeguard against political crime is publicity, and the effect of this, even against great odds, can be seen in such proceedings as the Dreyfus case, in which,

but for the press, the forms of justice would have been used by those in authority for the foulest ends—and with complete success.

Edward Thring, Master of Uppingham School: Life, Diary, and Letters. By George R. Parkin, C.M.G., LL.D., Principal of Upper Canada College. 2 vols. Macmillan Co. 1898.

"Edward Thring was unquestionably the most original and striking figure in the schoolmaster world of his time in England." This first sentence from Dr. Parkin's preface will, it is to be feared, seem exaggerated to many readers of the *Nation* who are still stumbling under the Arnold myth which ascribes to St. Thomas of Rugby healings more marvellous than any told of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Edward Thring's life extended from 1831 to 1877. He was the son of a very positive and somewhat stern country clergyman, and a mother from whom he got all the tenderness his life ever knew, and who outlived her gifted son. He was educated at Eton and Cambridge, and went into the Church. In early manhood he applied for and obtained the Mastership of the grammar school at Uppingham, in the heart of the hunting district, a foundation of Queen Elizabeth's day, which, under the listless management of a board of local trustees, educated about twenty-five boys. Thring determined to make a true public school of it. He recognized that the English public-school system, "that which thinks school a better place for boys than home," was firmly fixed in the minds of that class which is determined to give their boys all the education they will take. He saw that the great schools, Winchester, Harrow, Rugby, his own Eton, were filled to bursting, and that there was a grand opening for the fine old foundations over the country, if they would only stretch out their arms and welcome pupils. He conceived, also, first of English schoolmasters, the idea, not of subjecting all boys to unvarying and inflexible tradition, but of doing the best possible thing for each boy by himself.

How he accomplished this work; how he risked his fortune, his very life, living for years under a load of debt; how he fought the narrowness, the indifference, the jealousy of his trustees; how he provided the school with all suitable appliances for study, comfort, and relaxation, without abating a jot of the ancient discipline; how, when he had rescued his boys from the drowsiness of old tradition, he had to fight a Government board, eager to remodel every school almost out of existence; how, when the school had grown more than fifteen-fold in his hands, and was talked of everywhere as a model, he steadily refused to let it increase beyond just limits; how when, by the utter supineness and worse of the town authorities at Uppingham, fever was so raging in the place that the school had to be closed, he moved the whole establishment bodily to the Welsh coast, and conducted it with entire success for a year in the buildings and grounds of a seaside hotel till all danger of infection was removed; how he came to be the father of an annual gathering of the headmasters of all public schools, even the greatest; how he was through it all the devoted minister of the Church of England, never yielding a jot of his ancient beliefs, and all but dying in the Communion service—is the story told in these volumes by one who was drawn

across the ocean to sit at his feet as his model and guide in teaching.

Dr. Parkin's book is largely made up of letters and diary; and, as is apt to be the case in such compilations, many things are spoken of by allusion which are perfectly clear to the writer, but for us need interpretation. This the editor might often have given us without in any degree infringing on his rule of reticence where plainness would give pain. It is to be wished he had added a species of chronology of Thring's successive improvements; and he might have let us know more of his immediate household—at least the names of his children, and when they were born to him. There are many loose threads of this kind that should have been gathered up. But, on the whole, it is a good book about a very good man, and merits a longer notice than is at our present command.

Ichthyologic Obituaries. By C. S. Rafinesque. A verbatim reprint. By Richard Ellsworth Call. Cleveland: The Burrows Bros. Co. 1899. 8vo, 175 pp. Portrait and cuts.

The torment caused to the systematic naturalist by the ill-digested, imperfect, and latterly more or less irrational work of Rafinesque, has often been enlarged upon. A stumbling-block it has been and will remain, and nothing seems practicable but to make the best of it. His account of the fishes of the Ohio, in spite of certain mythical species included through the practical jokes of Audubon, is one of the less obnoxious of his papers. It was first published in the *Western Review and Miscellaneous Magazine* issued, 1819-'21, in Lexington, Kentucky, by William Gibbs Hunt. The type was afterwards rearranged in octavo form, and the work reprinted with some slight revision and a short supplement and index. Of this publication only eight copies are now known to be in existence.

The present volume, comprising 260 numbered copies, will be of use to students of American vertebrates, few of whom can have the opportunity of consulting the original. It is preceded by a preface, a reprint of the portrait and biographic sketch from the 'Life and Writings of Rafinesque' published by the Filson Club in 1896, and a discussion of Rafinesque's ichthyological work. To this is added a literal reprint of the 'Ichthyologia,' with the original magazine pagination, as well as its own, indicated in brackets; a bibliography of Rafinesque's papers on fishes extracted from the 'Life and Writings' above mentioned; and a reproduction of an autograph letter from Rafinesque to Dr. Daniel Drake of Cincinnati, written July 1, 1820, and containing a sketch of one of the fishes described in the 'Ichthyologia,' not hitherto printed.

Dr. Call has not concealed the faults and errors of his author in his discussion of Rafinesque's work on American fishes, yet cannot be denied that the papers published from 1817 to 1821 lie at the foundation of the investigation of our fresh-water species. Only one paper, that of Lesueur on the fishes of the lakes of Upper Canada, antedates them, and, with all their errors and fictions they cannot be ignored. The editor and publishers are therefore entitled to our gratitude for the reissue of this necessary document, to which they have given an appropriate and tasteful dress. Many years ago the late G. W. Tryon performed a similar service for the conchological writings of Rafinesque, but we have not yet heard that a meteorologist has reproduced the tract which this half-crazy systematist described a large number of genera and species thunder and lightning.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Anstam, Jakob. Catherine Mordant. Traduit l'Anglais par Félix Vasson. Paris: La M. Blanche.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 30, 1899.

The Week.

The latest news about Samoan affairs is supplied by Herr von Balow's speech in the Reichstag, a statement of singular lucidity and frankness, couched in terms of equal courtesy and self-respect. With such a spirit prevailing in Berlin there can be no fear of any serious trouble growing out of the killing of the American and British soldiers by the Mataafaites the other day, or out of the complication as a whole. The negotiation on our side has been conducted with the evident desire to yield all the points in a game which is not worth the candle; and this is the right way to conduct it. It does not imply "lowering the flag" or sacrificing the national honor, but merely a wholesome desire to get rid of a bad job on the best terms and at the least cost possible. The *Cologne Gazette* gives us unstinted praise for the concessions we have made and the friendship we have shown to Germany, in such sad contrast to the exacting and bickering policy of Great Britain. This means that we have found out the mistake we made in meddling with the Samoan business at all. It means, also, that the less we have to do with it hereafter, the better we shall be pleased. It is not possible to interpret in any other way the announcement which comes from Washington, and is confirmed from Berlin, that when Germany proposed that the Samoan Commission of three should act only by unanimous consent we agreed, and that when Great Britain declined the proposal, thus causing a deadlock, we withdrew from active participation in the controversy, leaving the other parties to fight it out. This was what Burke called a case of wholesome neglect. It had the effect of bringing the others to an agreement which promises to be satisfactory. For this Secretary Hay is to be congratulated. If he could attenuate our share in the Samoan muddle still more, he might spare us further trouble and save some American lives.

Considering what the United States and England and Germany undertook to do in the Samoan Islands, what they actually have done looks like a sarcastic comment by fate on human intentions. By the act, or treaty, of Berlin, concluded on June 14, 1889, the three Powers graciously proposed to show the Samoans how to do it. They were to put an end to the bloody conflicts between rival chiefs, known as "kings." They were to take charge of trade and land titles and education and religion, and in general make the islands blossom at once into

civilization. During the ten years of this kindly tripartite tutelage, however, we have seen two wars conducted in the characteristic way of savages; we have seen endless intrigues and squabbles, principally between the representatives of the three governments who were to teach the natives how to dwell together in unity; and, as the final touch, we see the lives of English and American officers and men lost in the attempt to settle the quarrels of barbarians on the other side of the globe. Surely it was a prophetic word which that sane and cool American, Secretary Gresham, wrote in 1894:

"In our relations to Samoa we have made the first departure from our traditional and well-established policy of avoiding entangling alliances with foreign Powers in relation to objects remote from this Hemisphere. Like all other human transactions, the wisdom of that departure must be tested by its fruits. . . . Every nation, and especially every strong nation, must sometimes be conscious of an impulse to rush into difficulties that do not concern it except in a highly imaginary way. . . . But our first adventure in that direction afforded most signal and convincing proof that the only safeguard against all the evils of interference in affairs that do not specially concern us, is to abstain from such interference altogether. . . . The general act of Berlin has utterly failed to correct, if indeed it has not aggravated, the very evils which it was designed to prevent."

If Mr. Gresham could say this in 1894, what would he say now if he were alive and saw, not only the natives in Samoa butchering each other, but the foreign forces there almost at blows? The way in which all ideas of justice and decency are necessarily mixed up in such a business is shown in the dispatches. A landing party kills twenty-seven natives with machine-guns, with no loss of its own. That is quite right. That is the way civilized men fight and teach savages to be good. But the next day the savages ambush the foreigners, whose machine-gun gets unluckily "jammed," kill half-a-dozen men, and cut off their heads. Thereupon the civilized and Christian world explodes with cries of "Butchery!" Why won't the brown man take his killing by the white man in peace? He will have to be killed some more till he learns this first lesson. Meanwhile, we observe that the angry Germans in Samoa are sneering at the Christianity of the English and Americans, and that Admiral Kautz returns the compliment with fine scorn for German Christianity. One would like to know what the natives could do, if they had a chance, in taunting the religion of their foreign slayers.

The following luminous dispatch was sent on Monday to a Detroit newspaper by Mr. Carmichael, a personal friend of Mr. Alger's:

"If Secretary Alger retires from the cabi-

net before March 4, 1901, there will be no subterfuge or makeshift about it. He will not retire to go to Paris, will not retire on account of ill health, or for personal political reasons. Should he retire, it will only be after the President makes a direct and unqualified request. The Secretary has had expressions from the President as to the desirability of his remaining in the cabinet. He does not know that the President has changed. If the President should change, he must so declare and announce himself; he must assume full responsibility. It is not a case where there can be any pretence. This is Secretary Alger's position."

This is the most direct challenge which has yet come to Mr. McKinley from Alger. He here puts the responsibility of his presence in the cabinet fairly and squarely on his revered chief. We now know that if Alger is there, McKinley alone is responsible for it. Alger is ready to go when properly requested, but he will not go under any subterfuge or disguise. No "need of rest," no "ill health," or anything of that sort. He must be asked to go by the only man who has a right to ask him. Why does not that man ask him? What is the mysterious bond which connects them? Will nobody throw light on this subject? McKinley is not firm or obstinate. He listens to the voice of the people. He consults Destiny and obeys Duty. We have never known a case in which Duty spoke more plainly and Destiny spoke more wisely. Why does he, then, linger? Why, too, this defiant tone on the part of Alger? He knows he can be dismissed to the dreary shades of Detroit in the twinkling of an eye. How comes he to be so "cocky"? Why must McKinley dismiss him squarely? Why can he not, if convenient, get rid of him on some pretext? These are all topics which we think would be excellent as an exercise for the history class at colleges.

Gen. Shafter had a regular picnic with the beef which Eagan and Alger sent him in Cuba. He ate it every day, and though it was "not entirely appetizing, there was no complaint that it was unfit for food." He is even inclined to think that the Rough Riders and others who complained of their rations were really expecting to have "delicacies" instead of bacon and hard-tack. When asked by the counsel of Gen. Miles, "In view of the condemnation of the canned roast beef by about 75 per cent. of the officers in Cuba, what would you say about its further use?" he replied: "As I have said, I don't know of anything better. Personally, I prefer clear bacon. I want to say that the canned roast beef was not unfit for food. That it was unpalatable, uninviting, and without taste, is perfectly true. But it was not unfit for food." It would be interesting to know what the General would consider "unfit for food." His noble championship of the beef shows that he is standing brave-

ly by the powers that put him in charge of the Cuban expedition.

The *Tribune* has begun to give place to attacks on the Administration in the guise of Letters to the Editor, dated from the Union League Club. They receive a kind of editorial endorsement by being set in larger type than other letters to the editor, and placed at the head of a particular column. They show also similarities of style which betray a common parentage. Their temper is so different from the adulation which the *Tribune* bestowed upon President McKinley before the embassy to England was disposed of, as to suggest some connection between the two. Such is the talk, at all events, within the precincts of the club from which the letters are supposed to come. The writer of the letters is disturbed by the fear that he may have to vote for McKinley again, "as a choice of evils"—that he "may be obliged at the next election to endorse the selection of Sherman and Alger for positions in the cabinet." How dreadful that this Union Leaguer never gave utterance to such thoughts until after Joseph Choate was appointed Ambassador. If he had spoken out in time, we might have had a better cabinet and have avoided all the bitterness and bad beef that Alger and Eagan supplied to the soldiers. The way to prevent a recurrence of these evils and to spare the Union League Republican the necessity of making a choice between them and others, is for the editor of the *Tribune* to bring out a candidate in opposition to Mr. McKinley—not necessarily himself, but somebody whom he can rely on in the troublous times that we plainly see coming.

Mr. Moss succeeded very well on Saturday in showing what Croker regarded as "personal" or "private business." Everything that bears on the income which he derives from his system of government is of this nature. Did he give his son \$17,000, as the boy swore he did, to invest in the stock of a fire-proofing concern? He declines to answer, because that is "private business." Although he admits openly that he is the head of the government, disposes of all its offices, and attends to all the duties of its administration, when it comes to his revenues from it, those are "private business," and he will not consent to answer any questions about them. We are, therefore, no wiser on this point than we were before Mr. Moss began his inquiries. How can we get information as to the dimensions of our ruler's income? Would it not be possible to hear from the contributors of funds to his revenue? There were indications of such testimony on Saturday when the Dock Department came into view as a possible agent of oppression against

an ice company, and more may be forthcoming. Croker has offered, first, to sacrifice his right hand in case he is shown to have taken city money dishonestly, and, second, to part with his fortune and liberty in case such a showing is made; but when he is given opportunity to say whether or not he has taken money dishonorably in a specific instance, he replies invariably: "I decline to answer." That shows that proof on this point must be obtained from the other side.

It is quite plain that Croker's flank movement on Platt, assailing him as a man who is in the same business as himself, and as such equally open to public investigation, has gone a long way towards nullifying the work of the Mazet committee. The vote of Monday, by which the Republican members rejected a proposal by the Democratic minority to include the Platt family law firm in the inquiry, put the partisan brand upon the investigation so clearly that its work in the future will be greatly weakened in the public estimation. So long as Croker can continue to ask Mr. Moss, whenever he is pressed as to the sources of his income, "Why don't you call Platt and ask the same questions of him?" there is small hope of awakening much public indignation against Tammany. The spectacle of one boss investigating another boss, when the public is fully aware that one is not a whit better than the other, and that the two are at odds temporarily only because of dissatisfaction over the division of the "swag," is not an impressive moral spectacle, whatever else may come of it.

A telegram from London says that a Blue Book has been published giving the evidence obtained by the Indian Currency Committee. This is the Committee which sought to meet the views and wishes of the Wolcott Commission by reopening the Indian mint to silver, and by taking a certain amount of silver into the metallic reserve of the Bank of England. The Blue Book is said to contain a letter from Secretary Hay to Lord Aldenham, a leader of the English Bimetallists, dated November 25, 1898, saying that our Government does not consider it expedient for the United States to reopen the bimetallic question at present. Lord Aldenham said that Secretary Hay's letter had been delayed, and he thought intentionally, until after the elections of last November. This shows that his Lordship is a man of discernment in the political field, if not in the economical. The McKinley Administration interpreted the elections of last autumn as putting the silver question on the shelf, and therefore had no further use for international monetary conferences. Lord Aldenham thought, however, that something might be gained by negotiating with the United States about a ratio to be adopted for reopen-

ing the Indian mint to silver. This is very likely. We can see no reason why Secretary Hay should withhold his consent from any ratio for India that the responsible authorities of that country should think it advisable to adopt.

The budget just presented by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach does not meet the approval of the most influential part of the English press, but it is likely to pass the House when the pinch comes. It shows an increase of about £2,000,000 in expenditures over last year (due to increase of the navy). There has been a progressive increase in the annual expenditure of nearly £20,000,000 in the past five years, which has been met by increased receipts, but the Chancellor faces a deficit of about £1,800,000 during the coming year. This he expects to meet by new taxes, and by such a change in the sinking-fund arrangements that the annual payment of the principal of the public debt shall be in part postponed. This is to be accomplished by extending the terminable annuities. The annual charge will thus be lessened, but the term for which they are to run will be lengthened. This is a well-known device of finance ministers, and a very easy one for dealing with a deficit. It amounts to fresh borrowing, although the fact is not so notorious as it would be if new consols were sold in the market. Sir William Harcourt, in the debate on the budget, unravelled the skein of extended annuities in a very lucid manner, and visited it with severe condemnation, and in this he seems to have the concurrence of the *London Times*, which, in nine cases out of ten, supports the Government's policy. The *Times*, however, believes that the budget, as presented, will meet with little popular opposition.

Perhaps the most hopeful augury to be drawn from the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer is to be found in his remarks on the coming Peace Conference. What he said on this subject came from the heart. He bestowed unstinted eulogy upon the humane views which inspired the calling of it, and he hoped that it might put a check on the terrible competition in armaments "so wasteful to our ability, energy, and money, from which even the wealthiest nations may pray to be delivered." If the coming conference could consist of the Finance Ministers of the several countries, there could be little doubt of a triumphant success in achieving the purpose of the Czar's famous letter. The men who have to find the money for the ships and the soldiers, spend sleepless nights over their tasks, and generally end by sliding into a little more debt. There comes a time, however, when such financiering will not serve the turn. Italy has reached it. France is on the verge of it. Austria is not far behind,

Russia, with all her slumbering resources, is hard put to it to make ends meet. The movement for the Peace Conference had its initiative in the Russian Department of Finance. It was discernible in the published reports of that department before the Czar wrote his letter. Indeed, taxes are the most potent corrective of the tendency to war—more potent than religion or education. We shall discover the universality of this truth whenever our present surplus is exhausted, and the Secretary of the Treasury is compelled to call for additional revenue. Powder and ball and pensions for the soldiers and sailors who are butchering and being butchered in the Philippines and Samoa, are costly. Blood may be cheap, but modern ships and projectiles are terribly expensive.

The Czar's treatment of Finland has naturally enough prejudiced a good many in England against his peace proposal, but there is no sound reason why it should. He has been, in a measure, driven into it by the rage for many years back of the Pan Slavists, or Jingoists, the Destiny and Duty men. These worthies have long been furious that part of Russia should have a constitution and the rest should be governed despotically, and they have, like the fox, been doing everything in their power to have all tails cut off. The invectives against the Finns have increased in violence as the Pan Slavist feeling has grown. What we see now, outrageous as it is to us, has been long impending, and the Czar is a young and impressionable man. But there is in this nothing that makes it improper that he should try to lessen the chance of war. He is not departing from his principles of government as we are. He is simply carrying them one step further. He is doing an oppressive thing, but he is doing it for the development of Russia's greatness on the lines she has always followed. We are doing an equally oppressive thing, to people who have never lived under our rule, on absolutely new lines which we have denounced, with all the invectives at our disposal, for one hundred years. Nothing the Czar has done or proposed to do to the Finns approaches in atrocity what we are doing every day to the Filipinos. There has not been since the partition of Poland a transaction which can equal in nefariousness our pretence that we have bought the Philippines from Spain under "international law." In fact, there is nothing in Russian history, black as it is in many respects, which can equal our "conquest" as a mixture of gas and crime.

The London *Daily News* calls attention to the small amount of support given to the peace movement in England by the clergy of the Established Church, compared to that which it has received

from the Nonconformists. The appearance of the Bishop of London in the deputation to Mr. Balfour may be said to constitute a brilliant exception. The attitude of the Anglican clergy towards every reform since 1815 has been open to the same criticism. The Bishops in the House of Lords opposed the abolition of the slave trade and slavery. The clergy throughout the country fought hard against the Reform Bill. They were furious haters of Mr. Gladstone and all his works. They were violent opponents of his great crusade on behalf of the Bulgarians in 1877. Needless to say, they were opposed to his Home-Rule movement, but in this they only went the way of most Englishmen. They are not now, as a rule, opposing this peace movement, but they are giving it comparatively small support.

The explanation of this lies not in any difference between the doctrines they hold and preach, and those preached or held by the Nonconformist ministers, but in two what may be called "lurking senses." One is that the Anglican church is the church of the gentry, and ought not to be mixed up in anything frowned on by good society. The parson never forgets that he dines with the Squire. The other is, that he looks on himself as to some degree a state official, who should not lightly take part in any "agitation" intended to force the hand of the Government. As clergymen rise out of the ranks, too, they remember, consciously or subconsciously, that preferment in the church is in the hands of the minister of the day, that it is he who bestows the bishoprics and deaneries, and that he has many livings at his disposal. All these things dispose an Anglican minister to keep still, not to get excited, and be "solid" with the "genteel." What this means is that his church is a state church, and that as long as it is so it can never be the church of the people. Nothing is more curious, though it has not been much remarked upon, than that all the great excitements and controversies which have raged in the Anglican church have raged among the clergy or the intellectual aristocracy of the universities. In none of the memoirs will you find that the laity have taken much part in them or interest in them. That portion of the laity which takes much interest in religion, as a rule, is Nonconformist, or, in other words, belongs to a different England. In fact, the two nations knew so little of each other that, until within a few years, an Oxford undergraduate could hardly believe that a Nonconformist minister knew how to tie his white cravat.

Full returns of the Spanish elections of Sunday are not yet forthcoming, but that the Government has won a majority in the new Cortes, is already apparent as it was the only thing to be

expected. Governments in Spain always get a majority, and are later turned out of office by it. The present Prime Minister, it is true, had proclaimed a new departure. He had declared that he would exert no pressure in favor of Government candidates, and said that he should consider defeat more honorable than a triumph secured by the usual means. Silvela even went so far as to issue a circular, pointing out the pains and penalties provided by law for all forms of electoral corruption. It must be said that scoffers in Madrid made merry over this return to political purity. Without directly impugning Premier Silvela's honesty, they remarked that he was associated with some uncommonly wicked partners, and that his Minister of War, Gen. Polavieja, was in particular running the campaign in the good old high-handed way. But, pure or corrupt, the election passed off on Sunday, as was predicted, in the midst of great popular indifference. The number of votes cast was small, as in Spain the people have become weary of the political farce, and have lost interest in the game of punishing one boss by rewarding a worse one.

More important for Spain than the personnel of Cortes or Ministry is the question of the country's financial recuperation. On this subject a French economist, M. Edmond Théry, holds optimistic views. He was sent to Madrid by the French Government to make an expert study of Spanish finance, and his report, though not yet published in full, has been outlined. M. Théry considers Spain's case as anything but hopeless, and says that if—much virtue in this if—a competent statesman were at the head of her affairs, she might show the world as rapid a recovery as that of France after 1871. He maintains that Spain can meet all her engagements without too severely increasing the burden of taxation. The first measure which he expects to see the Government adopt when the Cortes assemble in June is a suspension of the sinking-fund until the country regains a better financial position. England cannot criticise such a scheme, as her Chancellor of the Exchequer has just embraced it, nor can the United States, as our Treasury has found it highly convenient to disregard the law calling for payments on the sinking-fund account. The remainder of the Spanish financial programme is an increase of revenue from public monopolies, tobacco, alcohol, etc.; higher import duties; an income tax on securities, as high as 20 per cent.; and an export duty on minerals. This last may be regarded as a sly blow at England, as British capital is largely interested in the Rio Tinto mines and in the export of hematite and other ores. But this tax will be in any case a light one—2 per cent. is the rate proposed.

OUR SAVAGE WAR "FOR THE CAUSE OF HUMANITY."

In a few days it will be a year since the United States went to war with Spain "for the cause of humanity." The war with Spain ceased months ago, the freeing of Cuba from her domination having been accomplished, but a large army of our troops is still engaged in fighting. Having started out to give the inhabitants of Cuba their independence, we are now insisting that the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, who had also revolted against Spanish rule, shall acknowledge our supremacy over them.

This war is the most savage war which was ever known in the history of our republic. The brief official dispatches from the commanders of our troops cast little light upon the situation, but thousands of private soldiers are every week sending home letters which tell the horrible truth with all the impressiveness of native eloquence. The war of 1898 "for the cause of humanity" has degenerated in 1899 into a war of conquest, characterized by rapine and cruelty worthy of savages. The wanton destruction of property by our army has been boasted of by our soldiers. E. B. Furman of the regiment from the State of Washington, writing of the battles of February 4 and 5, said that "we burned hundreds of houses and looted hundreds more," and that "we have horses and carriages and bull-carts galore, and enough furniture and other plunder to load a steamer." Capt. Albert Otis, describing his own exploits at Santa Ana, wrote that "I have six horses and three carriages in my yard, and enough small plunder for a family of six." Guy Williams of the Iowa regiment, after describing the abandonment of a village by the inhabitants, wrote:

"The soldiers made short work of the whole thing. They looted every house and found almost everything from a pair of wooden shoes up to a piano, and they carried everything off or destroyed it. *Talk of the natives plundering the towns—I don't think they are in it with the Fiftieth Iowa.*"

Wholesale plundering is bad enough, but it is not the worst feature of our warfare. The fact is now fully established that in many cases the rule has been that our troops take no prisoners. There can no longer be any question about this. Private letters from a number of soldiers in different regiments tell the same story. Charles Brenner of Minneapolis, Kan., in describing the part played by his regiment in the fight at Caloccan, wrote:

"Company I had taken a few prisoners and stopped. The Colonel ordered them up into line time after time, and finally sent Capt. Bishop back to start them. *Then occurred the hardest sight I ever saw. They had four prisoners and didn't know what to do with them. They asked Capt. Bishop what to do and he said, 'You know the orders,' and four natives fell dead.*"

Leonard F. Adams of Ozark, Mo., who is in the Washington regiment, de-

scribes the terrible slaughter of natives in the battle of February 4, after which "we went over the battlefield in squads, burying the dead niggers"; tells how he "saw seventy-four buried in one hole"; says that "in the path of the Washington regiment and Battery D of the Sixth Artillery there were 1,008 dead niggers, and a great many wounded"; and adds:

"I don't know how many men, women, and children the Tennessee boys did kill. They would not take any prisoners. One company of the Tennessee boys was sent into headquarters with thirty prisoners, and got there with about a hundred chickens and no prisoners."

The Brooklyn Eagle of Sunday published a private letter just received from Fred B. Hinchman, formerly a student in the Polytechnic Institute, who is now serving with Company A, United States Engineers, and whose testimony on this point would of itself be conclusive, as "I am connected with the provost marshal's headquarters, have had a particularly good opportunity of observing 'symptoms,' and in some cases have had an insight into things which were not generally known." Writing from Manila on the 22d of February, he describes the first engagement between our forces and the natives, and in the course of his narrative says:

"At 1:30 o'clock the General gave me a memorandum with regard to sending out a Tennessee battalion to the line. He tersely put it that 'they were looking for a fight.' At the Puente Colgante (suspension bridge) I met one of our company, who told me that the Fourteenth and Washingtons were driving all before them, and taking no prisoners. *This is now our rule of procedure for cause.* After delivering my message I had not walked a block when I heard shots down the street. Hurrying forward, I found a group of our men taking pot shots across the river into a bamboo thicket, at about 1,200 yards. I longed to join them, but had my reply to take back, and that, of course, was the first thing to attend to. I reached the office at three p. m. just in time to see a platoon of the Washingtons with about fifty prisoners, who had been taken before they learned how not to take them."

It must be said, to the credit of our soldiers, that while in the heat of battle they carry out the orders to take no prisoners, most of them inwardly revolt at the idea of such barbarism, and want to come home. Sergeant Elliott of Company G, in the Kansas regiment, who returned last week with the body of his father, captain of the company, talked in this frank way to a reporter of the Kansas City Star:

"Most of the general officers think it will take years and a large force of soldiers to thoroughly subjugate the natives. And the unpleasant feature of this is that unless the conditions change radically, there will be few soldiers who will care to stay there. There's no use trying to conceal the fact that many of the men over there now, especially the volunteers, are homesick and tired of fighting way off there with nothing in particular to gain. There is not one man in the whole army now in the Philippines who would not willingly give up his life for the flag if it was necessary, but it isn't pleasant to think about dying at the hands of a foe little better than a savage, and so far away from home. And the thought of its not ending for several years is not an especially pleasant one, either."

The truthfulness of this picture is

established by the Herald's dispatches on Monday. The censor at Manila allowed the Herald's correspondent to state that Gen. Lawton is evacuating the towns beyond Laguna de Bay, from which the insurgents were driven a few days ago, and to quote this admission by Gen. Lawton:

"With the forces I have there is no doubt I could go through the whole island; but if a government is to be established, it will be necessary to garrison all the towns. *It would take 100,000 men to pacify the islands.* I regret the necessity of abandoning the captured territory."

The correspondent of the Herald at Washington says that "the desire of the volunteers to return to this country is evidenced in a report which shows that of those who have been offered opportunity to reenlist, with the offer of a bonus in travel-pay of over \$500, only about 7 per cent. will accept. The volunteers, it is stated, desire to come home by organizations, instead of individually." Such is the shocking conclusion of the war "for the cause of humanity" begun in Cuba.

A PLAN FOR THE PHILIPPINES.

Any proposal to unravel the Philippine snarl must, of course, look straight at the facts as they exist to-day. The march of events has changed the problem from month to month. Last May the solution was to order Dewey to refit and recoil and sail away. This was the course urgently pressed at the time upon Mr. McKinley by Senator Sewell. The President rejected the advice, and soon it became too late to take it even if he wanted to. Other solutions were possible before the meeting of the Paris Commission—before the ratification of the treaty by the Senate—before the fighting broke out in the islands; but those events successively put a new face on the difficulty, and compelled new plans to solve it. To-day we have full legal authority to do what we will in the Philippines. The islands are ours before the law of nations. But no nation on earth, unless it be an enemy to us, is satisfied with the Philippine situation. Our best friends, the English, are not; this country itself is not. The case cries loudly for some change of policy. What shall it be? What course, at once prudent and practicable, can be adopted to put an end to a strife which is both humiliating and fruitless?

We find in the London and China Telegraph an interview with a man who knows the Malays well, and knows Americans well, and who thinks he sees the true policy for us to pursue. It is Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, the distinguished naturalist, and what he says is this:

"Surely it is possible [for the Americans] to revert to their first-expressed intention of taking a small island only as a naval and coaling station, and to declare themselves the protectors of the islands against foreign aggression. Having done this, they might invite the civilized portion of the natives to

form an independent government, offering them advice and assistance if they wish for it, but otherwise leaving them completely free. It might be advisable first to leave the great island of Mindanao, mostly inhabited by Mohammedans, to form its own separate government; and some guarantee might properly be asked for the fair treatment of the uncivilized portion of the population, such as the presence of a few American residents as protectors of the aborigines. By some such method as here suggested the great republic of the West might aid in the production of a new type of social development adapted to the character of the Malayan race."

Let it be noted that this suggested solution of the difficulty steers clear of the great objections which have been made to other plans. It does not propose to "hand back" the islands to Spain. Most Americans, we presume, would be glad to hand them to Spain or any other Power foolish enough to take them; but it is too late to do that now. The islands are ours for better or worse, for richer or poorer. But Dr. Wallace himself does not contemplate that we should leave the Philippines a prey to scrambling foreign Powers, and so perhaps bring on a European war. We are to announce ourselves their protectors. We are to defend them against foreign aggression. In short, we are to follow the well-approved English plan of declaring a protectorate, and then leaving the natives to develop the best indigenous government they can. An American protectorate over the Philippines, the recognition of American suzerainty by the inhabitants, would be a very different thing from administrative supremacy. It would mean American sovereignty and supremacy for a time in all that affected the foreign relations of the islands; it would mean suitable guarantees for the protection of life and property; it would, of course, mean American garrisons as the sufficient symbol of American power; it would mean the protection of one island or one race from possible aggressions on the part of another; but it would also mean the free development of native life and local rule, and, above all, it would mean the immediate ending of the aimless and bloody fighting which is disgracing us in the eyes of the world.

The Filipinos would accept an American protectorate. They are eager for it, unless they have changed their minds since last August. The testimony from their leaders laid before our Paris Commissioners was emphatic on this point. They knew that they could not protect their own islands against voracious European countries. They desired also the presence of a strong American force while the first experiments in native government were being undertaken. We should then have been assisting, instead of crushing out, what Prof. William James has called "the sacred thing in this great human world—the attempt of a people long enslaved to attain to the possession of itself, to organize its laws and government, to be free to follow

its internal destinies according to its own ideals."

That milk is spilled, and there is no use in crying over it now. But is it too late to retrace our steps and do in effect what we should have done long ago? It seems to us that it is not. In fact, the way seems easy. As the case stands, our dispute with the Filipinos is largely a dispute about words. If the first article of the proclamation of the Philippine Commission were verbally changed, there is no doubt that the natives would accept it with enthusiasm. Suppose that instead of reading, "The supremacy of the United States must and will be enforced throughout every part of the archipelago, and those who resist can accomplish nothing but their own ruin," it had stood, "The United States declares itself protector of the Philippine Islands against foreign aggression, and calls upon the natives to set up their own internal government." It is clear that the war would have ended on the spot; that all the rest of the proclamation, so admirable in its promises of local control of local affairs, guarantees of civil and religious rights, a pure judiciary, and so on, would have been put into effect without the firing of another shot, the leaving of another Filipino to die a death of slow torture in the jungle, or the killing of another American soldier ordered to massacre the people whom he thought he was sent to free.

Now, the point we insist upon is that this plan, Mr. Wallace's plan, would give us all that we can get under any plan, and give it to us peacefully. A protectorate would be as good for American trade as would administrative supremacy; the islands are open to the commerce of the world in either case. Under the proclamation, it was proposed to give the natives "the amplest liberty of self-government"; that could be still better given, and just as well safeguarded, under a protectorate. So with all the rest of it. If we are honest in saying that we wish only to develop and build up the Philippines, instead of ruthlessly exploiting them, we must confess that we could do the work as well under a protectorate as under a sovereignty asserted throughout every part of every island. As kindly protectors, instead of boastful sovereigns, we should be able to discharge all our duties to the world which we have assumed by expelling the Spaniards from the Philippines; should get just as much profit and more praise ourselves; and should implant in the breasts of the natives gratitude and hope where now we are rousing hatred and revenge. We need only realize that it is possible to benefit lower races without first crushing them under the heel of a conqueror; need only understand, with Dr. Wallace, that even the most benevolent conquests sow seeds of misery among the conquered, and terribly retard their natural development. Our mistakes in the Philippines have, so far,

been egregious. Even Jingoism privately admit it; history will write it inexorably. But we may still do much to redeem the situation if we will now frankly face it, choose the words and the acts which best suit the wishes of the natives, instead of our vulgar pride, and by wise conciliation, by patience, by experiment after experiment, prove to the Filipinos that liberty does not mean repression and death, but the opening of the prison door and opportunity for manhood.

THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

On the 29th of March a very interesting event took place at the Foreign Office in London. A deputation of extraordinary magnitude and interest waited on Mr. Balfour, who for the nonce took Lord Salisbury's place. Now "when a mind like Mr. Balfour's," as the silver men used to say, treats a subject of which he is master, as he is of this though he was not of the subject of silver, it is an important event. The subject on this occasion was peace as presented by the Czar's proposal. The deputation was introduced by Lord Aberdeen, who explained for what it stood. He said the gathering was "to an unusual degree representative." The meetings whose views it put forward had been held throughout England, north, south, east, and west; and though people of all shades of opinion had been admitted to them, though ample opportunities for discussion were given, they spoke with one voice, deliberately approving the Czar's proposal. It represented the "whole of the thinking public." These meetings, too, were not meetings of clubs or associations. They were meetings of the towns and cities, called by their mayors or other authorities.

The proceedings were opened by the Bishop of London, who is probably one of the least visionary or sentimental of English public men of prominence. This is how he introduced the matter:

"No subject had been received with such complete enthusiasm and unanimity as this subject of the promotion of peace; there was no subject on which the English people had been approached for a long time in which they had shown such deep interest. And this was the more remarkable, for the English public were not given to the expression of ideas in the abstract; and those who had stood aloof had probably done so in order to see what would come of the endeavor before they expressed a strong opinion on the subject. The meetings had been held without any connection with current topics of political controversy, which, as a rule, lent a fictitious interest to proceedings; they had been attended by thinking men and women, who were profoundly impressed with the importance of the opportunity now offered of supporting, by every means in their power, this totally unexpected attempt towards disarmament on the part of one of the principal Powers in the politics of Europe."

Mr. Balfour spoke in the same strain. He said peace was "not only one of the greatest interests of the British Empire, but one of the greatest interests of the world, and that all England feels so." He based on the lessons of the past the

hope and expectation that war was going to be, perhaps not extinguished, but greatly diminished.

"Since the conclusion of the great revolutionary wars this country has only once been at war with a civilized Power. That is to say, in a period of more than eighty years our peace with the civilized nations of the earth has only been disturbed for a single period of about three years. Compare that with what went on in the last century. A man of forty at the present time has never seen war in this country. A man of forty in the last century—put that period of forty years where you will in the century—would certainly have seen two wars, might well have seen three, and it might even happen that of those forty years the greater part were spent in war, and not in peace. The change is an enormous one."

He drew attention to the fact that, in spite of the incessant talk of the day about "armaments," improved guns, more destructive ships, the reluctance of civilized nations to go to war plainly increases; that the growth of those in favor of peace which seemed so feeble only one hundred years ago, is now strong, and is one of the strongest guiding factors of national policy. This is sadly important, because it comes at a moment when one of the commonest topics of debate and conversation with us is, not how to promote peace, but whether we ought not to form "an alliance" with British Jingoism to kill brown people and seize their property. We are, at the moment these things are being said in London by some of the foremost men of our race, engaged in a war, carried on with mediæval atrocity, in which every advance made in morals or law or religion by Christendom is flouted or depreciated. We are preaching a new sixteenth-century view of nature and national greatness which Philip the Second of Spain would have endorsed. We are throwing cold water on that great American doctrine of the supremacy of the law above men, probably the noblest product of our Revolution. We are confessing the insufficiency of the Christian religion for the formation of character without occasional attacks on people who may never have injured us in mind, body, or estate, in order to kill them and destroy their property. And, worse than all, we hear these very sentiments from the sacred desk, from men who pretend to hold a commission from Jesus Christ.

It is the most astounding case of backsliding which has ever occurred in the history of civilization. As the Turk is fading away—a striking illustration of the folly of force, to use no stronger term—we, the "foremost in the files of time," are trying to step into his place and become the savage bully of Christendom which he was in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; a nation which cares not to be powerful through morals and laws, but through capacity for slaughter and plunder.

THE CROKER SYSTEM.

It is said proudly of Croker, by him-

self as well as by his friends, that there is no humbug about him—that whatever else he may be he is no hypocrite. His testimony on the witness stand confirms this view of him. He frankly confesses his rulership of the city, and asserts his rights to the emoluments of his government. If the people of the city do not like the picture which he draws of their condition as his subjects and serfs, that does not trouble him a particle. He is what he is through their permission, and if they feel humiliated by his contemptuous references to them, and by the disgrace with which his open avowal of his power brands them as free-born American citizens, they have only themselves to blame. He shows himself without concealment to be a ruler who is as dull of moral sense, and as indifferent to the character and good reputation of his associates and allies, as he is ignorant and brutal. If any of his associates are ashamed of his company and leadership, he does not spare their feelings. He is thoroughly satisfied with himself and his system, and they had best be the same.

His treatment of his Mayor is especially characteristic. He himself, and not the Mayor, selected the subordinate officers of the city government. He, and not the Mayor, sits with these officers at The Club and discusses all matters of public business, including especially the selection of subordinates. "I am the leader of the party, and I acknowledge it," he says. "At the present time your influence is greater than that of any man you know?" he is asked, and he nods complacently in the affirmative. Quite right, he is too. There is no power on earth at all comparable to it, when we consider that it is self-assumed and is exercised without any responsibility whatever to the people who pay the cost of it. He selects nominees for public office, including judicial positions, but he cannot quite admit that they pay such high prices for the latter as \$12,000 or \$18,000 each. He is chairman of his own Finance Committee, but he does "not know always" what money comes into his hands, and does "not always" keep an account of what he receives. When checks are made out to his order, he endorses them. A little light upon the extreme caution with which he conducts his exchequer is thrown by the testimony of ex-Justice Pryor, who was assessed \$10,000 for his nomination in 1891. Mr. Pryor made his check payable to the order of Richard Croker, but the next day Mike Daly, the ever-faithful, brought it back with a request that he make it payable "to bearer," which he did.

No part of Mr. Croker's testimony is more illuminating than that in which he sets forth frankly what he expects of the men to whom he sells judicial nominations. He expects all of them to do their duty by Tammany, but "they

don't always do it." Which ones do not? "I don't want to talk about men that has not done that. There is men on the bench now that has not done that—a few of them." Those who do their duty always appoint good Tammany men as referees. The referees, among other things, select the auctioneers, and good Tammany referees always select Peter F. Meyer of the firm of Meyer & Croker. When referees appoint this firm they "do good party acts." The full testimony on this point is too valuable to be condensed:

"Q. And the judge ought to do that thing which puts into your pocket money, because you are a Democrat, too? A. Yes.

"Q. Then we have this: that you participate in the selection of judges before they are elected, and then participate in emolument that comes away down at the end of their judicial proceedings, namely, in judicial sales? A. Yes, sir.

"Q. And it goes into your pocket? A. Yes, that is my own money.

"Q. And the nomination of the judges by Tammany Hall in this city is almost equivalent to an election, is it not? A. Yes.

"Q. So that if you have a controlling voice in the affairs of your party and secure the nomination of true men, you may be sure that at least in the Real-Estate Exchange and in the firm of Meyer & Croker you will, as a true Democrat, get some of the patronage? A. We expect them at least to be friendly.

"Q. And get a part of the patronage? A. Yes, sir.

"Q. You are working for your own pocket? A. All the time, and you too.

"Q. Then, it is not a matter of wide statesmanship or patriotism altogether, but it is wide statesmanship, patriotism, and personal gain mixed up? A. It is. 'To the party belongs the spoils.' I will say that, so you can make it all right up here. We win, and everybody stands by us when we win."

Croker said voluntarily of the profits of this branch of his "private business": "I want to say to you now that my half in that business has amounted to \$25,000 or \$30,000 right along for the last six or seven years." That is a tidy income to receive by means of a "pull" on the bench. Without that "pull," the business would not have been worth a copper. In view of this admission, Croker's fervid declaration that he will sacrifice his right hand if any one can show he has taken a dollar of city money, gives us a sample of his moral sense. He uses the power of his position as boss to levy blackmail through the bench, and then calls the result "private business."

The generalization from this revelation to the whole Croker system of government is easy and logical, but when Mr. Moss tried on Friday to get Croker to say that what went on in relation to referees and judicial sales went on in relation to all other varieties of the spoils of victory, the boss was wary and pretended not to understand him. This does not throw the slightest doubt on the matter, however. It is the natural and incontestable inference that the boss who takes this view of a judge's duties should take a like view of the duties of all other of his nominees to whom he has sold offices. Ex-Justice Daly gave under oath on Friday the familiar narrative of his exclusion by Croker from the bench

because he would not favor the transfer of the place for judicial sales to the office of Meyer & Croker, and because he would not, at Croker's request, appoint Mike Daly to a clerkship. Young Croker and Croker's nephew have shown how the boss works the Building Department for his private pocket; why should any one doubt that he works all other departments in the municipal service in the same way? As he himself says, he has to "get a living." That he gets an extremely good one, is notorious. The people of the city are supporting him in great affluence, and it is not surprising that their docility under his power, as well as their generous treatment of him, should make him a bit arrogant at times.

It is extremely edifying to see the same Republicans who are unable to find anything objectionable in Platt's methods of party leadership, hold up their hands in horror over the revelation that Croker has been using his own sons as collectors of revenue for his peculiar government. To think, they say, of a father introducing his own offspring to such a life as that! Is there any difference between what Croker has done and what everybody knows Platt has been doing for the past five or six years? Has not Platt been using one son in the family law business and another in the family surety company in precisely the same way in which Croker has been using his son and nephew? If a contractor wished to have his kind of fireproofing authorized for use by the Building Department, he either took a Croker boy into partnership, or retained a Croker nephew as "counsel" at a fee of \$5,000 or \$10,000. If a citizen wished during the past few years to get a bill through the Legislature, and retained the Old Man's family law firm as counsel, it was at once "sure to pass," was it not? If a contractor wished to get a piece of canal work under Aldridge, he took out his bond from the Old Man's Surety Company, did he not? In short, have not both bosses used their sons in the same way—that is, to get profit for themselves by putting forth the boys as repositories of the "pull"? If not, will some good Republican point out the difference to us?

Croker himself asserted this fellowship in his testimony on Saturday. When asked to reveal the business enterprises of his boys, he protested:

"All this talk is very well, but why don't you go and examine the man that created you and sent you here? Go and investigate the office of Tracy, Boardman & Platt. There is more corruption in that office than in any office in this town. They are retained by nearly every corporation in this town. Go and attend to them. Go and investigate the man you get your retainer from, Mr. Moss; [turning to the chairman] the man who made you possible; Platt is the man I mean."

If this were a non-partisan inquiry, both bosses would be put on the stand, but everybody knows that the committee

would not dare to accept Croker's challenge, and put Platt on the stand, or Platt's sons and their partners; and knows, furthermore, that Mr. Moss would not be allowed to question Platt and his boys as he has questioned Croker and his. We have always affirmed that one boss is as bad as the other, and that there is no difference in their systems of government. It is edifying and amusing to see Croker asserting this fact as in some sort a justification for himself.

THE CANDIDACY OF BRYAN.

Mr. Bryan's speech at the One Dollar Dinner must be viewed with reference to his candidacy. It was more moderate in tone than was generally expected, and perhaps more so than his audience desired. The latter came together prepared for "hot stuff," and the speaker could not have given them too much of it. On the other hand, he gave them a very tame discourse as compared with his speeches in the last Presidential campaign. On the silver question, he charged that President McKinley had pursued a negative rather than a positive course, which is true, but it is also true of Mr. Bryan in this instance. He did not even say what he would do if all power were placed in his hands. He limited himself to some criticism of the policy of the Republican party, and it is worth while to inquire whether this criticism is well founded or not.

Mr. Bryan assumed rather calmly that the gold standard was a foreign contrivance, more particularly British. It was at all events un-American. He looked into the Chicago platform for his proof. It was easy to pass from this assumption to the other one, that the American standard (or as he prefers to call it, the double standard) is silver, and that all persons who consider the existing gold standard American, and who stand by it, are radicals and destructives, while those who are for changing it are conservatives. Hence his words: "They [the Republicans] are destructive, not constructive; they oppose without proposing." This was the most exciting phrase in his whole speech, and it reads rather tamely by the side of his previous utterances on the same subject. Mild as it is in tone, however, it cannot be accepted until all the rules of logic, from Aristotle down, are turned topsy-turvy. The conservatives are those who conserve, and the destructives are those who destroy, or would if they could. The gold standard, according to Mr. Bryan's party, was introduced into this country by "the crime of 1873." That act had no significance or meaning otherwise. The gold standard had been introduced *de facto* in 1834; but, if we allow room for all kinds of quibbles on that point, the truth still remains, that the gold standard has existed here *de facto* and *de jure* for

more than a quarter of a century, and is now on a firmer basis than ever before in the country's history. Even if we were to suppose that it is more foreign, or more British, than American, it has been ours by free choice for nearly a whole generation. Nobody imposed it upon us from abroad in the first instance, and nobody has prevented us from casting it off since. Nobody has been strong enough to do so. Therefore, Mr. Bryan's assumption that the gold standard is un-American falls to the ground, notwithstanding the high authority of the Chicago platform, which he helped to make, and with it falls his solemn argument that the Republicans are destructive and not constructive in this particular, and that they oppose without proposing. They are neither destructive nor constructive. They simply hold fast to what exists. That Mr. Bryan should find some support from the Wolcott Commission, which President McKinley sent abroad in 1897, is nothing to the purpose. This merely proves that Mr. McKinley was tarred with the same stick, but to a less extent than Bryan himself.

Very little fault is to be found with any other part of Mr. Bryan's speech. His remarks about an income tax are moderate in tone, and those on the war in the Philippines might have been stronger without passing the bounds of just criticism. He discountenanced the Trusts and combines that have multiplied so enormously of late, but not too vigorously. What he said about government by injunction was tame in comparison with his earlier sayings on the same subject. Altogether, the speech leaves the impression that he desired not to offend the conservative element of the Democratic party, or to make united action, with him as a candidate, impossible next year. Yet we doubt if he has succeeded in it. The chasm between himself and the Gold Democrats—those who voted for McKinley and Hobart in 1896, as well as those who voted for Palmer and Buckner—is still so wide that if he had ignored the silver question altogether they could not take him for their candidate next year.

According to present appearances, however, the South, which is the controlling element in the Democratic party, will insist upon making the fight again on the silver issue, and in that event Bryan is the inevitable nominee, and the party will be thrashed at the polls again, although it will be their turn next year to win. Silver is not the question that most engages public attention now. It is not nearly as attractive an issue as it was three years ago. All the enthusiasm, all the spontaneity, have gone out of it. It was not this that gave Mr. Bryan his warm greeting at the One Dollar Dinner, but himself as the party's standard-bearer in the last campaign. It cannot be affirmed again that the gold standard is the cause of hard times

—the hard times have gone, but the gold standard remains. Ancient prejudice against Great Britain will not serve the turn now, because the prejudice does not exist. More votes will be lost than gained by inveighing against the British gold standard. Nobody can say with a straight face that there is not gold enough to do the world's business, or to maintain prices. In short, a campaign on that issue next year will be an anachronism, and will become a weariness or a laughing-stock before the voting takes place. Yet it seems now as though the masters of the Democratic party in the South would have it so. Something may occur in the next twelvemonth to change the drift of sentiment in the South, but it has not shown itself as yet.

AN ACADEMIC DISCUSSION OF EXPANSION.

PHILADELPHIA, April 12, 1899.

The third annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, held in this city on April 7-8, ranks easily as the most important incident in the life of the organization. Founded ten years ago through the personal endeavors of energetic leaders, the pretentious title and novel methods of the organization exposed it to sharp criticism and inevitable discredit. A sagacious administrative policy and an increasing scientific activity have done much to change this attitude within the past few years. The Academy is neither in fact nor in purpose a scientific body such as the American Economic Association or the American Historical Association; but at the present time few economists or historians are unaffiliated with the organization, and none can afford to neglect its proceedings and its publications. Not only for the important local influence it has exerted, but for the stimulus and direction it has given to the intelligent discussion of matters of grave public concern, the Academy has within a decade of more or less experimental activity fully justified its existence.

Three years ago the policy of an annual scientific meeting, held in Philadelphia during the spring recess, was adopted. A traditional programme of miscellaneous papers engaged the first meeting. In 1898 the advantage of specialized discussion was recognized, and the sessions were devoted to the consideration of a single topic—the scope and method of sociology. The same practice prevailed in the present year, and the interest of a larger circle was enlisted by the selection, as the theme of the meeting, of "The Foreign Policy of the United States: Commercial and Political." The skilful arrangement of the programme, the representative character of the participants, and the significance of the papers presented were the elements that placed this last meeting in an entirely different category from any of those which had preceded.

The first session, on Friday afternoon, was devoted to the general subject, "The Government of Dependencies." Formal papers were presented with this common title by Prof. Theodore S. Woolsey of Yale, Prof. E. W. Huffcut of Cornell, Mr. A. Lawrence Lowell of Harvard, and Mr. W. Alleyne Ireland of London. In scholarship and definiteness these papers were probably the most satis-

factory of any presented at the meeting. The actual condition of affairs arising out of the war with Spain was in each case confronted, and certain definite rules of practical conduct were proposed.

Prof. Woolsey called attention to the two theories underlying the relationship between a state and its dependencies. The first, represented by the Dutch rule in Java, regards colonies as property from which an income is to be drawn; the second, exemplified by British colonial policy, considers them a kind of trust to be administered for the benefit of the inhabitants, while the profit to the mother state comes in the enlarged opportunities for the energies of its surplus youth and in that stimulated trade which follows the flag. The second principle will, doubtless, shape the form of government to be adopted for the new dependencies placed under our sovereignty. Porto Rico presents materials for a State after Territorial apprenticeship; or, as an unorganized Territory, we may watch it working out its ideas of self-government. In the Philippines, different social, racial, and geographical conditions render a similar policy impossible, and instruction may be derived from a study of the results of British administration in India. It seems clear that a civil government for these islands, under our Constitution, is, and must be for the indefinite future, inadmissible. Military government, dependent upon the inaction of Congress, is the only course possible.

The constitutional problems involved in the government of dependencies by the United States were discussed with acuteness and learning by Prof. Huffcut. A detailed analysis of all the constitutional restrictions upon congressional power and of all the pronouncements of the federal courts relating thereto, resulted in the conclusion that it is possible to hold, with entire loyalty to the Constitution and respect for judicial decisions, that all dependencies, except the District of Columbia, are governed under the general power given to Congress "to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States"; that this power is limited only by the provision prohibiting slavery within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction; that no decision of the Supreme Court holds that any other limit is placed upon the power of Congress over the Territories, and that such dicta as may be found to the contrary either are wholly discredited, or resolve themselves into a mere statement of constitutional or political theory.

Mr. Lowell assumed the two propositions which the preceding papers had established, viz., that our primary aim is to be the welfare of the dependencies, and that the Federal Constitution will not interfere seriously with the establishment of the most desirable form of government in our new possessions. It is not improbable that our institutions can be applied to the Sandwich Islands without modification, and a Territorial government copied from the pattern that has proved successful in the West will doubtless be there employed. In the Philippines the task is that of ruling a tropical colony where the proportion of white men must always remain insignificant, and where the natives, except in the case of selected individuals, will be incapable of taking part in the government for an indefinite period. The most important requisites for the administration of such a

colony are justice, a consistent policy, and a thorough knowledge of the native character. For Porto Rico, the obvious solution would appear to be a Territorial administration, with a governor appointed by the President, and a Legislature composed partly of appointed and partly of elected members.

Mr. Ireland, speaking from the experience of long residence in the British colonies, expressed the opinion that the inhabitants of the tropics will never be capable of self-government in the sense which is usually attached to that expression, and that without the strong hand of the man of the North to hold things together, the tropics will never advance beyond the point which has been reached by the Central American republics.

The annual address to the Academy, delivered by the Hon. Carl Schurz on Friday evening, under the title "Militarism and Democracy," served as a wholesome corrective of the matter-of-fact, indeed cheerful, acquiescence in the existing state of affairs which characterized the afternoon's proceedings. Defining militarism as the system which makes the maintenance of great armaments one of the principal objects of the state, Mr. Schurz proceeded, with philosophic spirit and unerring logic, to trace the opposition of such a system to the democratic spirit, and to describe the danger it offers to democratic institutions. The development of militarism in European states is explained by the necessity which each Power conceives itself to be under to protect itself from, and to preserve peace among, its neighbors. In the United States the need for large armaments can result only from a spirit of warlike adventure, beginning, perhaps, in a desire to liberate and civilize certain foreign populations, but developing into a downright and reckless policy of conquest. There was a stirring quality of comprehensive grasp and large statesmanship in Mr. Schurz's address, and no more accurate key-phrase for its content could be found than one of its happiest epigrams: "War makes military heroes, but makes also civic cowards."

Our commercial relations with the Far East formed the general topic of Saturday afternoon's session. Formal papers were presented by Mr. Worthington C. Ford, late Chief of the Bureau of Statistics of the United States Treasury Department, and by Mr. Robert T. Hill of the United States Geological Survey. Briefer addresses were made by Mr. John Foord, Secretary of the American Asiatic Association, by Dr. W. P. Wilson, director of the Philadelphia Commercial Museums, and Prof. E. R. Johnson of the University of Pennsylvania. It was inevitable that a discussion of commercial development should resolve itself into a series of conflicting forecasts, yet the most tolerant mind experienced a keen sense of disappointment at the hopeless antagonism of expert opinion. To Mr. Ford, the commercial opportunities of the United States in the Far East seemed rigidly limited, even though Manila be maintained as a free port or employed as a manufacturing basis. To Mr. Hill, the development of China under the protective policy of European nations meant opportunity for our young men and markets for our wares, while continued Chinese methods presented not one ray of hope for national profit. To Mr. Foord, the natural line of commercial advance lay in the positive support by the United States of the policy of the open door in China. Dr. Wilson found the key to the situation in a

larger energy and bolder initiative of the American merchant and manufacturer, and Prof. Johnson cast an apparently well-founded discredit upon the statistical basis of the debate.

The final session of the meeting on Saturday night was devoted to the political relations of the United States with the Far East. If not the most profitable, this was certainly the most brilliant session. Prof. John Bassett Moore presented a brief historical review of our diplomatic intercourse with the East, naturally revealing the scholarly academician rather than the efficient diplomatist. The main address, upon "China's Relation with the West," was made by the Chinese Minister, his Excellency Wu Ting-fang. We have probably had no more skillful presentation of the case of China and her claims than this forcible statement of one of her most distinguished representatives. The gradual but sure advance of Chinese civilization, the mischievous effects of "prose-lytism" and "commercialism" in the Far East, and the antithesis between the ethical pretence and actual practice of Western nations in their dealings with China, were described with extraordinary skill and ability. In a rather misplaced "discussion" that followed the important address of the evening, Prof. Lindley M. Keasbey suggested that our guiding policy in the Far East be economic competition with all and political alliance with none. Prof. Frederick W. Williams of Yale found in Russian aggression the real menace of China and the world, and urged that we harken before it is too late to "the Macedonian cry of that misgoverned nation to go over and help them." Vividness and color were given to the discussions of the meeting by a special exhibit of the products of the Far East at the Commercial Museums, arranged and described in an informal address on Saturday morning by Director W. P. Wilson.

The Council of the Academy took steps for the publication at an early date of the proceedings of the meeting in full, and for the provision of a permanent home for the organization. The only change in the officers of the Academy was the election as Corresponding Secretary of Prof. L. S. Rowe, to whose energy as chairman of the local committee the success of the meeting was largely due. J. H. H.

HOUSSAYE'S WATERLOO.

PARIS, April 5, 1899.

M. Henry Houssaye is writing the history of the fall of the First Empire, with the help of original documents. The two first volumes of this work had for their titles: '1814-1815—The First Restoration, The Return from Elba, The Hundred Days.' The last and third volume has just appeared under the title, '1815—Waterloo.' Many accounts of the battle of Waterloo have been written. M. Houssaye has evidently had the ambition to write the last and to leave nothing behind him for future historians. He enters first into infinite details upon the last army of the Empire, the army which Napoleon organized after his return from Elba. For this purpose he has availed himself of the documents found in the archives of the Ministry of War. Napoleon found only 200,000 men under the French flag on his return. "If," says M. Houssaye, "he had had his old absolute power, he would have doubled the army by an extraordinary call

of the classes of 1806 to 1814, by the recall of the class of 1815, and the call by anticipation of the class of 1816." But he hesitated, having only just seized the crown again, before so unpopular a measure as the reestablishment of the conscription, which had been abolished by Louis XVIII. His only resource was the recall to the regiments of the soldiers who were absent on limited or unlimited leaves, and the recall of the great number of deserters who figured on the regimental lists as "absent without permission." The men who were absent on leave were 32,800, the deserters 85,000. It was difficult to count on many of this last number. Napoleon feared, besides, to put the army too suddenly on a war-footing; he was trying by all means to enter into negotiation with the Powers to maintain peace. The French population wished ardently for the continuation of peace. The west of France was agitated, the south was partly in arms; the royalists all over France predicted war. As soon as all hope was given up of an understanding with the Powers, Napoleon published his decree; the French funds in one day suffered a fall of eight francs. France felt that she must prepare for a terrible war, perhaps for a new invasion.

The feeling of the country is well shown by the number of free volunteers: there were only 15,000. Napoleon had to augment the regular army by the mobilization of the National Guard. He would have much liked to keep the four Swiss regiments of the army of Louis XVIII., but the Swiss officers refused to exchange the white cockade for the tricolor, and these regiments had to be disbanded. He could keep only two foreign regiments, Isenberg and the Irish regiment. Of the 234,720 National Guards who were called into active service, 150,000 were on their way to their regiments on the 15th of June; they were not enthusiastic, but resigned, and determined to do their duty.

The correspondence of Napoleon shows what immense pains he took to equip and organize completely his new army, to form the corps, to choose the troops of the first line. The command of the corps was of the greatest importance. Of the twenty marshals of France, three had accompanied Louis XVIII. to Belgium—Berthier, Marmont, Victor. Many of the others were wavering and did not inspire Napoleon with great confidence. He was especially discontented with Ney, but, after some hesitation, he wrote to the Minister of War: "Call for Marshal Ney, and tell him that if he wishes to be in the first battles, he must go on the 14th to Avesnes, where my headquarters will be." Napoleon refused to give a command to Murat; he had not forgiven him for having begun hostilities so late in 1814 against the Austrians. He regretted this decision at St. Helena. "At Waterloo," he said in one of those conversations, or rather monologues, which have just been repeated to us in the Memoirs of Gourgaud, "Murat would perhaps have given us the victory. What did we need? To break three or four English squares. Murat was just the man for it." Grouchy was an able officer, and like Murat could handle well great masses of cavalry. Napoleon gave him a command.

The choice of a major-general was all-important. Berthier had always occupied this post, to the satisfaction of the Emperor; he had been an admirable instrument. He did not remain long at Ghent, but left for Bamberg, where lived his uncle by marriage, the

King of Bavaria; he was kept there as a sort of prisoner of the Allies. On the 1st of June, as a Russian regiment was passing before the castle on its way to France, Berthier was seen to leave a window on the first floor, to reappear at a window on the third floor, to fall from it on the pavement. His death was attributed to an accident; it was probably a suicide. Napoleon's choice for a major-general fell on Soult, who had never occupied the post. Napoleon wished to have it occupied by a Marshal of France. He left Davout in the Ministry of War. The commanders of the army corps were all able and experienced men. "Never," says M. Houssaye, "will the French army have such chiefs. All of them had made war for more than twenty years, and none of them was as much as fifty years old." Napoleon's age was forty-six years; Davout was forty-five, Soult forty-six, Ney forty-six, Grouchy forty-nine, Drouot d'Er-lon forty-nine, Lobau forty-five, Lamarque forty-five, Kellermann forty-five, Reille forty-four, Vandamme forty-four, Rapp forty-three, Clausel forty-three, Suchet forty-three, Pajol forty-three, Gérard forty-two, Drouot forty-one, Exelmans forty. All these men, who had so often led their soldiers to victory, had no longer their old faith in the success of the French arms. They knew well what formidable armaments were preparing against the Emperor. Discipline reigned in the general staff; discipline suffered from the effect of a general suspicion; the soldiers believed only in the Emperor, they all wanted to be passed in review by him. They believed that they alone had brought Napoleon back to the Tuileries. The army of 1815, sensitive, undisciplined, distrusting its chiefs, troubled by the fear of treason, but ardent for vengeance, was capable of the most heroic efforts. "Never," says M. Houssaye, "did Napoleon have in his hand a more dangerous or more fragile weapon."

Napoleon had made his plan of campaign early, long before the breaking out of hostilities; it was based on that of the Allies, which was known to him. Six armies were to cross the French frontier—four from Maubeuge to Bâle; the three others by way of the Alps. Napoleon decided to concentrate an army of 150,000 men on the northern frontier, to fight separately the English and the Prussians, and then to deal with his other enemies. It was necessary for him to operate so as to hinder the junction of Wellington and Blücher. The Allies did not understand his movements of concentration. On the 15th of June, when Napoleon had already a foot in Belgium, Wellington wrote a long letter to the Czar, in which he said that he would assume the offensive at the end of the month. Blücher, a few days before, wrote to his wife from Namur: "We shall soon be in France. We might easily stay a year longer here, for Napoleon will not attack us." I will not follow M. Houssaye into all the particulars of the campaign. After Charleroi was taken, Napoleon and Ney had an interview. The Emperor told Ney to take command of the First and Second Corps, to follow the enemy on the road to Brussels, and to take position at a cross-road called Quatre-Bras. Ney, prudent for the first time in his life, took position only at some distance from Quatre-Bras; nevertheless, Napoleon had succeeded in establishing himself in the centre of the enemy's position.

After Byron, after Thackeray, M. Houssaye gives us a description of the eve of Waterloo at Brussels. He is rather severe

on Wellington. At the ball of the Duchess of Richmond, Wellington was very gay; he entered the room only towards midnight:

"This whole day, he obstinately kept his troops dispersed at four, eight, ten, fifteen leagues from each other; and his evening orders, by which he flattered himself to have repaired his grave fault, were pitiable. . . . If his orders had been executed, a gap of four leagues would have been opened between Nivelles and the Dyle, a gap through which Ney could have advanced half way to Brussels without firing a gun, or have fallen on the rear of the Prussian army and caused its utter destruction. . . . Fortunately for the Allies, some of the subordinates of Wellington took it upon themselves to act without awaiting his orders, and others intelligently disobeyed those which, after so much time lost, he decided to give."

I leave it to military judges to weigh the value of these remarks. M. Houssaye, on the other hand, defends the Emperor against the imputations of theoretical strategists like Charras (who wrote, during his exile under the Second Empire, a minute account of the battle of Waterloo), who denounce Napoleon's fatal indecision and torpor of mind during the campaign. Lord Wolseley has lately made similar criticisms; but, if we judge of Napoleon's state of mind by the incessant orders he gave during those momentous days, it is difficult to admit that his intelligence was impaired.

Wellington's and Blücher's meeting near the village of Brye must have been very impressive. It took place before the battle of Ligny, which ended in the defeat and retreat of the Prussian army. During the battle, Napoleon sent nine dispatches to Marshal Ney, with whose help he hoped to annihilate completely the army of Blücher, but Ney "was no more the same man," said Napoleon at St. Helena; he had become too prudent, and had neglected to occupy the position of Quatre-Bras; his divisions were dispersed, and when Napoleon himself determined to attack Quatre-Bras, he had to fight a real battle against Wellington. The battle was lost by him, or rather ended without any result, as in the evening the English and the French resumed nearly the same positions they had in the morning, with the difference only that the English were now in force in positions where before they had only detachments. When Wellington heard of the defeat of the Prussians at Ligny and their retreat on Wavre, he determined to occupy Mont-Saint-Jean, a strong defensive position, which he had studied the year before. He received news of Blücher on the night of the 17th to the 18th June at two o'clock in the morning, and, being assured of the coöperation of the Prussians, he resolved to accept the battle.

Napoleon dictated the same night his order of battle. All the details of the great struggle are known—the last review of the French troops, the dispositions for the attack, the storming of the farm of Hougomont, the orders sent to Grouchy, who had 30,000 men under his command when the first Prussian columns appeared, the charges of D'Erlon, of the Somerset Guards, of the Ponsonby Dragoons, the two attacks on La-Haye-Sainte, the repeated charges of the French Cuirassiers, the storming of La-Haye-Sainte by the French infantry, the coming into line of Bülow, the last general attacks, the assault on the Mont-Saint-Jean by the Guard, the final defeat, the rout, and the confused retreat of the French army, followed by the Prussian cavalry. Napoleon had been warned before the battle by Gérard, who spoke to him of

the tenacity of the British infantry. Instead of manœuvring and making flank movements, he wished to mark his victory by what he called a *coup de tonnerre*; he determined to concentrate on the English centre in its trenches a terrific artillery fire, and to break this centre so as to divide the English army in two, and to obtain a crushing and terrific victory. He did not reckon sufficiently with that "indomitable English courage," of which Macaulay speaks, which is never greater than in the evening of an undecided and murderous struggle.

The details of the French retreat given by M. Houssaye are appalling. The army had made too great an effort. All hope was given up, and the Prussian cavalry had too easy a task in following with merciless ardor the remnants of what was the last army of Napoleon.

Correspondence.

A PROTEST AND A PROPHECY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Like yourself, I should have preferred a real leader of men such as Thomas B. Reed in the White House, rather than McKinley, who parcels out not only his patronage, but all his functions, among Senators and Representatives, and who heeds clamor rather than the country's welfare. I would much rather have a man of whom a modern Ennius might sing:

" . . . non posuit rumores ante salutem."

Like yourself, I cannot see any wisdom in paying \$30,000,000 for an unfalling source of bloodshed, waste, and scandal. But on one point you wrong our President. You accuse him, every now and then, of doing this or that shabby thing to "get delegates," that is, to bring about his renomination. He is undoubtedly quite innocent of anything of this kind, for he knows already perfectly well that no other candidate will contest the Republican nomination with him. The party in power cannot put forward anybody else than the incumbent without admission of failure. Mr. McKinley will be nominated on the first ballot, receiving the vote of every delegate; and as the Democrats cannot, between now and November of next year, shake off Mr. Bryan and Sixteen-to-One, Mr. McKinley will be elected by a majority of over one hundred among the electors.

Current problems should be discussed in the light of this prospect.

Respectfully yours,

D.

LOUISVILLE, KY., April 10, 1899.

"AS OUR FATHERS DID."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is the fashion of the Administration hack-writers to dismiss with scorn the assertion that the natives of the Philippines are heroically fighting for their liberties. But the race that has produced not only the able and much maligned Aguinaldo but also the great and lovable man of science and martyr, Rizal, has, in the course of its long history, proved time and again that it possesses that real love of liberty which gives birth to the nations of the world. To stigmatize the Tagals as "mere savages" may suit the ignorant and indifferent minds among us, but there is no denying the fact that their two months' struggle against the

power of the United States is part and parcel of their century-long battle to be free, from Spain, from us, from all the races of men who have sought to make them less than they hoped to be. The story of their struggle with Spain is too glorious for the world ever to forget, and the necessities of the opportunist policy of the Administration cannot blind us to its significance. They were on the eve of victory when we came to destroy their dream of a home-land all their own. No cry of traitor can silence the unprejudiced historian who shall write the record of this brave and valiant people, nor can our flag ever replace the heart-born liberty it seems bound now to extinguish "in the name of humanity." Senator Hoar and his able supporters are not alone in comparing the struggle of the Filipinos with that which gave birth to our own republic. There is a notable tendency on the part of those who have had to do with the Tagals to compare them with our own patriots of old.

A writer in *Putnam's Magazine* (vol. viii., p. 144), thirty-three years ago, thus describes (the italics are mine) the battle of the 27th of April, 1521, in which Magellan fell:

"The battle with the steel arms of Europe against the wooden arrows and lances of the islanders lasted many hours. There was no finching on either side. The courage of the Indian [i. e., Filipino] was proof against the mail of the Spaniards; the latter, appealing to their foes' terror and love of home, set fire to their houses, and a village was in a blaze. But, as our fathers in like case once did, the brave natives fought with more determined fury; and, with but seven or eight survivors, the Spaniards, as the fight grew fiercer, fell step by step back to the shore."

Have the Filipinos changed in their love for liberty to-day? Hardly; they face the cannon, as their ancestors did the musket. Is it too late yet to "do justice and fear not"?

ALEX. F. CHAMBERLAIN.

WORCESTER, MASS., April 11, 1899.

EXPATRIATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The opinion of Secretary Day concerning forfeiture of citizenship, against which a correspondent protests in the *Nation* of the 6th inst., seems not materially to differ from the opinions of his predecessors in office, as quoted in Wharton's *Digest*, vol. 2, p. 446, and following.

Daniel Webster's opinion was that "a person found residing in a foreign country is presumed to be there with the purpose of remaining; and, to relieve himself of the character which this presumption fixes upon him, he must show that his residence was only temporary, and accompanied all the time with a fixed and definite intention of returning. If in that country he engages in trade and business, he is considered by the law of nations as a merchant of that country; nor is the presumption rebutted by the residence of his wife and family in the country from which he came. This is the doctrine as laid down by the United States courts."

"Citizenship," says Mr. Fish, "involves duties and obligations as well as rights. The correlative right of protection by the Government may be waived or lost by long-continued avoidance and silent withdrawal from the duties of citizenship as well as by open renunciation."

The opinions quoted from Secretaries Mar-

cy, Seward, and Everts are in harmony with the foregoing. J.

FORT WAYNE, IND., April 8, 1899.

DISARMAMENT AND PANSLAVISM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of November 2, 1887, you printed an interesting letter from Theodore von Bunsen on "International Peace," disarmament, and arbitration. The whole letter is worth rereading, but one sentence in particular has a peculiar point just now: "To my mind, the great approaching war with Panalavism must be fought before a reduction of European armaments by mutual consent can be brought before a conference of the Powers."

W. H. B.

ATHENS, GA., April 10, 1899.

[Bunsen's prevision has been falsified by the Czar of the Slavs taking the initiative. The conference will be held, and reduction brought before it.—ED. NATION.]

SINCERE GOOD CATHOLICS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Perhaps an astute Pope of Rome, dealing with "good American" Catholics, might be able somewhat to harmonize matters—if I've rightly divined what a good American and a presumed bad American Catholic may be—by following the course prescribed by Clement IX., as laid down in Voltaire's 'Siècle de Louis XIV.', ch. xxxii., page 435, upon the subject of Jansenism:

"Rospigliosi, devenu pape sous le nom de Clément IX., pacifia tout pour quelque temps. Il engagea les quatre évêques à signer sincèrement le formulaire, au lieu de purement et simplement."

If the "good American" branch would only be *sincere* instead of *pure* and *simple*, and would just accept things that way, it would accommodate the Holy See, and probably everybody else would be satisfied.

H. M. DOAK.

NASHVILLE, TENN., April 11, 1899.

A CORRECTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Will you allow me space to correct a mistake which I made in the recent annual report of this museum, in describing one of the more important Greek vases acquired last year? The vase in question (page 68, No. 41) bears the signature of Hieron together with the name of his father. This name appears in the genitive — *Μελισσος* — and I said it should have been *Μελισσος*. My statement was an error, the spelling was correct, and the name is Medon, not Melidon. As this is the first instance in which the name of Hieron's father has appeared, the matter is not without importance to students of Greek vases, and I make the correction here in the hope that it may reach as many as possible of those who are interested in the subject.

Very respectfully yours,

EDWARD ROBINSON.

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS,
BOSTON, April 13, 1899.

AUDITORIUMS AND ORATORY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your editorial "Changes in Ora-

tory" I do not find enumerated among the causes of decline the struggle with the hall, as depicted in an address by a specialist, Dr. Ephraim Cutter, "to the section on laryncology and otology, at the forty-ninth annual meeting of the American Medical Association, held at Denver, Col., June 7-10, 1898." He considers it a humane undertaking on the part of the doctors to call attention to the auditorium indisposition and the remedy for the disorder. The ailment in part is due to the architect and also to the speaker. The former, nine times in ten, has in view the auditor's eye rather than his ear, ornamentation rather than phonation. An instance, among countless ones, is that of the Albert Memorial Town Hall, at Leeds, with its "magnificent walls and pillars of polished variegated marbles." Though a "general visibility of the platform to the whole audience" is not neglected, under the prevailing conditions of intelligence among orators this hall encloses a space which the human voice fills with inarticulate echoes, and where the would-be hearers strain ineffectually for what is addressed to their intelligence. To cite a case in America, the hall in Saratoga is of bad repute for hearing.

To the architect the lecturer urges two ways of getting at the remedy: (1.) The concrete. Take auditoriums, he advises, which are easy to sing and speak in, and he instances that of the First Congregational Church in Woburn, Mass., which the architect, the late John Stevens of Boston, "wanted to be his monument. He certainly favored the ear and eye both. There is not a seat of the fifteen hundred but commands a perfect hearing and view of the preacher or speaker at the pulpit." A well-known elocutionist "pronounced it to be the best auditorium for phonation he ever met with. Clergymen have testified to the same; singers also." "Major Ambrose Bancroft, master carpenter, Woburn, has given me [the lecturer] the following dimensions of the auditorium: Height of ceiling from floor, 34 feet 10 inches; width, 80 feet; length, 150 feet; width of side galleries, 11 feet; width of rear galleries, 14 feet." The keynote of this auditorium is F. Another example is "the chapel of the New York city Church of the Comforter." "The auditorium is 25x50 feet, open to the roof; height of ridge-pole, 18 feet." (2.) The ideal. "Study the nodes of the key of F, for example, and have the walls and height correspond to them." Sound the keynote; then, "walking in the direction of the long diameter of the auditorium, note when the tone is loudest and weakest." In the Woburn church the node of the keynote is about fifteen feet.

W. W. TUFTS.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., April 16, 1899.

Notes.

The well-known English writer Major G. J. Younghusband joins the throng who compose books on the seat of what Senator Hoar aptly calls our present "civil war" in the East. He landed in Dewey and Merritt's wake, and 'The Philippine Islands and Round About' is the result, to be published directly by Macmillan & Co. They also promise without delay 'The Making of Hawaii,' by Prof. William Fremont Blackman of Yale.

Miss Hamm's portrait, in her 'Porto Rico and the West Indies' (F. Tennyson Neely), indicates a person not to be trifled with in the pursuit of knowledge. We have already noticed her work on the Philippines. The present is also the result of visits to the scene of observation, and possesses a like interest, conveyed (with the aid of many illustrations) in the same newspaper English. To make a thick volume, she has had to resort to historical compilation, and is most to be trusted in matters obviously within the range of her observation—climate, manners and customs, the status of women, cookery, products, trade and transportation, and the like. She finds it necessary, for the political development of the island, that our district system should be speedily introduced and adopted. "This simple and efficient machinery is unknown to Spanish history." But Miss Hamm has a wholesome dread of "the adventurer and the carpet-bagger."

Another book for the day, from the same firm, is an oblong collection of half-tone war portraits and views in the West Indies and the Philippines, under the title, 'Greater America.' The only text is in the legends. No doubt these photographic memoranda will have their value as time goes on; but their number is legion.

In line with the foregoing is 'The Spanish-American War: The Events of the War Described by Eye-Witnesses' (Chicago: Herbert S. Stone & Co.), consisting of chapters from the war correspondence of leading American journals. The narrative shifts from the East to the West Indies in a carefully prepared chronological sequence, the date being given in the running-title. For this reason, and because of the illustrations, the compilation will be found convenient to refer to.

"A ready reference-book of facts and figures, historical, geographical, and commercial, about Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, Hawaii, and Guam," is the self-definition, well justified, of the 'American Colonial Handbook,' edited by Thomas Campbell Copeland, and others (Funk & Wagnalls Co.). It is in the form of a catechism, preceded by a synopsis of the treaty of peace, and in the case of each division by an historical sketch. Authorities are duly marshalled at the end. Each section has a map. A parallel index binds all together. The little volume, with rounded corners, slips easily into the pocket.

Prof. A. G. Cameron's 'Selections from Edmond and Jules de Goncourt' (American Book Company) is a decided success, if the aim of the book be, as we suppose it is, to stimulate and enable the reader to choose intelligently, for more extensive reading, from among the numerous works of the Goncourts those most to his taste; for the selections, while too short to be of much interest in themselves, are sufficient, in connection with the analyses of the "Introduction," to give an idea of the style and character of the writings from which they are taken. The introduction, notes, list of critiques, and appendixes, bear proof of great industry and genuine interest in the lives and works of the remarkable pair of brothers. If there were no other sign of the editor's diligent study of his subject, it would certainly be found in the originality and eccentricities of his own style, so plainly affected by the style—or shall we say the variant styles?—of the two Frenchmen. We remark that Renan's name is spelled with the acute accent every time it occurs.

In No. 119 of the "Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études," M. Gabriel Monod begins what promises to be the best critical introduction in existence to the sources of the Carolingian period, in continuation of similar studies of the Merovingian sources in the same series. In this first part he is concerned with the Carolingian annals to 829, dealing mainly with their dependence upon one another, and their sources of information. M. Monod considers all the important theories of his predecessors in the same field, furnishing a most useful guide to the literature of the subject, and gives, though never at great length, the results of his own studies, which are characterized by all his well-known moderation and sound common sense. Of 175 pages, 60 are given to the great 'Annales Laurissenses majores,' and 60 to two introductory chapters, which will be found of general interest, one on the general characteristics of the Carolingian historiography, and the other on the Carolingian renaissance. Perhaps M. Monod's most interesting suggestion is that the common features of the annals may be due not to their dependence on the work of some predecessor, but to their borrowing from a kind of circular letter which he supposes may have been sent out to inform the annalists of important events.

Several years ago, Prof. Du Bois-Reymond of the University of Berlin published a discussion of the principles of art from a physiological point of view, in which he maintained that the delineations of centaurs and other monsters, whose organisms violate the laws of nature and can therefore have no real existence, are mythopoetic aberrations of the fancy, in which the modern artist should not indulge. Of the same general character is 'Die Schönheit des weiblichen Körpers,' recently issued by the Stuttgart publisher, Ferdinand Encke. The author, Dr. C. H. Stratz, is a physiologist and physician, and points out some curious pathognomonic symptoms in types of female beauty in famous works of art. Thus, according to his diagnosis, the celebrated Venus of Botticelli in the Uffizi at Florence shows unmistakable signs of consumption, and ought not to be sailing naked in an open shell across the sea. A modern example of the same kind is furnished by Franz Stuck's "Expulsion from Paradise," exhibited at Munich in 1891, in which peculiarly crooked limbs, enlarged joints, and depressed ribs of our common mother indicate that she had suffered severely from rickets in her childhood. Still another instance cited is the Aphrodite in Klein's "Judgment of Paris," whose bodily formation proves that rachitis must have prevailed in the abode of the Grecian deities as well as in Eden before the fall. Our author thinks the only remedy for such lapses is for artists to study pathology as well as anatomy. He also gives some sensible advice to women concerning the cultivation of beauty on hygienic principles.

Ludwig Günther of Stettin publishes a German translation of Kepler's 'Somnium,' a study of how astronomy would appear upon the moon (Leipzig: Teubner). The name of Günther (probably identical in origin with Gonthier, the family name of the Schwartzburgs) is already represented in science half-a-dozen times over, without counting the English Edmund Gunter. We are glad to make a new acquaintance worthy of the family. Prof. Sigismund Günther of Munich is a learned and delightful writer on

the history of the mathematical sciences. He has sometimes been accused of too great originality, but Herr Ludwig altogether surpasses him in a title-page which is "ein genaues Faksimile" of the original edition of the 'Somnium,' except that it is somewhat reduced, and except that it is translated from Latin into German! If the volume had no other interest, it would be worth getting for a remarkable portrait of Kepler, looking much more mathematical and less witty than Nordling's, which, however, Kepler himself said was not a good likeness. That is beetle-browed; this has a low, retreating forehead. The nose, cheeks, and hair leave no doubt that this really is Kepler, and it is impossible to resist the conviction that it is a likeness. It is dated 1610, the year after the publication of the 'De motibus stellae Martis,' when Kepler was in Prague.

The brood of daintily printed literary and semi-political journals which came into being like so many butterflies a few years ago in this country, has, in spite of some failures, been reinforced of late. Such is *In Lantern-Land*, a monthly quarto, edited at Hartford, Conn., by Charles Dexter Allen, author of a well-known work on 'American Book-plates.' The fifth number, for April 1, contains a book-plate on a separate supplementary leaf. It comments on current topics, reviews books, deals with current fine art and the drama, and has at least the merit of serious intent. Another venture, *La Crème* (Boston: Charles E. Brown & Co.), is a 16mo in paper covers, each issue containing a single story. The first, for March 31, gives Kipling's "My Lord the Elephant," plus his "Recessional" and "Vampire."

The principal article in the *National Geographic Magazine* (Washington) for April is an account, by W. D. Wilcox, of two expeditions, in 1896 and 1898, to the sources of the Saskatchewan. Considerable danger was experienced in the first from an extensive forest fire, and in the second, which was in October, from the snow which fell on thirteen of the seventeen days in which the explorer was out. The scenery, of which several fine illustrations are given, is "remarkably grand, and unfailing in variety of mountain forms so long as the valleys are the point of view"; but from high summits it is somewhat monotonous on account of the uniformity in height of the thousands of mountains visible. The forests which clothe them up to 7,000 feet "are chiefly of Engelmann's spruce and balsam fir, with occasional areas of jack pine." Mr. Wilcox attributes no small measure of his success to the splendid qualities of his pack-horses. An interesting note is communicated by Mr. W. H. Dall on a harpoon-head obtained from a whale in Bering Sea which may have carried it at least thirty-six years. It bore the private marks of the *Montezuma*, once a British man-of-war, then a New Bedford whaler, and finally one of the "stone fleet" sunk in Charleston harbor during the Civil War.

The *Annales de Géographie* for March contains the introductory lecture of Prof. Vidal de la Blache of the University of Paris on the physical geography of France. Among the other articles is an historical sketch of the colonization of the provinces of Ufa and Orenburg in Eastern Russia, and an account of the Jewish and German agricultural colonies in Palestine. There are fourteen of the former, with 4,220 inhabitants, who have not succeeded yet as farmers, but make excellent

gardeners and cultivators of the grape. Their wine sells in the European markets for four times as much as that made by the Germans. These number 1,500, all but 400 of whom are of the sect of the Templars, founded in 1868. They support themselves by both farming and grape-growing, and by pursuing various trades. The rector of the Jesuit College near Shanghai contributes a short note on the recent geographical and other scientific work of his society in China. These include explorations of the Yangtze River, collections of natural history, meteorological and astronomical observations, and the preparation of a "Chinese encyclopædia, accepted officially by the Government, for the scientific education of young China [*la jeune Chine*]."

The principal topics treated in *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, No. 2, are the geology of southwestern Hayti, and the Siberian district of Anadyr in extremest northeastern Asia. The products of Anadyr include coal and probably sulphur. Its Russian inhabitants number about 500, and have a high character for industry, temperance, morality, peaceableness, and "an ideal honesty." They are profoundly melancholy, however; social pleasures, sports, dancing, and singing, being unknown among them. There are also shorter notices of the Nicaragua and Panama Canals, of the changes on the Netherlands coast in 1897, and of the distribution of Danes and Germans in northern Schleswig, with a map. In supplemental No. 127 Dr. Carl Sapper treats of the geology, hydrography, orography, and surface soil of northern Central America, the result of observations made during the years 1888-1897. Three large maps and twenty-five geological profiles accompany the paper.

The special features of the April Bulletin of the Boston Public Library are lists of books and documents added to the statistical department, and of works relating to baths, gymnasia, and the labor movement in England and America. The additions to the Brown musical library and to the Garrison collection of anti-slavery MSS. are also noteworthy.

The twenty-third annual report of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts shows that the year 1898 was one of great prosperity for that institution. Bequests aggregating over a million dollars are recorded, and there is evidence of gratifying growth in every department included in the museum. It is in the field of ancient art that the acquisitions of the year have been most extensive. The report of the curator of classical antiquities fills seventy-six pages, and deals with nearly four hundred objects, chiefly original specimens of the minor arts of ancient Greece and Italy—small bronzes, engraved gems, articles of jewelry, painted vases, and the like. Not less noteworthy than the extent of these acquisitions is their high quality. Such a record is without a parallel in this country, and Boston is yearly exercising, by virtue of the policy of its museum, a more and more potent attraction upon American students and lovers of Greek art.

Tommaso Corsini, President of the "Association for the Protection of Ancient Florence," has recently been presented with a written address, congratulating him on the success already attending the efforts of his society, but urging yet greater earnestness in the accomplishment of its purpose. To this paper are affixed ten thousand signatures, among which are the names of princes &

New York bishop, and prominent representatives of historic, social, artistic, and ecclesiastical circles of Europe. Complimented by this general expression of interest, but piqued by the accusation which it implies of their own indifference, the Florentines deny the destruction of historic buildings through so-called "improvements," and recall the fact that, a few years since, they abandoned a project for broadening a certain street because it involved the sacrifice of an ancient shrine and an old city gate. Is not this proof enough, they ask, that the modernizing of Florence will not be at the expense of her historic monuments?

The Société des Amis de l'Université de Paris, which was organized some months ago, has issued a public announcement of its purpose and method. Its general object is to advance the interests of the University of Paris, and its first object will be to look after the welfare of the students; but the maintenance of dormitories and the offer of financial aid to the needy, with help in the way of tutoring and coaching, are also in view. Quite naturally the Society will also offer special prizes for proficiency, a method much more popular in France than in any other country. It is generally understood that it will devote special attention to foreigners.

Recently a few medical students of the University of Halle began a campaign against the admission of women to the courses of clinical instruction in that institution, declaring that their presence produced unpleasant situations and was extremely painful to modest young men. They even went so far as to post their protest on the blackboard of the University of Berlin, in order to gain adherents to their views in other academical circles and to strengthen their position by a general agitation of the subject. This step on the part of undergraduates was resented by the medical faculty of Halle as an impertinence, and called forth a sharp reply, emphatically denying the truth of the statements made by the students, and attributing them partly to ignorance of the facts and partly to wilful misrepresentation. The professors assert that the presence of women in the lecture-rooms and the clinical hospitals has not had the slightest injurious moral effect, nor diminished in the least the earnestness with which the studies are pursued. They express their deep sorrow at the animosity shown by these students towards their female colleagues, for which there is no ground whatever. The faculty, it is added, would feel justified in disciplining the authors of the protest, were it not for the conviction that it had been made without due consideration of its nature and scope. In conclusion, the hope is expressed that the more thoughtful members of the clinic will disapprove of the regrettable action of their fellows, and that nothing more will occur to disturb the cordial relations hitherto existing between professors and students.

—The Massachusetts Historical Society has just removed from its home on the slope of Beacon Hill, Boston (within a biscuit throw of the site of its foundation in 1791), to the border of the Fenway, the landscape gardener's reclamation of the old-time estuary called the Back Bay. This event was made the occasion by the President, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, of a deferred inaugural address long beyond precedent and equally interesting, delivered at the new rooms on Thursday last before a select audience of which it was

noticeable that ladies composed about a third. Himself a skilled writer of history and biography, Mr. Adams spoke to a large number of active and eminent cultivators of both these branches regarding the modification of the historian's aim and method induced by the publication of the 'Origin of Species'; and the corresponding change in the function of historical societies. Macaulay's and Bancroft's histories were chosen as types of works at once over-long and fragmentary, and, from the Darwinian point of view, unphilosophical. Their great successors hereafter are to be, not men of research among the sources, but builders on the monograph; and the main object of the historical society should be to facilitate knowledge and use of its collections by the patient specialists whose quintessence the evolutionary historiographer will pack away in four volumes like Green in his 'History of the English People,' or in one like Goldwin Smith's 'History of the United States.'

—Mr. Adams would not have been himself if he had not enlivened his discourse with much humor and many striking observations, such as his summing up the bloody battles of Antietam and Gettysburg as meaning, for his own personal participation in them, a couple of refreshing naps on the field. And again, he had ascertained that, "in the case of one public library in a considerable Massachusetts city," the copy of Gibbon's 'Decline and Fall' had, "in thirty years, not once been consecutively read through by a single individual." The orator quoted Darwin's approval, as not exaggerated, of a German opinion that "all other series of events—as that which resulted in the culture of mind in Greece, and that which resulted in the empire of Rome—only appear to have purpose and value when viewed in connection with, or rather as subsidiary to, . . . the great stream of Anglo-Saxon emigration to the west"—which Mr. Adams translates into the voyage of the *Mayflower* and the founding of Boston. The Massachusetts Historical Society, we remark in closing, is the oldest in America. It would be interesting to know if Mr. Adams's "possibly the first [to be organized] in the world" is also among its titles to distinction.

—The fifty-seventh and fifty-eighth volumes of the 'Dictionary of National Biography' (Macmillan) carry this great work fairly into the letter W, so that it "smells land," in the Suffolk phrase. As our readers are well aware, many foreigners find commemoration here whose lives were associated with England, and one meets with such contrasts as, on opposite pages, Sir Robert Richard Torrens (1814-1884), author of the Australian land-title act that bears his name and is now invading this country in the wake of the Australian ballot, and Pietro Torrigiano (1473-1522), who smashed the nose of his fellow-art student Michelangelo. Very interesting is the sketch of Mme. Tussaud, whose London wax exhibition is now the property of a company, yet employs as its modeller her great-grandson. Probably the world cannot produce a similar show which has been (in France and in England) open to the public for money since 1770. Another kind of distinction was won across the Channel by Polydore Vergil, the historian; and still another by Van Dyck. Turner is the next most distinguished artist in this tract of the Dictionary, his not unfriendly biographer mak-

ing the admission that "his private life was sordid and sensual." A peculiar æsthetic sensibility was owned by Wainewright, the poisoner, who extenuated his dispatching of Helen Abercromby on the ground "that she had very thick ankles." Edward Vernon, the elder admiral (1684-1757), it was who first watered the rum dealt out to seamen, the unwelcome official mixture being called by them "grog," "which is said to have been Vernon's nickname in the squadron—derived, it is said, from his having a program boat-cloak." The Oxford Dictionary will presently pass upon this *on-dit* etymology. Vernon's change of the dram in strength and in regularity of service is pronounced to have been "perhaps the greatest improvement to discipline and efficiency ever produced by one stroke of the pen"; but the stroke which in our day abolished grog altogether in the navy has at least an equal claim to that laurel. Capt. John Underhill of Pequot War fame; Sir Harry Vane; William Vassall of Plymouth; Vancouver; and Mrs. Trollope are among the lives which touch America nearly. In Mrs. Trollope's case the marvel is that she began writing at fifty-two, and scored a great success at once even if she lost caste in the country whose ruder manners she could not overlook nor refrain from depicting. Her biographer taxes her generally with an eye for coarseness; but her 'Domestic Manners of the Americans' was not therefore a coarse book. That, and Miss Martineau's 'Society in America,' have, for intellectual vigor, yet to be rivalled by the observations of any travellers of their sex in any country.

—'The French Revolution and English Poets' (Henry Holt & Co.) is the title of a Harvard dissertation by A. E. Hancock. It was unfortunate for the author that no less an authority than Prof. Dowden should have forestalled him—not in date of composition, but of publication—in the same field. Mr. Dowden's lectures on 'The French Revolution and English Literature,' delivered at the Princeton celebration, were reviewed in these columns on their appearance in print. Their author, as his title implies, covered a wider field than does Mr. Hancock, who gives a less detailed treatment of Godwin and Day, and omits mention of Landor in the character of a disciple of revolution. On the other hand, Mr. Hancock points out the influence of Helvetius and Holbach on Godwin and Shelley, and of Rousseau on Byron. Wordsworth and Coleridge, disappointed and disillusioned by the excesses of the Revolution, experienced a reaction, and together sought consolation in Nature.

"Abandoned of Heaven! mad avarice thy guide
O Albion! thy predestined ruins rise!"

So wrote Coleridge at the crisis of his revolutionary fervor. It is amusing to find him a little later addressing that same Albion as:

"Thou Queen! Thou Delegated Deity of Earth."

But that was when he had recovered his patriotism by means of a brief exile in Germany. Byron and Shelley, who were less critical and more genuinely in love with individualism in all its aspects, never performed this *rolle-facc*. Style is not Mr. Hancock's strongest point. We have found the shortness and jerkiness of his sentences a decided drawback to the pleasure of reading this praiseworthy little study. A bibliography would have greatly increased the value of the book.

—The work of editing Juvenal has been done, once and for all, by Mayor, but his famous edition does not at present include the Sixth Satire, though we understand that his notes on it are collected in readiness for publication. Moreover, Mayor's commentary is somewhat overweighted with illustrative matter, so that it is used in this country, at any rate, rather as a book of reference than as a text-book. The new edition of the 'Satires,' by Mr. J. D. Duff of Trinity College (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan), is doubly welcome. The scholarship of the editor of Munro's 'Lucretius' is peculiarly accurate and unpedantic; he combines a close knowledge of his period with a neat gift for pointing out modern parallels—an exercise that calls for the utmost discretion and tact, if it is not to cheapen and mislead. Mr. Duff's enterprise in including the Sixth Satire makes his edition especially valuable. He has selected for commentary no less than 530 out of the 661 lines of this brilliant and neglected composition. "Satires III. and X. are prostituted by parliamentary and vulgar use, and should lie by for a while," wrote Fitzgerald. They have certainly received undue prominence at the expense of the "Legend of Bad Women." The Sixth Satire, which is Juvenal's longest and most epigrammatic, contains his advice to one about to marry to choose some quicker form of suicide: "Who would marry when he could buy a rope and hang himself?" The scathing pictures of the athletic woman and of the woman who knows Greek—"Give me a wife who doesn't know Greek," said Martial, about this time—the studies of life in a large city corrupted by foreign influences, read with amazing verisimilitude after the lapse of eighteen centuries. Mr. Duff's commentary is lively as well as scholarly. On the whole, his is an edition that should replace all others than Mayor's for general use in schools and colleges, and, as we have indicated, in the matter of the Sixth Satire, it supplies Mayor's omissions.

LORD HALIFAX—THE STATESMAN.

The Life and Letters of Sir George Savile, Bart., First Marquis of Halifax, etc. With a new edition of his works, now for the first time collected and revised. By H. C. Foxcroft. 2 vols. Longmans, Green & Co. 1898.

Every one agrees that George Savile, First Marquis of Halifax, merits a biography; the eulogies of Hume, of Ranke, of Mackintosh and Macaulay, are more than sufficient to vindicate his title to fame. Every judicious reader of Mr. Foxcroft's meritorious volumes must admit that Halifax has not yet received the monument he deserves, for the present 'Life and Letters' is, indeed, the material for a biography, but is no more a biography than a huge heap of bricks and a lot of mortar are a house. Meanwhile, a critic who acquiesces in the claim of Halifax to posthumous reputation may feel some difficulty in answering the following question: Wherein precisely consists the greatness of Halifax?

The inquiry is one to which it is not at first sight quite easy to find a reply. Halifax cannot be numbered among the heroes of the English nation. He had about him nothing heroic. His caution and his timidity, to use no harsher term, were as obvious as

his prudence and sagacity. He does not belong to the same class as Hampden, or Cromwell, or William III., or Strafford, or Laud. The names of these men even now excite vehement admiration or virulent hatred; they all exhibit an element of greatness; they are the progressive or reactionary statesmen of a Revolutionary era—this holds good even of Laud, though he remained to the end of his life a sort of glorified Don, whom the freak of fortune removed from the headship of St. John's College to the Archbishopric of Canterbury at a crisis in English history when an archbishop needed the genius of a statesman. But the name of Halifax can at the present day kindle no strong emotion. You can eulogize his virtues and show that they more than balanced his defects; yet an admirer can judge Halifax with calmness, and admit that he did not rank among the highest class of statesmen.

He was, further, in no way the centre of English politics. He played a remarkable and for one moment (when he insured the rejection of the Exclusion Bill) a splendid part, but he was never the leader of the nation. Men far inferior to him, intellectually and morally, were the leading actors on the public stage. The reputation of Sidney and of Russell, and the fame or the infamy of Shaftesbury, have impressed themselves on popular imagination. The name of Halifax would be—most unjustly, we admit—forgotten were it not for the sympathetic criticism which he has received from men of letters. He is a good deal better known to historians than to history.

Can it, again, be asserted that the statesmanship of Halifax was vindicated by extraordinary success or wisdom? Macaulay seems to answer this inquiry with a decided affirmative, and, were his reply unflinching, the present writer at least would yield to the authority of the great historian. But Macaulay's language is indecisive: "What distinguishes [Halifax] from all other English statesmen is this, that through a long public life, and through frequent and violent revolution of public feeling, he almost invariably took that view of the great questions of his time which history has finally adopted." The "almost" which we have underlined is, in the mouth of a writer not much given to qualifications, preeminently significant. Macaulay's love of truth, which, despite the strength of certain prejudices, was his most marked characteristic, prevented his bestowing upon a statesman whom he profoundly admired the complete eulogy with which the historian wished to close his account of his hero. That Halifax was sagacious in noting the flow and ebb of opinion, and that the coolness of his intellect, no less than the moderation of his passions, preserved him from the errors of enthusiasm or fanaticism, is certain; but that, on the Whig view (which, we may add, is in the main the true view) of the times in which Halifax lived, he made, in matters of judgment, tremendous mistakes, is certain.

It is, for instance, certainly arguable that the rejection of the Exclusion Bill was a blunder. The whole of James's subsequent career shows that he could not be trusted with power. It suggests, if it does not positively prove, that towards the end of the seventeenth century a sincere and ardent Roman Catholic could not with safety to the commonwealth be King of England. Unless this be true, the whole policy of the Whigs, and

the Revolution of 1688 itself, were blunders. But if it be true, as Macaulay certainly believed, and with reason, that the safety of the nation was imperilled by allowing James to mount the throne; if it be true, as all the Whigs and many Englishmen who were not Whigs believed, as indeed many of them still believe, that the existence of a Roman Catholic dynasty must be found incompatible with the maintenance of English liberties and English Protestantism, what course was dictated by wisdom except the exclusion of James from succession to the crown? "The Exclusion Bill," it will be said, "was rejected and English liberty was saved." The reply to this argument is obvious; it is given by every page in Macaulay's History. English liberties were placed in deadly peril. It was the folly of James and the energy of William, not the foresight or the wisdom of Halifax, which saved them from destruction.

But the case against Halifax, as regards the Exclusion Bill, is stronger than at first sight appears. There was a great deal to be said for preventing James's accession to the crown; there was something to be said for allowing James to inherit the ordinary rights and responsibilities of an English king. The policy which was rejected by the nation would, as we now know, have averted the peril of despotism and the necessity for a revolution, but would probably have rekindled civil war. The course which was adopted by the nation at any rate postponed civil conflict, and might possibly, had James exhibited common prudence, have been ultimately found compatible with the maintenance or the foundation of Parliamentary government. But a third policy was conceivable which, while seeking to avoid, in reality combined, the disadvantages both of rejecting and of passing the Exclusion Bill. It consisted in limiting beforehand, by act of Parliament, the authority of James when he should become King, and then allowing him to take the crown as little more than a nominal monarch. But this was the policy of Halifax. "He assured me," says Burnet, "that any limitations whatsoever that should leave the title of King to the Duke might be obtained of the King, but that he was positive against the exclusion"; and Halifax, when he induced the House of Lords to reject the Exclusion Bill, seems to have expressed his confidence in his own capacity to supersede the Exclusion Bill by a practical scheme of limitations (p. 217). This policy of limitations, characteristic as it is of Halifax's intellect, assuredly bears failure on its face. It might for a moment have averted civil war, but it insured a violent political conflict on the death of Charles the Second. No wonder that, to use the expressions of Mr. Foxcroft, James entertained "a mortal hatred" for the limitation project, even as contrasted with the Bill of Exclusion. The wonder is that any one could have supposed that James as King would have loyally respected a law which he detested as Duke of York. If Halifax had any real belief in any plan of limitations, he took a view of the situation utterly different from any view finally adopted by history.

Was, again, Halifax right or wrong in declining to join in inviting the Prince of Orange to invade England? The question is a crucial one. If Halifax was right, the Whig leaders were wrong. But, to speak plainly, there is no single point on which the policy of the Whig leaders has been more emphatically justified by the events

The Revolution of 1688 was the most successful revolution on record. If events had progressed as might have been expected—that is, if either William or Anne had left descendants—the English Constitution would have been saved without the evils, which were undoubtedly considerable, of keeping a foreign and unpopular dynasty upon the throne; and the evils flowing from the accession of the House of Hanover were, after all, trifling. It is of course possible that Halifax's courage rather than his wisdom was at fault, and that his refusal to join the Whig Lords arose from the desire to save his own head, rather than from a wish to avert evil from the country. But this suspicion, though natural, is unjust. The intervention of foreigners is an incalculable evil. There is nothing discreditable in hesitation to invite the invasion of a Dutch Prince at the head of a Dutch army. But the statesmen who declined to invite William did not anticipate the verdict of history. Fanaticism has occasionally true provisions denied to statesmanlike prudence.

If, then, Halifax was not the leading English statesman of his age, and was not gifted with the foresight which invariably discerned the true path of political progress, what are the qualities which have enlisted the admiration of the foremost among historians, and well entitle him to a fame which he has hardly as yet acquired among the majority of Englishmen? The answer is, that Halifax was the earliest of really parliamentary statesmen. He was also the first in rank, if not in date, of English political pamphleteers.

As you read his *Life*, and still more as you read his writings, which are, at the present day, far more noteworthy than his statesmanship, you feel that you have passed into a quite modern age. At Halifax's birth, 1633, the civil wars had not begun. At his death, 1696, not forty years had passed since the close of the Protectorate. Englishmen of today are as far removed from the times of Palmerston as was Halifax at his death from the age of Cromwell; yet Halifax distinctly belongs in policy, in feeling, and in thought to the England, not of the seventeenth, but of the eighteenth, and even of the nineteenth century. He exhibits the moderation and the eloquence of the best Parliamentary statesmen; he already watches public opinion after the manner of an experienced Parliamentary hand. He hates violence. He trusts in trimming, or, to exchange the political slang of his day for the political slang of our own time, he is an Opportunist. We cannot conceive of his taking part in a meeting of Independents where prayer was intermingled with politics. He resented, no doubt honestly, the accusation of atheism. His Christianity, such as it was, had no connection with his public life, and was a very cool specimen of the rather chilly "rational piety" so dear to the Whigs. Sydney Smith would have been a divine exactly after the heart of Halifax. Halifax came into the world fifty years, or a century, too early—he belonged to a later age; he would have found his proper place in any Liberal and aristocratic cabinet from the time of the elder Pitt to the time of Palmerston, and this anticipation of the failings and the virtues of later times runs through his literary no less than his political achievements. He is the greatest of that long and splendid line of English pamphleteers which is at last, it may be feared, coming to an end. It is still,

indeed, represented by one writer as public-spirited as he is brilliant, but it would be difficult to find, either in England or in the United States, any other representative of the school whereof one may call Halifax the founder. Nor was it only in his political pamphlets that he opened and marked out the path of English literature. His *'Advice to a Daughter'* sets forth what is called the philosophy of life in the language of the men of the world, and gives to very practical counsels the additional interest of a slight intellectual flavor. It is the model which has been followed down even to the present day by English essayists.

But the writings of Halifax deserve separate treatment. What ought, on this occasion, to be noted is, that Halifax combined the characters of the statesman, the pamphleteer, and the practical moralist. It is the union of qualities, all remarkable in themselves, and all in a special sense belonging to the men of a later age, which is the true foundation of the fame of Halifax. It is this combination which gained the admiration, we might say the affection, of Macaulay. Mr. Foxcroft, after the fashion of the present day—a fashion, we are well assured, as transitory as it is unreasonable—is apologetic for acknowledging any virtue in Macaulay, and marvels at "a display of imaginative insight rarely evinced by the great Whig historian." Never was wonder more misplaced. How could the calm statesmanship and the literary gifts of Halifax fail to charm the last Englishman who has been at once a leading statesman and a great man of letters?

Spain; Its Greatness and Decay (1479-1788).
By Martin A. S. Hume. With an Introduction by Edward Armstrong. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan. 1898.

This sketch of Spanish history, which fills a place in the Cambridge Historical Series, is very distinctly defined, so far as its chronological limits are concerned. Measured by reigns, it extends from Ferdinand and Isabella to Charles III.; and by great landmarks in political development, from the union of the two chief Iberian kingdoms to the French Revolution. During almost the whole of these three hundred years, Spain was either the leading Continental Power or a state in the first class. Of course her military prestige waned during the Thirty Years' War, but even under the later Hapsburgs she had armaments on both elements, and at the worst she never dropped out of the reckoning altogether. However weak she might be inherently, she took a hand in current contests, often painting her lath to resemble iron, but never being wholly destitute of forces that knew how to die. The state of chronic feebleness and revolution which has been her fatal characteristic within recent memory, dates from the death of Charles III., and does not therefore come within the range of the present narrative.

This volume represents a divided labor, in which the larger portion falls to the share of Major Hume. Mr. Armstrong's introduction, however, is much more than a word of preface. As regards scale, it is almost in due proportion with what follows, and seems to have been written that Major Hume might begin at his favorite period, the second half of the sixteenth century. The interval between Ferdinand and Philip II. Mr. Armstrong divides into three sections, the first

closing at the death of Isabella and the second at the peace of Cambray. The one point upon which, as it appears to us, he most strikingly insists is the tendency of Charles V. to become more and more a Spaniard in sympathy and political disposition. He dwells upon the gradual relinquishment of the Emperor's Burgundian policy, and sees in his final retirement to Yuste in Estramadura, the fit climax of his changed views. "Out of all his wide dominions he found himself at home in Spain. The Flemish alien had become a Spaniard."

Despite Mr. Armstrong's contention that, in the end, Charles V. identified himself with the land of his mother, it seems pretty well agreed between him and Major Hume that the reign of Philip II. is the acme of distinctively Spanish greatness. At this point the authorship changes, and Major Hume writes once more on a subject with which his work at the Record Office has rendered him thoroughly familiar, and which he has already treated in more than one book. We have not discovered that he adds anything of consequence to what he has before written concerning the political leader of the Catholic Reaction. In 1897 he contributed a volume on Philip II. to the "Foreign Statesmen" series, and from this he draws copiously, both for his general propositions and for phrases or sentences. His conception of Philip is still the same—that of a narrow, unimaginative, conscientious man, who loved his country and worked hard for it, but managed to spoil every enterprise by formalism and the dependence of all generals or admirals on himself.

The main stages of Spanish decline under the later Hapsburgs are as well known as the protruding chins of those rulers. Major Hume has no difficulty in accounting for the facial distortion, but pays slight attention to the hidden causes of national ruin. Still, the proximate causes are clearly discernible in his picture of clerical aggression, royal imbecility, militarism, and the shameful rule of the "Lermas, the Olivares, and the Valenzuelas." Underneath the surface of court intrigue which purports to represent national government, he sees a "generous, sound-hearted people," led wrong by an unfortunate historical development, rather than betrayed by its own sins. Major Hume's sympathy with the Spanish folk is strong, without at all blinding him to their racial and political shortcomings. Speaking of Olivares's attempt at the unification of institutions, he says:

"The policy itself, however ill-timed, was not in itself unwise, for the lack of unity between the provinces of Spain has produced a plentiful crop of troubles lasting to the present day. In short, Spanish pride wanted the glory of empire without paying for it. Olivares was no wiser than his contemporaries in economic science, and could only raise money by hampering industry which provided money. . . . It is lamentable and pathetic enough, but it is unjust to saddle the blame upon Olivares, who found the system already at work, and whose great sin was that he tried to insist upon all Spaniards making equal sacrifices to pay for the barren pride which all Spaniards shared."

We must express some surprise at a division of space which left Major Hume with only ten pages at his disposal for the reign of Charles III., the most honest and encouraging period in Spanish history since the sixteenth century. Not only does its length (1759-1788) entitle it to a fuller consideration than it receives, but the liberal

experiments then tried and their fair measure of success deserve an ample description. As Buckle long ago pointed out, Charles III. was the ablest ruler of his age with the exception of Frederick the Great, "whose vast abilities were tarnished by a base rapacity and by an incessant desire to overreach his neighbors." Major Hume also calls Charles "enlightened, generous, and just; sleepless in his vigilance for the good of his people," and he is appreciative of Floridablanca's vigorous régime. But we could have spared a good many pages from the account of Philip IV. and Charles II. for enlarged detail concerning Spain as she was between the Seven Years' War and the French Revolution.

Papias and his Contemporaries; A Study of Religious Thought in the Second Century. By Edward H. Hall. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1899.

This book has not the musty smell which we expect from books of critical theology, and nothing of that "sacred dulness" from which few distinguished critics besides Renan and Strauss have been exempt. It is actually pleasant reading. It is written as if for the instruction of people of good intelligence, yet not specialists, and it will convey more to such than the whole series of Harnack's 'History of Dogma,' which covers, so far as published, much the same ground. In the body of the book, the careful studies underlying it are assimilated to the literary form, but in the footnotes and the appendix we find Mr. Hall conversant with the whole range of original documents and critical discussions pertaining to his subject, and moving about among them with a quiet confidence that is not excessive, but well within the limits of the writer's exceptional understanding of his subject in all its parts and implications. For it must not be understood that we have here a product mainly depending for its value on the special application of the last six years, during which Mr. Hall has had no parochial charge. Twenty-five years ago he published a small book called 'Orthodoxy and Heresy.' Its purpose was to show that orthodoxy was a theological fiction, that there had never been any such thing, for the reason that there had been differences of opinion in the Christian church from the beginning, with no authoritative voice to decide upon their merits one way or the other. During the interim between that book and this, Mr. Hall has evidently brooded long on those conditions with which he had much concern in his former study, and hence the ripe and genial quality of the present one. There is something quintessential about it, as of a repeated distillation.

Mr. Hall's procedure reminds us of that of Kuenen in dealing with the Hexateuch. As Kuenen takes the eighth-century prophets and works back from their clear indications to the writings generally supposed to be anterior to them, so Mr. Hall takes the second-century Christian writers, and works out from them into the New Testament problems. He first consults Papias, the first writer after the death of Paul who presents any marked individuality. He interrogates him as to the New Testament writings, and finds that midway of the second century he knew nothing of those writings, but something of a "Matthew" which was not our "Matthew," and a "Mark" which was not our "Mark." Moreover, we

find him valuing oral traditions of the Apostles' words much more highly than those written; and the average feeling of the century was of this kind. This is brought out very clearly in a second chapter, which considers such early writers as Clement and Ignatius and Polycarp and Barnabas, so-called, and with these the quite recently discovered 'Teaching of the Twelve Apostles' and 'Gospel of Peter.' From all these comes the same intimation—that, until far along towards the last quarter of the second century, our four Gospels had not been separated from other similar writings as of special value or authority. Chapter III. is mainly devoted to "two learned doctors," Justin Martyr and Marcion. Mr. Hall's treatment of Justin has no trace of that acerbity which Justin's name has heretofore excited in so many pious hearts, whether of those believing or denying that his 'Memoirs of the Apostles' were our present Gospels. If they were, he took no pains to give the author's names, and Mr. Hall plainly inclines to the belief that they were other writings, and certainly that our fourth Gospel cannot be identified by one or two phrases of similar character, as if its characteristic doctrines had not been in the air. But, for the reason that Justin's 'Memoirs' were read regularly on Sundays, it is plain that the Old Testament writings were ceasing to be the only sacred scriptures, though which Christian writings, and which alone, would take a place beside them as of equal value, it would require another century, and longer, to decide.

Mr. Hall's discussion of Marcion and his writings, though perfectly judicial, has more of the warmth of advocacy than any other part of his book. Marcion cherished the Epistles of Paul as genuine Christian writings, and one Gospel, which may have been an earlier form of our present Luke—but he made no such claim for it, as he would gladly, it must seem, have done if he had had any excuse for doing so. Marcion was an early anti-Semite, denying the sacred character of the Hebrew scriptures and that Jehovah was the true God. He carried somewhat farther the un-Jewish sentiments of Paul, whom he admired so much. It is Renan's opinion that we are indebted to him for the preservation of Paul's letters. It is certain that learned doctors of his time took much offence at his enthusiasm for the Apostle to the Gentiles. Mr. Hall has other uses for Marcion in his next chapter, but at this stage the main one is to show how little knowledge he had of our New Testament as such. It is no part of Mr. Hall's business to exact for our Four Gospels later dates than are assigned to them by the somewhat reactionary criticism of Harnack and others. He would, however, suggest that the Synoptic Gospels, in order to go back to 70-80 A. D., must drop a good many of the *impedimenta* which they have been carrying since 200 A. D. or thereabouts. Those early Gospels were not exactly our Gospels, but something like them, and remained fluid for well nigh another century, undergoing constant diminution and addition.

"The progress of investigation may be said to have shown less and less token of deliberate or fraudulent manufacture of ancient records, and more and more evidence that the private or primitive documents out of which the New Testament sprang date back in some form close upon apostolic times. . . . The value of such a sketch as is here attempted, if value it have, lies not at all in weakening the foundations of a struc-

ture which, after all is said, must have its foundations in the distant past, but only in giving some notion of the early stages of its formation."

The effect, however, is not so confined as it is here represented as being. Obviously it includes the persuasion that the New Testament writings have no supernatural or peculiar sanctity. The action of Mr. Hall's method on the contrary persuasion is not that of the farmer with his pick and shovel breaking up the lingering drifts of winter's snow, but that of the spring winds that dissolve them in a more gentle but not less effectual manner.

"The Millennial Reign" is a chapter showing what good orthodoxy, as good as any, this doctrine was in the second century, when the survival of the soul apart from the resurrection of the body was accounted a most damnable heresy. The next following chapter extends the same criticism to the Gnostic speculations of the second century, and exhibits Paul's later Epistles as profoundly implicated in those speculations; as were similarly the speculations of the Fourth Gospel and the related Epistles. The concluding chapter, "The Mystic Gospel," is the most attractive presentation we have ever seen of a view that differs widely from that of the Christian apologist. "It will be impossible," says Mr. Hall, "to overrate its power or to be blind to the splendid assurance and sustained imaginative force with which it lifts the entire earthly scenery of Christianity into visionary spheres." Yet, "with the Fourth Gospel alone," we are assured, "we should never have guessed that Jesus of Nazareth led a human life, ending in a human tragedy." A note twelve pages long sums up in a very clear and convincing manner the whole modern discussion of the "Date of Authorship of the Fourth Gospel." Mr. Hall's position is that of Prof. Toy, viz., that, could the date of the Gospel be pushed back to the beginning of the second century, its critical significance would be much the same as if a later date were fixed. The Gospel would be no more historical with the earlier than with the later date.

Those who remember Dr. Holmes's description of Emerson as "an iconoclast without a hammer, who took down our idols from their pedestals so tenderly that it seemed like an act of worship," will think, perhaps, that another such is here. Mr. Hall's tenderness is unmistakable; his admiration, too, of many things which he cannot assign to their traditional places; likewise his human sympathy with forms of thought quite different from his own.

In the Australian Bush, and on the Coast of the Coral Sea. By Richard Semon. Macmillan Co. 1899. Roy. 8vo, xvi, 553 pp. Illustrated.

The author left Germany in 1891 with the intention of devoting two years to the study of the vertebrate Australian fauna, especially the development of the oviparous mammals and marsupials, and of *Neoceratodus*, a remarkable Australian fish. In pursuance of these objects he spent a good deal of time in Queensland, Northeast Australia, besides visiting the district of Thursday Island, Torres Strait; the south coast of British New Guinea; Celebes and other islands between Papua and Borneo, in the group of the Moluccas; Java, Banda, and Singapore.

Neoceratodus, commonly known to Australian settlers as the "Burnett salmon,"

and sometimes called the "lungfish," is a large animal, representing a type more or less intermediate between amphibians and fishes, with many archaic characters; the fins are limblike, the tail pointed instead of forked, and its supposed nearest relatives occur as fossils. At the time of Dr. Semon's expedition, nothing whatever had been recorded in regard to the development of this animal, the study of which was expected to throw much light on the evolutionary history of fishes. The embryology of the duck-billed *Platypus* or *Ornithorynchus* was also at that time entirely unstudied, and but little was known in regard to the younger stages of the Australian marsupials. The field which he explored was therefore one of rich promise, and offered to the successful investigator exceptionally important scientific results.

The geographical distribution of the living *Neoceratodus* is limited to the upper waters of two Queensland rivers, the Mary and the Burnett; it obtained its name of "salmon," not from any external resemblance to a salmon, but because its flesh is of a reddish color. It is an uncommonly indolent creature, a general feeder, which will occasionally take the hook, but is usually caught by the Australian natives in small hand-nets. It cannot progress when out of the water, and, according to our author, does not, like its African relative *Protopterus*, bury itself in the mud in times of drought in a kind of hibernation. Although it has in addition to its gills a sort of lung by which it can breathe air, it does not appear to be able to exist entirely without water; the most that Dr. Semon will admit in this direction is that, when severe droughts reduce a stream to a series of fetid mud-holes and slimy pools, the lungfish is able to survive when the other aquatic animals succumb. The spawn is gelatinous and very delicate, requiring the greatest care to keep it alive for study.

Dr. Semon, with some white assistants and a number of natives, camped in the vicinity of the Burnett for some months, and, after much trouble, succeeded in obtaining and preserving a series of the eggs in various stages. The hours of waiting were improved by collections of the birds and mammals, especially the young stages of *Echidna*, and several marsupials. His study of the eggs of *Neoceratodus* showed that the development is much more like that of amphibians than that of any other known fish; thus confirming the theory of its intermediate character which had been based on the anatomical characters of the full-grown animal.

The account of Dr. Semon's labors and travels is destitute of any very startling adventures. He describes in a pleasant way his daily occupations, the scenic characteristics of the regions visited, and the impression made upon him by their native inhabitants. He formed a somewhat higher opinion of the Australian blacks than that usually expressed by travellers. The relation of his experiences on the coast of New Guinea is perhaps the most entertaining part of the book, as touching a region much less known to the layman than the other districts visited. The chief and in fact almost the only criticism which suggests itself is, that the author has dwelt somewhat too long on unimportant and personal matters, and thus increased the size and cost of his book as well as diluted its interest.

The illustrations are excellent, the maps

good, there is a sufficient index, and for those interested in and not yet familiar with the literature of the Malay-Australian region the work can be cordially recommended. It may be added that the translation of this work from the German original was made under the author's supervision, and that the technical scientific results of the expedition are being separately published under the title of *Zoologische Forschungsreisen in Australien und dem Malayischen Archipel*.

The Land Registration Act of Massachusetts, which took effect October 1, 1898. With an introductory statement, annotations, cross-references, and citations of cases bearing upon it. By Charles S. Rackemann. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1898.

Mr. Rackemann has rendered, in this little book, a considerable practical service to his profession and the public. He has not only published an annotated edition of the new Massachusetts Torrens law, but has put his finger upon the weak spot in the statute, and indicated concisely but clearly the constitutional question which will have to be met before the system can supplant that now in existence. The passage of the Torrens law in Massachusetts has already brought this question into the courts, and, while it is still *sub judice*, we are not inclined to express an opinion one way or the other; but the point involved is worth attention, as, should the statute be declared unconstitutional, it would seem as if a very serious difficulty had been encountered by those who are endeavoring to establish the Torrens system in this country.

The system is in essence one of title insurance by the State. Its object is to make the transfer of land as simple as that of personal property, by making titles incontestable. It differs in several respects from the present system of private title-insurance, which in the last twenty years has established itself in all the chief cities of the United States. The latter system insures the purchaser against eviction, just as fire insurance insures him against fire. He pays a small premium, and, if evicted by superior title, he recovers a sum of money which makes his loss good. But eviction cannot be prevented. Under the Torrens system, eviction is wholly impossible, and the insurance money goes not to the purchaser, but to any one having a superior title who may suffer from not being able to evict him. All titles once obtained from the State (for under the Torrens system the State is the issuer of the title) become non-contestable.

The objection made by Mr. Rackemann—and this we understand to be the sum and substance of the suit now pending in the Massachusetts Supreme Court—is that, under our constitutional system, this is impracticable, substantially because a Torrens law decree that the title of A. B. is valid and non-contestable, involves the summary adjudication of a question between A. B. and the whole world, and that our constitutions make no provision for such an adjudication by any summary process. A. B. comes into a Torrens court and demands a certificate of title for a piece of land bounded by land of persons unknown. The scheme of the act is that the court shall call on all concerned to come into court and prove any adverse claim or else for ever hold their peace. But the objectors say that such a method of

barring claimants to land is neither equity nor common law; that there can be no proper trial either *inter partes* or *in rem*; that it is not "due process of law," but deprives persons of their property otherwise than in accordance with "the law of the land." It is a nice point, and we do not profess to prophesy what view the Supreme Court of Massachusetts will take of it. Mr. Rackemann's book has been the signal for a battle royal over it, and all those who, like ourselves, heartily approve the principle of the Torrens system, will be glad to have the question of constitutionality (we have only mentioned the point principally involved) considered and disposed of by a court of last resort of high standing. The volume includes a Torrens System bibliography of nearly fifty titles.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

- Abrojal, Tullis. An Index Finger. R. F. Fenno & Co. \$1.25.
 Arnold's "Sweetness and Light" and Pater's "Essay on Style." Macmillan. 75c.
 Atherton, Gertrude. A Daughter of the Vine. John Lane. \$1.50.
 Audry, Mrs. W. Early Chapters in Science. London: Murray; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$2.
 Baylor, Frances C. The Ladder of Fortune. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.50.
 Bernhardt, Wilhelm. Frommel's Eingesechnelt. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 80c.
 Bildt, Baron de. Christine de Suède et Cardinal Assolino. Lettres inédites (1606-1608). Paris: Plon, Nourrit & Cie.
 Cambridge Compositions. Greek and Latin. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan.
 Cobb, Thomas. Carpet Courtship. John Lane. \$1.
 Cohn, Prof. A., and Sanders, Prof. R. Lessee's Gil Bias. Abbreviated. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 40c.
 Copeland, C. T. Letters of Thomas Carlyle to his Youngest Sister. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$2.
 Davidson, John. Godfrida. A Play in Four Acts. John Lane.
 De Quincey, Thomas. The Confessions of an English Opium-Eater. [Temple Classics.] London: Dent; New York: Macmillan.
 Doyle, A. C. A Duet, with an Occasional Chorus. Appletons.
 Doyle, Dr. C. W. The Taming of the Jungle. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. \$1.
 Dudley, Mrs. Henry. The Maternity of Harriott Wickes. Macmillan. \$1.50.
 Eleutheropoulos, A. Die Sittlichkeit; oder, Der philosophische Sittlichkeitsswahn. Berlin: E. Hofmann; New York: Lemcke & Buechner.
 Farquhar, Anna. The Professor's Daughter. Doubleday & McClure Co.
 Fiske, John. Through Nature to God. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.
 Ford, J. D. M. Goldoni's Un Curioso Accidente. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 25c.
 Gross, S. E. The Merchant Prince of Cornville. A Comedy. Rand, McNally & Co. 75c.
 Grosvenor, Prof. E. A. Duruy's Ancient History of the East. T. Y. Crowell & Co. \$1.
 Grosvenor, Prof. E. A. Contemporary History of the World. T. Y. Crowell & Co. \$1.
 Hale, E. E. James Russell Lowell and his Friends. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$3.
 Harrison, Mrs. Burton. A Triple Entanglement. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.
 Hatfield, Prof. J. T. Goethe's Hermann and Dorothea. Macmillan. 60c.
 Herbart, Prof. J. F. Letters and Lectures on Education. London: Sonnenschein; Syracuse, N. Y.: C. W. Bardeen.
 Hewlett, Maurice. Pan and the Young Shepherd. A National in Two Acts. John Lane. \$1.25.
 Hill, G. B. Unpublished Letters of Dean Swift. F. A. Stokes Co. \$3.50.
 Huntington, Rev. W. R. The Church-Idea. An Essay towards Unity. 4th ed. Scribners. 50c.
 Hutchinson, W. B., and Criswell, J. A. E. Patents and How to Make Money out of Them. Fidelity Publishing Co. \$1.25.
 Hyde, Douglas. A Literary History of Ireland. Scribners. \$4.
 Jackman, W. S. Nature Study for Grammar Grades. Macmillan. \$1.
 Jepson, Edgar, and Beames, Capt. D. On the Edge of the Empire. \$1.50.
 Keen, W. W. The Bi-Centennial Celebration of the Founding of the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia. Philadelphia: Baptist Publication Society. \$3.
 Kerr, Prof. Alexander. The Bacchae of Euripides. Boston: Ginn & Co. \$1.05.
 Koepfel, Emil. Tennyson. (Geistesheiden Biographien.) Berlin: Ernst Hofmann; New York: Lemcke & Buechner.
 Kubns, Prof. Oscar. Rostand's Cyrano de Bergerac. Henry Holt & Co. 80c.
 Lanier, Sidney. Retrospects and Prospects. Descriptive and Historical Essays. Scribners. \$1.50.
 Laughlin, E. O. Johnnie. Indianapolis: Bowen-Merrill Co.
 Loomis, C. B. Just Rhymes. Illustrated. B. H. Russell.
 Lnat, Adeline C. A Tent of Grace. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.50.
 MacIntosh, Maurice. Three Little Dramas for Marionettes. Chicago: C. H. Sergel Co. \$1.25.
 Marot, Helen. A Handbook of Labor Literature. Philadelphia: Free Library of Economics. \$1.
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 27, 1899.

The Week.

It is over fifty years since John Stuart Mill, in the first edition of his 'Political Economy,' called attention to our practice of burning human beings alive, as an illustration of American character. The civil war led him to change his views about us, and erase these passages from subsequent editions. We consoled ourselves under his criticisms by the reflection that it was slavery that had started these things, and that emancipation would usher in "nobler manners, purer laws." It is thirty-four years since emancipation, and the practice of burning and torturing black men by the verdict of unknown mobs has steadily continued and grown. It is pretended now and then that it is caused by negro assaults on white women. As a matter of fact, the punishment of death at the hands of a mob is inflicted, with circumstances of more or less atrocity, at the South, for anything which happens to displease the local mob. We have no certainty that the assaults on women always occur, nor is any attempt to ascertain their truth, by any process known to civilized men, ever made. The fact is, that the burning and torturings increase in number, are not punished, and that the only legal efforts that we have heard of to prevent them have been, in Texas, disfranchising the sheriff, and in South Carolina, putting a fine on the county in which the outrage occurs. The impossibility of criminal pursuit is a striking illustration of the state of civilization which produces them.

Do we spend an hour's thought, after we have yelled over San Juan, on the question, what sort of young men a few years more of unpunished burning and torturing will give us? And what will be the effect of adding to these amusements more conquests and assaults and devastation among people who have never injured us, of rendering life still less sacred, the arts of peace still more contemptible, and the habits of plunder and slaughter still more exalted, by a few more aggressive wars, and holding up a few more avowed buccaneers for example to our youth? We may never get an answer to these questions, but as sure as the world is ruled by retribution, they will have to be answered. "The moving finger writes, and, having writ, moves on." Not all your drums or trumpets or flag-hoistings can avert the inevitable day of account.

We gave last week some graphic pic-

tures of the wholesale looting by our troops in the vicinity of Manila, on the island of Luzon, from the letters of private soldiers in Western regiments to their homes. We can now supplement these with a similar sketch of the pillage committed upon the island of Iloilo, found in the letter of D. M. Mickle, a private in the Tennessee regiment now serving in the Philippines. After describing the burning of the city of Iloilo by the natives, he thus tells of a visit to the house of the Spanish Governor-General, "the most gorgeously furnished house I ever saw in these islands";

"The building had been taken possession of by a United States officer, and he looted it to a finish. I suspected something and followed one of his men to the place. I expected to be jumped on by the officer as soon as I found him there, as I was away from my post, but it seems he was afraid I would give him away; in fact, we were both afraid of each other. He was half drunk, and every time he saw me look at anything he would say, 'Tennessee, do you like that? Well, put it in your pocket.'"

The writer says he is using some paper which he found in the house of a Spanish tax collector in Jaro, and adds:

"The house was a fine one, richly furnished, but had been looted to a finish. The contents of every drawer had been emptied on the floor. You have no idea what a mania for destruction the average man has when the fear of the law is removed. I have seen them—old, sober business men, too—knock chandeliers and plate-glass mirrors to pieces just because they couldn't carry them off. It is such a pity."

English setters-on of American Imperialists are just now loud in their cries that America must not "retreat." They trust we have too much pride and resolution to turn tail in the Philippines. But there is no question of retreating, except from so much of our blundering as it is still possible to retrieve by a change of method. It is not pride but stupidity to persist in a course proved to be insane. And it is certain that the events of the past five months have shown the President's plan for subduing the Philippines to have been ignorantly conceived, and to have utterly failed in execution. The Manila correspondent of *Harper's Weekly* distinctly affirms that the trouble dates from Mr. McKinley's first proclamation in December. The natives paid no attention to his fine phrases and buttery promises, but fastened on his statement that they must submit or die. A little real statesmanship then, a little wisdom drawn from the experience of others, a little docility in taking the advice of men like Sir Andrew Clarke and Dr. A. R. Wallace, would have prevented all the miseries that followed. Now that the frightful mistake is displayed to all the world, it is not a retreat, it is only a resumption of common sense, to go back and do, even if belated, what should have been done in the beginning. The thing

to remember is that Mr. McKinley can stop all this wanton slaughter in the Philippines by one short cablegram. He can order an immediate cessation of all aggressive military operations. He can insist on peaceful negotiations with the native leaders, satisfying their legitimate desires, and at the same time discharging our whole international duty. Will he do it? Let the whole bench of Methodist Bishops ask their brother McKinley why not.

The London *Spectator* has for a good while preached colonization to Americans with great assiduity, though with extraordinary ignorance of the conditions of the problem; but in a recent number it has begun to preach them with "passionate earnestness." This is what the editor preaches:

"One thing we would impress upon the Americans with passionate earnestness. Let them have only a moderate number of white men, but let all of those picked men hold important posts and have large salaries and not merely a living wage. Let them adopt, that is, Lord Cromer's admirable principle, and have American heads and Filipino hands. In each central department and each provincial district an American brain must control, must enforce responsibility, and, most important of all, must see that equal justice is done; but the executive hands may well, nay, had better, be inhabitants of the islands."

There are one or two things we must say to him, also with "passionate earnestness." The first is, that this advice in which he is expending himself on the Americans, reaches only a few hundreds of them in the large cities, and does not produce the smallest effect except amusement. The second is, that he evidently does not know enough of the conditions of American political life to make his advice of the slightest use to people, even if it reached them. There are about two dozen things which make his system of colonial government unlikely to be set up until long after he is dead. There are about one dozen which, as things stand at present, would prevent its working well even if set up. We advise him, for the sake of his reputation as a political philosopher, to begin his studies of American politics in an entirely different direction. We would, in his place, enter on this field of knowledge by an inquiry into the reasons which prevent President McKinley from removing Secretary Alger. This is the most interesting question in American politics to-day.

In a letter from a Nebraska soldier to his family, received at his home after the cable had announced his death from wounds received in battle, he said: "I am not afraid, and am always ready to do my duty, but I would like some one to tell me what we are fighting for." An-

other Nebraska soldier, J. E. Fetterly, has written a letter, published by the *Omaha World-Herald*, which is no less significant of the feeling that prevails among our troops. After some interesting stories of personal adventure, he discusses the general situation, and says:

"Some think the insurgents are disheartened, but I think they will make a desperate struggle for what they consider their rights. I do not approve of the course our Government is pursuing with these people. If all men are created equal, they have some rights which ought to be respected."

He goes on to give his own observations as to the intelligence of the natives; says that he has found but few who cannot read and write both their own and the Spanish language; tells of stopping the school-boys on the streets to examine their books, and of its being "no uncommon thing to find boys of fourteen and fifteen and sometimes younger with algebras, geometries, or a general history, sometimes a natural history"; says that while, of course, the educational facilities are not so good outside of Manila, the Catholics have established schools in the provinces; and concludes his review with the remark that, "generally speaking, I could not call the people an enlightened race in the sense we use the term, but if I consider their geographical position and the influence of climate and their limited opportunity of educational advantages, and the poor inducements there have been for higher education, one would be favorably impressed with the progress they have made."

There is a great hullabaloo in the imperialist organs about "treasonable and seditious communications" sent from this country to the volunteers in the Philippines, advising them not to reenlist; and terrible threats of "exposing the traitors." There is not the slightest attempt at secrecy about this matter. A fortnight ago a meeting of the parents, relatives, and friends of the soldiers in the Nebraska regiment which is serving in the Philippines, was held in the State-house at Lincoln, to promote the movement for their early return home, now that their term of service has been ended by the exchange of the ratifications of the peace treaty. The meeting was attended by delegates from the home towns of almost all of the companies. Every speaker warmly urged the importance of strongly presenting to the Administration the earnest feeling of all concerned that the regiment should be brought back at once, and a resolution was unanimously adopted appealing to the President to muster the troops out of service as soon as possible, giving as reasons their early enlistment, their valiant service in the field, and the fact that the cause for which they enlisted (the freeing of Cuba from Spanish rule) had been gloriously won. In the course of the discussion, Mrs. C. E. White of Omaha reported that the "Ladies'

Auxiliary," realizing that the soldiers would want to know how their parents, relatives, and friends felt about their continuing in the service, had sent the following telegram to Manila: "Boys, don't reenlist; insist upon immediate discharge"; and that word came back that the telegram had reached Manila all right, but could not be delivered, as it was held by the Government censor. We have here another illustration of our adoption of Spanish methods—the American Government refusing to let American soldiers know how their fathers and mothers feel about their fighting to deny another people the right of self-government.

The loss to the nation from the retirement of Speaker Reed is appreciated only when one considers the men suggested as his successors. The whole lot does not include a single man possessing the distinction which ought to be an indispensable qualification, nor one who has displayed on the floor that force, and especially that power of resistance, which are the qualities most imperatively demanded in the incumbent. They are simply men of respectable ability and of consistent partisanship. Not one of them would ever think of doing such a thing as Mr. Reed did when he voted against the Administration measure for the annexation of Hawaii, or of thwarting such a scheme, pushed by the McKinley-Hanna syndicate, as the Nicaragua Canal job. Mr. Reed's great service during the past two years has been as a brake. Nobody who is mentioned for the Speakership of the next House could be depended upon to check the wildest schemes of extravagance in expenditure or recklessness in governmental methods.

Ex-Governor and ex-Senator Oglesby of Illinois died on Monday at his home, in his seventy-fifth year. He was one of the rough diamonds of American political life—a type that was plentiful fifty years ago, and of which the very highest example was Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln and Oglesby began to be known beyond the boundaries of their own State about the same time—that is, in 1858, when the former was a candidate for the Senate against Douglas, and the latter was a candidate for Congress in one of the districts of Central Illinois. Both had been Old Line Whigs, and both had attached themselves to the rising Republican party. Both were defeated in this campaign, and both rose to eminence a little later. When the civil war began, Oglesby took the stump to encourage volunteering, but without any intention then of going to the war himself. His efforts were so far successful that a regiment was soon in readiness to go to the front, provided he would lead it. He promptly accepted

his responsibilities, went to the front, was desperately wounded at Fort Donelson and reported dead, but recovered and went again to his duties in the field. After the war he was elected Governor of Illinois and Senator of the United States. He never showed trepidation in any place where duty called him, except, perhaps, in the labor troubles in East St. Louis, where he was subjected to some criticism for delay in suppressing a riot. This was a slight blemish, however, on a long, honorable, and useful career.

Gov. Roosevelt has scored a notable and distinctly personal triumph in the passage of the bill which repeals the Black "starchless" civil-service law. It is very seldom that a Governor of the same political faith as his immediate predecessor can accomplish such a feat as this is, for it amounts to the undoing of that predecessor's most cherished official achievement. Mr. Black, in fact, seemed to have been lifted by the Republican boss from obscurity for the single purpose of "taking the starch out of our civil service." He announced this as his most earnest desire when he entered upon his duties, and he devoted himself to its accomplishment with more zeal than he displayed in any other cause. His law was about the only trace he left of his individuality upon our statute-books, and this has now been erased by his successor. In bringing about this result, Gov. Roosevelt has displayed much courage and pertinacity, and has done the State a valuable service. He has put back the starch in more than its original quantity, and the main outcome of Gov. Black's exertions is the securing for the State of a more thoroughly reformed civil service than we had before his advent. Our laws on the subject are now more harmonious, more thoroughly united in a scientific system, than they have ever been.

There was some extremely valuable testimony in the Mazet inquiry on Friday, in spite of the general desire on the part of the Tammany witnesses to imitate Croker's manners and give the committee impudence instead of information. Nothing more thoroughly illuminating has been elicited than Andy Freedman's unwilling description of the way in which he conducts the business of the Croker Surety and Bond Company, which was started immediately after the election of 1897, for the fiendish purpose of undermining the business of the Platt Family Surety and Bond Company. Freedman seemed to have a very faint idea of the complete manner in which he "gave away" the real nature of this financial enterprise. He admitted freely that there was little behind the enterprise save Croker's personality. "I was very anxious," he said, "to have the

Crocker's friendship and association in this company on account of the legion of friends that he has got all over this country; and I realized if Mr. Crocker would take stock and join me in this enterprise, it would be most successful, because he has got more men, more friends, that are willing to serve him through friendship than any other man in this country." The division of profit seems to have been handsome on both sides. Crocker gives Freedman a salary of \$15,000 a year, and also commissions on the business. Freedman gives Crocker a share of the profits, but will not disclose the amounts which he has thus paid over, because that is "private business."

Some time ago, when the Tammany influence with Crocker at its head was interested in a street-railway corporation, the concern was spoken of by Bourke Cockran as "wind and a 'pull' capitalized." The Crocker-Freedman Company appears to be merely the Crocker pull capitalized, with Freedman and Crocker dividing the profits. It is inconceivable that there should be other stockholders, for Freedman testified that although he and Crocker were making great profits, there had never been any dividends. Crocker said on the stand that he had received "dividends" regularly, but he undoubtedly meant the rolls of bills that Freedman had handed to him. It is not the least interesting revelation of Freedman's testimony that this extraordinary company was in the habit for some time of doing a joint business with the Platt family company, with a square division of the profits. Later, a cut-rate warfare has broken out between them, but that has been brought about, we suspect, because of the superiority of the Crocker pull to the Platt pull, as a capitalized attraction. It is a great pity that a full investigation of the doings of both companies could not be made, in order that we might see at how many points the systems of our two bosses harmonize completely.

It has been clear for some time that Mr. Crocker thinks that his colleague in the boss business, Mr. Platt, has been guilty of a breach of the "amenities of the profession" in allowing the investigating committee to make inquiries as to the business activities of his sons. He intimated as much on the witness-stand when he asked the Committee why they did not examine the Platt family law firm and see what they could discover there. On Thursday, in the Senate, at Albany, two of Mr. Crocker's especial friends took up the subject and spoke with feeling and frankness about it. Senator McCarren said that "the people had never been treated to such an exhibition of political ingratitude as is manifested in this investigation"; that "everybody knows the relations which

exist between political leaders," and that "it is pretty generally understood that Mr. Crocker has treated the Republican leader in a fair and manly way." He was free to say that he knew of no instance in which Mr. Crocker "would signify a willingness to go into such dirty work as engages this committee," and if the "Republican leaders responsible for it had a spark of manhood they would feel contempt for themselves." Tom Grady took a similar view, as became a man who had been hit hard by the same investigation, and remarked that "no Democrat had ever pointed the finger of scorn at Mr. Platt because one of his sons was at the head of a trust company, and another was in a law firm going from one department of the State government to another acting as attorney." Perhaps Mr. Crocker may be induced later, in view of the ungrateful and indecorous conduct of his fellow-leader, to give us specifications of what Senator McCarren styles his "fair and manly" treatment of Platt, in return for Platt's great service in putting him in possession of this city.

Quay has been acquitted. The jury took a good many hours to reach a verdict, but they finally said, "Not guilty." The misfortune of the prosecution was the fact that its evidence was largely technical, while the defence made a strong point of circumstances which suggested the idea of conspiracy among the opponents of the boss. However firm the moral conviction of Quay's guilt may be in the community, he has been tried by a jury and has been acquitted. The verdict cannot fail to help him immensely in his fight for the Senatorship before the Legislature which will be chosen next year. Meanwhile "the Governor whom I own" has enabled Quay still to wear the title of Senator by appointing him to the office now that the Legislature has adjourned, although there is not the slightest reason to suppose that the Senate next winter will recognize his right to a seat under such an appointment.

The full text of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's budget speech shows that its cabled summary did not do justice to the extraordinary reason he advanced for taking \$10,000,000 a year out of the sinking fund. The real reason was, of course, that he shrank from levying taxes for that amount. It might show the taxpayers that Imperialism had its unpleasant little bills which cannot be bilked. But Sir Michael gave as his ostensible reason for dipping into the sinking fund the fact that it was necessary to remove temptation from the path of future Chancellors of the Exchequer. He said that if the sinking fund were allowed to go on increasing, the "infallible result" would be that Parliament would

some day seize on it all so as to remit taxation. To prevent that calamity, he proposed to seize on a part of it himself. He so dreaded the lack of firmness on the part of future Chancellors, that to save them he would relax his own firmness. Distrusting their virtue made it necessary for him to do a little anticipatory sinning himself. The *London Economist* savagely calls all this "clap-trap," but it is really only the historic excuse of the boy caught robbing the orchard: other boys would have stolen the apples if he had not taken a few himself as an awful warning to them.

A case was brought before the Police Court in Paris on Friday, in which the Comte de Dion, the head of an automobile factory, was charged with violating the law which fixes the number of hours that constitute a day's labor in France. This law was passed in 1848, and it places the limit at twelve hours, which certainly seems liberal, if it is wise for the law to interfere at all. It imposes a penalty of one franc per day on the employer for each man who exceeds that limit in his employ. If a workman labors twelve hours for his employer, and then does additional work for himself, the law does not concern itself with this sort of overtime. In the case of the Comte de Dion, the workmen in his factory, six hundred in number, presented a petition that they be allowed to work overtime, as they received extra compensation therefor. The court would not consider this petition. It held rightly that it sat to enforce the law, not to connive with workmen or others in breaking it. The defendant pleaded that demands upon his factory and other automobile works were so great that orders could not be filled without working overtime. If dull times should come later, he wanted to know whether the court would find work and wages for his laborers. The court replied promptly that it would not, but that it would enforce all the laws of which it had jurisdiction when properly brought before it. If this was a bad law, it was for the defendant and his employees, who were dissatisfied with it, to go to the Legislature and ask for its repeal. Judgment was then rendered against the Comte de Dion for eight francs, being the minimum fine for eight laborers who were named in the proceedings. Of course this fine, although trifling in itself, contains the germ of much larger ones if the offence is repeated. It brings up the question, however, whether laws limiting the hours of labor for adults are ever really useful. Those which limit the hours of child labor are based upon other considerations, but in the case of full-grown persons who really desire to work overtime for the sake of extra compensation, it seems a hardship and an injustice that they should not be allowed to do so.

A "PAROCHIAL AFFAIR."

Everybody has read with horror the account of the execution of a negro in the State of Georgia for a heinous crime on Sunday afternoon. He had no legal trial, and an ex-Governor of the State made a faint appeal to the mob which executed him, to let "the law" take its course. The man was chained to a tree and burned alive; but before he was burned, his ears and fingers were cut off one by one, and after he was dead the body was cut to pieces with jack-knives, and his heart and liver were taken out and divided. Such things, and possibly worse ones, can easily be found described in the stories of Indian wars. The Iroquois were particularly fond of this sort of amusement in Canada. What makes this most interesting is that the perpetrators of the deed wear broadcloth, go to Christian churches, give tolerably large sums to missionary societies, and, what is best of all, are among those who are to-day engaged in the Philippines in shooting the gospel into and in "civilizing" brown men. It is very important that this account should not reach the Filipinos, because it will probably make their resistance more bitter and prolonged, and will prevent the proclamation of the Commissioners being read with due reverence.

By way of precaution, the Commissioners should issue another proclamation, pointing out to the Malays that if they refrain from the crime for which this negro was executed, they need not fear burning or mutilation; that all that this shows is the horror our people have of crime; and that all even bad, immoral Tagals, or Malays, have to do to avoid having their ears and fingers cut off, is to behave decently and frequent some Christian church. There is no record of our ever having burnt or mutilated anybody who had not done something to provoke us.

There are probably impudent Tagals who will ask us whether this sort of punishment for crime had not long ago been abolished in other parts of the civilized world. We shall have to admit that this is true, but we shall have to say that we are contending with a new kind of crime, which has become rife within thirty years, and that the ordinary law has proved ineffective. But we fear the impudent Tagal will then ask how much the ordinary law has been tried as a remedy for this offence, and we shall have to reply that it has seldom been tried at all. He will then naturally ask whether this plan of burning and mutilation has succeeded either, and we shall have to confess that it does not seem to have done so, as the horrors occurring every day at the South seem to show. We began burning for this offence a few years ago in Texas, and we have gone on burning ever since, but, from what the Southerners tell us, the cases are only more numerous, so

that the Governor of a State has nothing better to suggest than the fortification of every house containing women in regular mediæval style—moat, bridge, and modern arms. The Tagal aforesaid will, we fear, then ask us whether it is possible that such great civilizers as we are, so great that we have to go round the world looking for people to civilize, have never given to the cause, growth, and remedy for this crime the serious consideration of our wisest men, with a view not to vengeance simply, Iroquois fashion, but to its cure; the friars having taught these savages that God has created a cure for every crime. What can we say except that our people in some cases prefer vengeance to law, because vengeance is "sweeter" than law, and because law is slow and uncertain, because inquiries and preparations are a bore, and because they are too hot-blooded for organization of any kind?

These Tagals are so "sassy" that we fear this fellow will ask us whether it is possible that such a refined people as we are, could have so much time, money, and life to spend in spreading the true religion so far from home as his own country, and issuing benevolent proclamations that might melt the heart of a gorgon, yet had not a moment or a dollar to spare in thirty years for a sober, enlightened, statesmanlike consideration of the question of our own negroes, their civilization, cultivation, education, welfare—in short, as human beings for whom we had, as Griggs says, centuries ago "accepted the responsibility." Has there been a thing done for them by us as a nation, except burn them by mobs when they did wrong? How long can this awful refusal of responsibility go on without dragging us down to their level? How much above the ignorant negro ravisher is the white, full of gospel, and schools, and church sociables, who cuts the negro's heart and liver out, and divides them into small pieces among his friends? Not much, we fear, in the regions to which we are sending the Tagals so copiously.

THE POLICY OF IGNORANCE AND DRIFT.

The Administration has relaxed the censorship at Manila. Details of the formidable nature of a campaign of conquest in the islands have at last been allowed to reach the American people. Aggressive movements against the Filipinos seem to have been suspended. The authorities are eagerly waiting for news of a peaceful adjustment. All this is gratifying if it really indicates that the President has waked up at the eleventh hour to the utter failure of his policy of blood and iron. That policy has hitherto been an unhappy compound of ignorance and drift. It has been the steady complaint of our officers at Ma-

nila that the situation there was not grasped at Washington. Gen. Greene wrote as long ago as last August: "The situation is not understood in America, and, unless properly dealt with at Paris, will inevitably lead to future complications and possibly war." It is said that Admiral Dewey plainly warned the Government last summer that it would take 100,000 men to subdue the Philippines, and that the Washington wise men thought him half crazy, just as their predecessors thought Gen. Sherman a lunatic when he told them how many men it would take to put down the rebellion. Be this as it may, we know that Dewey telegraphed the chief need at Manila to be "a first-class statesman." Of course, the Administration is full of such, but none could be spared. Dewey also showed by his call for the *Oregon*, two months ago, that his grasp of the military problem was far better than that of the War Department. And his early statement that the Filipinos are "far superior in their intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba," he distinctly reasserted in the only letter of his printed in the Peace Treaty documents, in which he said: "Further intercourse with them has confirmed me in this opinion."

Other evidence of knowledge and advice coolly set aside by the President has since come to hand in Major Younghusband's new book, just published by Macmillan, 'The Philippines and Round About.' The Major is a British officer, glad of the alliance and all that, but his sketch of the situation in the Philippines, as he saw it at the end of last year, reveals the fact that he knew more, and our officers there knew more, of what was likely to happen than was ever dreamed of in the Washington philosophy. Major Younghusband writes: "To an observer on the spot, it was apparent that the authorities in the distance were hardly alive to the complications which existed." What he meant was that the Americans had treated Aguinaldo as a valued friend and ally until Manila was captured, but then set about ignoring and abusing and exasperating him in every possible way. Aguinaldo, in the meanwhile, had gathered an army, set up a government, and taken control of practically the whole island of Luzon. What was to come out of this but war? Very well, let there be war, said the Americans; our 20,000 troops can in a pitched battle defeat Aguinaldo's 50,000, and that will be the end of him—not knowing, says Major Younghusband, wise before the event as we are wise after it, "that the ordeal of a set battle was the last form of suicidal mania which Aguinaldo would be likely to indulge in."

Younghusband records the interesting fact that the "American army officers at the seat of war" were "almost unanimous in deprecating the annexation of

the Philippines." They pointed out that "to garrison the Philippines the American standing army must at once be raised to twice its present strength," and that, "once the novelty had worn off, the American people would resent the increased taxation involved." Why was Washington left in ignorance of all this? Why did it go on trusting blindly that our good luck would not fail us? Major Younghusband supplies, we believe, the correct answer when he writes that "the true parting of the ways was not in the actual act of annexation, for that had become inevitable, but in having allowed Admiral Dewey to do more than defeat the Spanish fleet and exact a heavy indemnity from the city of Manila before sailing away, thus leaving the Philippine problem for the Spaniards and their friends to solve." That is, we had a President who did not know his own mind, who was moving about in a world not realized, and who concluded to let things drift. But to put off deciding is to decide; and the plight we are in now is of McKinley's making on that fatal day in May when he resisted Senator Sewell's importunities that Dewey be ordered home.

If ignorance and indecision have brought the Government into its present *impasse* in the Philippines, the only wisdom now possible is to retrace our steps. We must do now what we should have done in the beginning—treat the Filipinos as we treat the Cubans, protect them, watch over them, help them, but urge them to do their own governing. No pride of opinion, or unwillingness to admit huge blundering, should detain Mr. McKinley for one hour from making haste to try kindness and fairness and confidence on the natives, instead of bluster and bullets. It must be evident to him now, as it is to all the world, that he has dashed himself against a strong national sentiment in the Philippines. Let him recall Pitt's famous prophecy of what would happen to Napoleon when he came into collision with such a national sentiment in Spain. Let him reflect on Napoleon's own confessions on the subject. They are given in Lady Malcolm's recently published journal of conversations with Napoleon at St. Helena:

"The system," Napoleon said, "that I pursued in Spain, although it would have eventually been for the good of that country, yet was contrary to the opinion of the people, and therefore I failed. Ferdinand is right in following his present system, for the Spaniards like their bigotry, their priests, and all their ancient customs. Ferdinand's confessor once said to me: 'Why do you wish us to change our present modes? We like them and so ought you; for while we follow them we shall never be a great nation, but we are content to be as we are.' It is impossible to force a great nation contrary to its opinion."

Will the "Little Napoleon" hearken to these words of Napoleon the Great?

OUR RELATIONS WITH GERMANY.

There was some uneasiness in com-

mercial circles last week touching our relations with Germany in respect of Samoa, and this feeling was not exactly soothed by the speech of Capt. Coghlan of the *Raleigh* at the Union League banquet on Friday evening. What he had to say about the Germans in the East was most offensive and indiscreet. He should have reflected that his remarks would be telegraphed to Germany, and would create ill-feeling. In private conversation, and making allowance for the American gift for humorous exaggeration, it might do to say that the German officers at Manila "didn't dare to breathe more than four times in succession without asking Admiral Dewey's permission"; but such things said at a public dinner, by an officer of the United States, are not becoming. It is all very well for our irresponsible private swashbucklers to go on breathing out threatening and slaughter against the world; foreigners have learned how to take their rhodomontade for what it is worth; but if we really wish to live at peace with nations for whom we profess friendship, our naval officers must bridle their mouths when speaking in public of their affairs. The Captain of the British man-of-war at Manila is said to have apologized to Admiral Dewey on behalf of the Germans, on the ground that "you know they have no sea manners." The sea manners of our naval officers are irreproachable, but some of them need to look to their land manners.

Captain Coghlan made another speech on Saturday evening (rather incoherent, as it appears in the newspaper reports), in which he refrained from mentioning Germany, but repeated with emphasis his previous utterances, and added that "we came very near to killing them"—presumably German officers and sailors in Manila harbor last year. Very properly, he has been called upon for explanations by the Secretary of the Navy, and ordered back to his ship while he was on his way to a third dinner party.

There is some commercial bickering springing from the protective tariffs of the two countries, but this does not interest many people in the United States, and, however it may be settled, or even if it is not settled, will not disturb the peace of the two countries. It is worthy of note that the only incidents ever threatening a breach of peaceful relations with Germany have grown out of our so-called policy of expansion. The Samoan complication was really a forerunner of that policy. It was an act of meddlesome folly running counter to the traditions of the republic and to the teachings of the fathers, having no decent support or pretext. In order to make ourselves strong at a place where we ought never to have been except as peaceful traders, we sent two war-ships to Apia, which were forthwith blown to pieces in a hurricane, with the loss of

hundreds of lives. If our government had been minding its own business, those men and ships would have been at home, and would have escaped that appalling disaster. Since that time we have gained nothing from Samoa that we could not have gained without any other than commercial relations, the same that we have with the Fijis and other groups in the Pacific. We have, however, exposed ourselves to a large chapter of accidents growing out of the uncertain temper of the people in whose management we have taken a share, and also of the officials in civil and naval life whom we send there. Added to other difficulties is that of distance and infrequent communication, which prevents close supervision and prompt and accurate knowledge of what takes place there.

Ten years have passed since we took a hand in the Samoan complication, and now we are sending out a commission to rearrange the terms of it, without having received the smallest compensation for the money spent and the lives lost in those islands. Moreover, nobody knows what may happen next. It is reassuring, however, to feel that the people of Germany and the United States are held together by the strongest bonds of both friendship and commercial interest, which not even the folly or the superfluous zeal of their servants and representatives in Samoa can seriously weaken. This friendship is due, not alone to the presence among us of a large population of German birth or descent, but also to the benefits derived by each country from the other during the whole period of our existence as a nation, which has been a period of unbroken peace. Thousands of our sons have been educated in Germany. Thousands of Americans travel there every year. Thousands are domiciled there all the time. The ties which unite the two countries are of many different kinds, but all of them are strong and enduring. We need no alliances with foreign Powers, and we shall make none on paper, but surely we have one with Germany, written in the hearts of the people of both countries, which does not need to be stamped and sealed by the Government of either.

As to the friction in the Philippines last year, to which Capt. Coghlan made his indecorous allusion, it is not publicly known what act or what demeanor the German Admiral at Manila was guilty of. It is not known whether our Government ever made any complaint of it, or whether the German Government approved it or disavowed it. It is certain that no international trouble grew out of it, and that nearly everybody had forgotten it when it was so suddenly revived at the Union League Club last Friday. It is gratifying to know that Secretary Hay has signified to the German Ambassador at Washington his strong disapproval of Capt. Coghlan's

speech. With that declaration, the incident may be considered at an end, so far as it has international character. For the sake of good order and discipline at home, however, some further steps ought to be taken in Capt. Coghlan's case.

✓ THE ESSENCE OF BOSS GOVERNMENT.

We are unable to agree with Dr. Parkhurst as to the inutility of the present investigation of Tammany. He holds that unless both Platt and Croker are included in the scope of the inquiry, the results are likely to be without value. It seems to us that if the investigation were to stop at the present point, it has achieved one thing that more than justifies its existence. It has, quite unexpectedly to its promoters, impressed firmly upon the minds of the public the fact that there is really no difference between Platt and Croker as political leaders—that the boss system of one is the boss system of the other in principle and in practice. Surely, it is a gain to have a Platt committee make this demonstration so clearly that everybody recognizes its truth. Croker helped it a great deal when he called attention to the fact that his sons were performing precisely the same functions in his system that Platt's sons were performing in his. Both were using their boys as salesmen in their traffic in the fundamental principles of popular government. A boss who has nominations, legislation, public contracts—in short, all the powers and privileges of a city or a State Government—for sale, must have subordinates and agents upon whom he can depend for the clerical work of the business, and who could be better fitted for it than his own sons?

✕ Of course, everybody who has followed the developments of our modern boss system as it is now paramously established in several of our States, has known for some time that there was no appreciable difference between its Democratic and its Republican forms, Platt's system is like Croker's, and both are like Quay's and Hanna's. All of them are founded and operated on the possession of the chief powers of popular government for the personal profit of the boss and his associates. All of them lay their foundation in the primaries, which they control absolutely, either by the use of patronage or money, or both. Long before the national Republican convention which nominated Mr. McKinley for the Presidency came together, Hanna had so "fixed" the primaries that McKinley's nomination was a mere formality. That is what we see in all our nominating conventions in this State, Republican and Democratic. The bosses own them absolutely, because they have bought and paid for the delegates in the primaries.

A common peculiarity of the bosses

who thus get possession of the nominating machinery, and by that means leave the people no alternative but to elect one or the other of their candidates or sets of candidates to office, is to assume, after election, that they have a majority of the people behind them, and are consequently justified by the people in whatever course they may adopt. The McKinley war policy was based upon this assumption, and the assumption was asserted with such vigor that even criticism of it was branded as treason. Croker said on the witness stand, a few days ago, to Mr. Moss, who was asking him questions: "You are conducting this investigation by a minority vote of this city, and I am sitting here representing my friends with a big majority vote." His meaning was clearly that so long as he had been put at the head of the city government by popular vote, he had popular approval for whatever he did, no matter what its character. Almost at the same time the Quay Republicans in the Pennsylvania Legislature were adopting a resolution in caucus declaring that since Quay had been nominated for Senator by a party majority in regular caucus, he was entitled to and should receive the vote of every Republican member, and that members refusing would be subject to "odium" for their course. What is this but the Croker assumption over again? No matter what may be the character of the candidate, no matter by what means he secured a majority in his support, the mere fact that he has a majority should silence all criticism and justify anything that he may do. We see the same principle in operation in the New York Legislature at every session. It is shown most clearly in the business called "jamming." Platt holds that his possession of a majority entitles him to ignore completely all expressions of disapproval. If he wishes to "jam" a bill through, without deliberation or discussion, he does it, and maintains that since the people have given him a majority, they mean that he shall use it as he pleases.

When the boss of one party cannot secure this majority or popular support by his own exertions, he gets the necessary aid from the boss of the opposite party. Croker is not strictly truthful when he says that he sits in the witness chair representing his friends "with a big majority vote." His government was elected by a minority, but he got for it the necessary plurality because his fellow-boss, Platt, ran a candidate of his own and divided the opposition. Of course, in theory and in practice, this plurality is considered as much of a popular support as a majority, but it by no means furnishes sufficient ground for the claim which Croker bases upon it. The main point about all these boss methods of getting control is that the people are cheated in each instance. The bosses get possession through corruption, or

trickery, or fraud, and, once in power, they cite the fact of possession as evidence of popular approval for whatever they wish to do. The apathy with which all classes regard this pretension is a melancholy sign of political decay in the first decade of the second century of our republican experiment in self-government.

OUR FAULTY COPYRIGHT LAW.

Up to 1891, the United States had refused to recognize in any way whatever the rights of foreigners in the matter of literary property. The world was all before our publishers where to pirate. But, by the act of March 3, 1891, we made a tardy and grudging confession that our previous legal position had been that of outer barbarians. We accorded to foreigners a certain control of the results of their own intellectual labor. In a halting and faulty way, we made our entrance into the family of civilized nations that recognize international copyright. We were naturally welcomed as repentant prodigals. Poems of congratulation were written, orders conferred, effusive greetings interchanged. From the first, however, the clear-sighted saw that our legislation on the subject was but a limping affair; that we ought frankly to have joined the Berne convention, which gives authors perfectly fair and perfectly reciprocal treatment in the nations adhering to it, and not have set up a mongrel method of our own. Still, it was maintained by our own copyright agitators, and hoped by foreign writers, that, having made a beginning, we would speedily go further and correct our laws so as to make them conform to civilized usage.

But eight years have passed; nothing has been done, or even attempted, in the way of amendment; and foreigners, tired of waiting, are beginning to say unpleasant things of us. We no not now refer to Mr. Alfred Austin's letter to Secretary Hay; that was urbanity itself, if also vagueness itself. The traditional inhabitant of Jupiter could never suspect that there was any row, or guess what it was all about, if he had only Mr. Austin's letter to go upon. But some Italian publishers have lately been blowing a trumpet of less uncertain sound. It is, in fact, upon writers who are foreign in language as well as in nationality that our copyright laws bear hardest. English authors find them awkward and vexatious, and in some cases tantamount to an unjust tax upon their literary property, but it is the French and Germans and Italians and Spanish who catch it. The case is so well put by this Italian complaint, laid before the Ministry, that we quote a part of it in translation. (The whole may be found in the January-February number of *I Diritti d'Autore*.) It is an accurate description of the facts:

"In accordance with paragraph 4956, pro-

tection cannot be claimed unless two copies of the book which is to be protected have been, at the latest on the day of publication, sent to the Librarian of Congress in the United States, or, in the case of a foreign country, have been deposited with the post in the territory of the United States, addressed to the Librarian. But this is not enough. These two copies must have been printed from type composed in the territory of the United States, or from stereotyped plates made from type so composed. If, then, the European author of a work does not wish to lose the benefits of the American protection, he must, before offering his work to the public in his own country, find a publisher in the United States, he must send him a copy of his manuscript, wait until a translation of it has been made, until the American typographical composition has been completed, and until two copies of the translation thus printed have been consigned to the Librarian of Congress at Washington, or lodged with the post addressed to him. Then alone can he proceed to issue the original edition of his book. The slightest mistake, the smallest delay that may occur in the composition in the United States, causing the author, in his ignorance of it, to produce the original publication but one day before the translation, and the protection becomes null, all the steps taken are void, and pirate publishers can produce the work with impunity, without either author or publisher possessing any rights."

It is quite needless for the protesting Italians to say that, under such a system, it is "absolutely impossible for our authors to get protection of their rights." With a very few exceptions—such as Zola, Nansen, possibly D'Annunzio, Tolstoy, Bismarck—it has not been practicable for non-English authors to take advantage of our international copyright law at all. We flattered and plumed ourselves mightily about it and had all sorts of sugar-plums thrown at us in consequence; but, in hard fact, we were giving the foreign writers only "nothing between two plates," as the Spanish say. The Italians are calling upon their Government to secure better terms from the Americans, or else to denounce the existing treaty and begin to retaliate. It is really an affair for our own authors to take up and for our own legislators to cure, but we regret to say that we see no sign of activity on the part of either.

The whole trouble grew, of course, out of our joining together what common sense and justice would put asunder. We set out to legislate for the protection of literary property, and ended by passing a law for the protection of the manufacture of books. We know it has often been said that, but for the vicious "manufacture clause," we could have got no international copyright law at all. Well, it might almost have been better to have had no law at all than one holding out a fair promise only to withdraw it in the act. We might as well have enacted, at the same time, for the encouragement of engravers, that no book should be copyrighted unless illustrated; or the wood-pulp men might as well have been placated as the type-setters, with a provision that copyright should be extended only to books printed on Warner Miller's wood-pulp paper; or it might have been stipulated that copyrighted books should never be sold

in department stores, or at less than \$2.17 each, thirty off for cash. When we legislate, we need to legislate with a single mind, and not mix up the Typographical Union and the labor vote with the question of the rights of literary property. Until we can treat such property as a single and simple thing by itself, and pass laws respecting it with no thought of helping anybody's printing business, or the paper trade, or even the trade in foreign decorations, our international copyright law will remain the lame and humbugging measure it is.

A NEW FRENCH HISTORIAN.

NEW YORK, April 21, 1899.

Within the past three years a new historian has revealed himself in France, and of the rarest kind, for to the merit of being a writer already illustrious he adds that of having attacked the most difficult and least known of all histories, namely, the contemporary. Tolerably complete school manuals of the history of the Third Republic, it is true, already existed; and Taine gave, in his 'Modern Régime,' a conscientious, profound, and exact study of political and social life in nineteenth-century France. Moreover, the body of journals and reviews enable any one endowed with critical sense and a sense of proportion to disengage the truth from the errors or lies with which history is written in daily or weekly publications. But no one had yet tried to describe or to relate the true life of his contemporaries, and no longer in the deceptive decorum of their official occupations, but in the commonplace reality of their daily being, with their ambitions, their pettiness, their ridiculousness, their distress. What does a Frenchman of 1899 do, think, and really believe? How is he affected by political events and social transformations? What is he saying, not in the press or in public harangues, but in the freedom of familiar chat at the café, among friends, about the questions of the day and the great or petty incidents of national life, whether the topic be war, militarism, religion, anti-Semitism, the policy of Leo XIII., the latest political scandal, or the latest worldly tittle-tattle? What, in a word, is the true state of mind of a Frenchman of to-day, be he soldier or magistrate, professor or priest, nobleman or office-holder?

It would seem easier to answer this question for a Frenchman of the eighteenth century, who wrote his memoirs every evening, or for contemporaries of Louis XIV., who, like Mme. de Sévigné, unbosomed themselves in letters to their friends, or, like Saint-Simon, recorded privily the secret history of a reign of which the courtier Dangeau saw only the solemn and dreary aspect. Well, from this time forth we shall be almost as well acquainted with the France of to-day as with that of two centuries ago, thanks to the new historian who has just arisen with his three volumes "of contemporary history," as he himself styles them. He is none other than M. Anatole France, and the three books he offers us bear the following unscientific names: 'L'Orme du Mail,' 'Le Mannequin d'Osier,' and 'L'Anneau d'Améthyste.' The first appeared in 1896; the last during the current year.

Those who are familiar with the literary

manner of Anatole France, and have read the appetizing books entitled 'Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard' or 'La Rôtisserie de la Reine Pédauque,' will doubtless see in the label "contemporary history" affixed to his last three works only a pleasantry on the part of this witty sceptic, who unites the irony of Sterne with the philosophy of Renan. Such is not the case: it is emphatically history that we have to do with. While we certainly do not find in this novelist's historical books either every event in French contemporary history, or an enumeration of every ministry, or recitals of every colonial war, it is nevertheless true that whoever to-day, or a century hence, would know the veritable history of France under the Third Republic, and would have a precise notion, not regarding things and doings of little interest, but regarding men who alone signify, cannot dispense with reading and studying these three works of the imagination, which will remain the most precious testimonies and documents of an epoch anything but deficient in literary manifests.

Frankly, M. France's method in his latest works does not differ from that employed by him when, in 'Thais,' he made Alexandrian courtesans and philosophers converse about the great problems of human life; or when, in 'La Rôtisserie de la Reine Pédauque,' he put bold and cynical speeches in the mouths of free-thinking priests and enlightened burghers several centuries ago. Here again are personages more or less imaginary who discourse together on all the subjects which have ever piqued man's curiosity—to wit, life, death, the why and the how of things. And they all talk with that elegant grace, that keenness of wit, that wide erudition, and that classic purity of language which the author lends to all his heroes. But this time these heroes are Frenchmen of 1896, 1897, and 1898; they have the ideas, preoccupations, and passions of to-day; they comment on yesterday's events, judge the men of the hour, touch on every subject that has a place in the thought of living Frenchmen.

What have been, of recent years, the great questions of political life in France? The relations of the clergy and the republic; universal military service; the progress of socialism—not to speak of secondary incidents momentarily arising, like the Panama scandal or similar episodes. This is what the personages in M. Anatole France's books speak to us about, especially two of them—a university professor and a Catholic priest, who like to chat with each other under the shade of the *orme du mail*, though at all points holding opposite views. "But they were," says M. France, "the only people in town interested in general ideas."

Where is the scene of these dialogues? Nobody can tell; but those who know provincial life in France will recognize the marvellous picture here drawn of it, with its empty monotony, which men endeavor to animate and to fill up with their passions, their ambitions and rivalries. Here are grouped representative types of political, religious, military, university, and social life—the sum of French life. There are a prefect, an archbishop, priests, professors, middle class and aristocracy; and these men, differing in education, culture, and ideas, live before us in the narrow frame of that provincial town, talk freely, bustle about as in reality, and exhibit in word and deed everything mediocre, frivolous, or puerile that occupies their

minds. When we have heard them discuss the last incident that has engrossed the town, or politics, or religion, and have penetrated with M. France their daily life, we know exactly the thought and action and desire of a prefect, an archbishop, a general, a librarian, a professor of the Third Republic. We know exactly their conception of the world, the place which concern for advancement and red ribbons holds in their hearts. Already some of these types have become legendary in France, like the characters in the most popular novels; and this not alone because public malice has thought it recognized the real men judged to be represented, but because the unanimous consent of readers has found alive and truthful the personages whose words and deeds M. France rehearses to us through three volumes.

Everybody in France now knows M. Worms-Clavelin, the Jewish and free-mason prefect, vulgar and empty type of those political parvenus whom the Republic has brought into relief. A pliant and crafty man, indifferent to ideas, a stranger to all conviction, he repeats in his talk the commonplace official language, and his whole politics consists in holding on to his office, which is uncertain by nature since it is at the mercy of political fluctuations. This Worms-Clavelin is certainly a typical prefect of to-day and functionary of the Third Republic; never was a portrait drawn with an exacter or finer stroke, and yet nobody had ever depicted him. M. France has here been a true creator. But his most successful types are those of the clerical world. With Ferdinand Fabre he will rank as the most wonderful historian of the Catholic clergy of this republican period, in which the situation of the Church has been so difficult and thankless, placed between a hostile government whose favors it must obtain, and a fanatical Catholic party whose anti-republican passions it must humor. The question of the bishops, already treated by Fabre, is in this respect one of the richest themes, since it enables us to study clerical suppleness and diplomacy in the struggle against the temporal power. The story of the priest who would become a bishop, as related to us by M. France, is of itself a masterpiece. So far as he depends on the State for his nomination, the Abbé Guitrel (another classic type at present) performs prodigies of opportunism, never committing himself on any delicate subject, and discreetly handling all parties of whom he seeks to make use. Then, once appointed, the diplomatic, cunning, and shifty priest, assured of his place, becomes an intractable bishop who fulminates against the pretensions of the State in the name of the sacred rights of the Church. Whoever wishes to acquaint himself with the French clergy under the Concordat of 1802 cannot dispense with studying the priests created by the imagination of M. Anatole France, and truly to be said to belong to history.

The most popular and veritably immortal type of these books is Monsieur Bergeret, professor of Latin poetry at the University, and author of a book on 'Virgilius Nauticus,' a learned and laughable philologue. A poor man, persecuted by his dean and deceived by his wife, endowed with an intellect superior to his fate, he comforts himself for his wretchedness by philosophizing *de omni re scibit*, now with a fanatical old priest, now with the radical and narrow-minded town librarian. To him has been given to convey

M. France's mocking, disillusioned, and revolutionary philosophy. Beneath the "l'orme du mail," or in a corner of a little bookshop where he daily takes refuge, M. le professeur Bergeret ventilates on all the ideas, creeds, and institutions which men are wont to reverence, more paradoxes than would suffice to get him stoned by the fanatics of all parties if they were intelligent enough to comprehend his subtle and mordant thought, or artistic enough to perceive the danger of such language, the most seductive that has been spoken since Renan.

The clever author has not only introduced in his books every political and literary topic of conversation in these latter years, including the Armenian massacres, the burning of the Charity Bazaar, the American war with Spain, and the new prosody of the younger poets, he has, as events unfolded themselves, made his characters hold forth on every fresh incident capable of philosophic commentary which contemporary history offered them. Thus, this latest volume, 'L'Anneau d'Améthyste,' contains the opinions of Monsieur Bergeret, a notable "Dreyfusard," on the crisis of national dementia through which chauvinism and anti-Semitism have compelled France to pass for eighteen months. He has introduced in it, with cutting irony, admirable observations on the aberrations into which men are led by passion; on the stupidity of the mob, the cowardice of individuals, the rôle of falsehood and its "superiority to the truth" (for, the truth being one while falsehood is multiple, "the majority is against it"). He has even introduced a new character, no other than Esterhazy, whose portrait is so deftly and yet so strikingly drawn that everybody recognizes the "uhlan national," as he is called in France. A great joy and delicious revenge on the demons has been the thought of sensible men that the skilful pen of Anatole France forced on the passionate readers of the most military journal these pleadings of Monsieur Bergeret in behalf of reason and justice; for every Monday these chapters of contemporary history appeared in the *Écho de Paris*.

It is perhaps prudent to add in closing that, precious as are these contributions of the new French historian, the reading of them is not indispensable to all, and may even be injurious to many. "One must be no longer wholly innocent to find satisfaction in moralists," writes somewhere Anatole France himself. This ironical literature is disintegrating and anarchistic, and from it escapes a perverse and disturbing odor of decadence. After all, these Frenchmen of to-day described by M. France are not all the French; these pitiful and doltish ambitious functionaries are not all the functionaries, nor these priests all the priests. These books must be taken, as they were written, *cum grano salis*, and viewed as documents exact and veracious, it is true, but partial, for the history of contemporary France. OTHON GUERLAC.

SUDERMANN'S SYMBOLICAL DRAMA.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., April 19, 1899.

A curious illustration of the evasiveness of genius, and of the impossibility of predicting its course from the influence of surrounding circumstances, has lately been afforded in the unexpected turn taken by the two foremost of living German dramatists.

Hauptmann, after having risen in "The Sunk-en Bell" to sublime visions of the infinite, has allowed himself once more to be drawn into the sphere of the hopelessly earthly. Sudermann, on the other hand, the racy satirist, the impassioned orator, the rough-and-ready delineator of blunt actuality, all of a sudden reveals himself as a lyric poet in whom reëcho the most aerial sounds of mediæval mysticism.

Paradoxical and unrelated as these facts seem to be, they yet point to a common source. They are symptoms of the restless search of the modern world for a new faith, of its ineradicable striving after a new answer to the riddle of life. They clearly show that we are still in the very midst of that spiritual fermentation which set in with the final decay of the feudal world in the eighteenth century. They are a new proof of the evident fact that the blue flower of the Romantics has not yet been found, that the spirit of the Middle Ages is still walking about and is still in vain trying to reincarnate itself.

Nor is the personal link of Sudermann's latest drama with his former production by any means entirely wanting. In his "Johannes" he portrayed a moral visionary who goes through the world with eyes riveted upon a fictitious ideal, and who, therefore, fails to see the needs of the life that is pressing upon him. In "Die drei Reihfeder" he now brings before us an æsthetic visionary who chases after a magic form of womanly love and beauty that hovers before him on the distant horizon, without noticing that in his flight he tramples into the dust not only his own happiness, but also the life of the woman who has given to him her all. To restate in commonplace prose the details of the exceedingly romantic happenings of this drama would be an injustice to both author and translator. A few words, however, about its essential features and its leading thought may be not unwelcome to readers who otherwise might be bewildered by the extraordinary variety—not to say, apparent incoherence—of the action.

Young Witte, Prince of Gotland, is a mixture of *Parzival*, *Hamlet*, and *Faust*. Like *Parzival*, he is a knight-errant, roaming through the world in quest, if not of the Grail, at least of some supernatural goal of happiness. Like *Hamlet*, he is a dreamer of deeds rather than a doer of deeds, in constant conflict between the impulse to follow the call of an heroic mission and the capricious promptings of his little weaknesses and frailties. Like *Faust*, he is a man of infinite susceptibility, of boundless appetites, a consummate egoist, but at the same time a soaring idealist, yearning for completeness of life. He has left his home, impelled by a vague longing for the woman of his destiny, the woman that shall fill his soul, that shall inspire his highest thought. Fate has revealed to him that to make himself worthy of her he must first win a magic treasure, the feathers of a wild, demoniac heron who is worshipped as a god on a desolate island of the northern seas:

"Es liegt eine Insel im Nordlandsmeer,
Wo Tag und Nacht zur Dämmerung wird;
Noch niemand feierte Wiederkehr,
Der sich im Sturme dorthin verirrt.
Das ist dein Weg.
Dort, wo das Heil noch nie gelehrt,
Dort wird in einem kristallinen Haus
Ein wilder Reiher als Gott verehrt.
Dem Reiher reissee drei Federn aus
Und bringe sie her!"

If he burns the first feather, he will be lost.

the image of the coveted woman in the far distance. By burning the second, he will be united with her in the secrecy of the midnight hour. The burning of the third will bring destruction to her likewise.

Both the greatness and the tragedy of *Witte's* career lie in this, that he allows himself to be drawn under the spell of these fatalistic conceptions. He accomplishes the task demanded: he struggles through the horrors of the enchanted island and brings back his prize. He burns the first feather, and now there floats before him, between sea and sky, the gigantic shadow of a womanly form which incites his feelings to highest passion. He rushes upon it as *Faust* rushed upon the phantom of *Helen*; but, like the phantom of *Helen*, it vanishes into air before his outstretched arms.

From here on he seems almost bereft of reason. He has no thought of his country suffering under the tyranny of a savage usurper; he has no eye for any sight of real life that presents itself to him; he only raves in ecstatic desire for that fair image. Thus he comes, in the course of his wanderings, to the court of a young widowed queen who, in order to satisfy the clamorings of her people for a ruler, has proclaimed her willingness to accept the hand of him who in knightly combat should defeat the host of her wooers. Half against his will, unconsciously moved by the entreating glance of the lovely young queen, he takes up arms for her, and, although severely wounded in the tournament, is declared victor and accepted as the queen's husband. But even now, at the side of the fairest and sweetest of women, he finds no rest; his only thought is of that magic vision in the clouds. The cares of state weigh upon him; like the hero of "The Sunken Bell," he feels burdened with the commonplace concerns of everyday life; his wife seems to him to draw him down into ordinary enjoyment—"Geniessen macht gemein." Despondent of his fate, out of accord with himself, he once more takes refuge in the supernatural: in solitary midnight hour he burns the second magic feather which is to unite him with the beloved. The queen, who has spent a sleepless night, grieving over her husband's gloom, is attracted by the flame and thus appears before him. But the frenzied man, instead of seeing in her appearance the fulfillment of the oracle, instead of recognizing in her the woman of his destiny, reproaches her for having watched and suspected him. His harsh words cause her long repressed feelings for him to break forth without reserve; and in a supremely beautiful scene husband and wife are for a moment truly brought together.

But only for a moment. For soon *Witte's* restless craving leads him again astray. He abandons himself to wild orgies and dissipations, and although in a measure he atones for these by rising to spasmodic heroism in the political crisis brought upon the country through his eccentricities, he sinks back into his former state as soon as the crisis is past; and he ends by laying down his crown and resuming his old knight-errantry, he, "der Sehnsucht nimmermüder Sohn." In the last act we see him, a prematurely broken man, after many weary wanderings and many fruitless undertakings, on his way homeward to the scenes of his youth. Passing by the castle of his wife, he is recognized by a peasant, and the news is brought to the

queen. She who, during all these years of loneliness, has lived for him and in him only, at once hastens to greet him. And now at last the scales fall from his eyes. He sees that he has wasted his life, that he has been under the spell of an illusion, that he has wilfully spurned heaven's best gifts. Feverishly he grasps for the last fatal feather; he will break the spell, will destroy the pernicious image that has hunted him all his life. He casts the feather into the flame. But instead of the hoped-for magic effect, he sees his own wife sinking at his feet, uttering a last dying word of faith and love. Despairingly he throws himself upon her body, and is thus united to her at last:

"Wer seiner Sehnsucht nachläßt, muss dran sterben;
Nur wer sie wegwirft, dem ergiebt sie sich."

That a drama like this should in general have found little favor with the critics is not surprising. Surprising—and highly gratifying—is the fact that the verdict of the reading public seems in this case to differ widely from that of the critics. Already, hardly three months after its first performance, the drama has reached a tenth edition. That it has its serious artistic blemishes it would be folly to deny. There is a certain forced grandeur in the heroic parts and an equally forced vulgarity in the subordinate figures. And reasonable exception might perhaps be taken to this whole genre of symbolical poetry. It certainly is true that the leading idea of this drama, embodied in characters of our own time and in actions belonging to the sphere of our own experience, would have touched the average reader of to-day more quickly and more surely. But may it not be that, on that very account, this work will speak more distinctly to future generations, that its very timelessness and inconcreteness will give it permanence and universal value? Even if this should not be the case, it will most assuredly live in history as a noble monument of German intellectual life at the end of the nineteenth century, as a *magna pars* of the artistic revival which has placed the German drama once more in the very front rank of European literature. For, however strange and far away at first sight its characters and its actions may seem to be, it is, after all, most closely related to our own lives; it brings before us what may be called the problem of problems of our own time—the reconciliation of intensest activity with simple enjoyment; of restless striving with spiritual peace.

KUNO FRANCKE.

Correspondence.

A MISFIT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: On page of 285 of "The Week" in the current number of the *Nation*, you justly criticize my townman, Gen. Alger; but when you say, "He knows he can be dismissed to the dreary shades of Detroit, etc." it causes me disturbance, resulting in this resentful protest. To a citizen of the most beautiful city in this country, the best paved, best lighted, best sewer, cleanest, and best equipped with street-railway service, the words "dreary shades" are especially irritating. Detroit is a city of 300,000 people, including our beloved Alger; and if you will compare its bank clearings for the present week with cities of its class, you will gain a

clearer conception of its commercial importance. Had you written "the beautiful metropolis of Michigan," all would have been well. Do with Alger as you will. Catch him and feed him an occasional (small) ration of chemically prepared beef, but kindly remember that for "dreary shades" the City of the Straits does not meet the requirements.

P.

DETROIT, April 22, 1899.

"HERR" VS. "MR."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: May I use the columns of the *Nation* to enter a solemn protest against the promiscuous use of the German word "Herr" as a designation of foreign dignitaries of almost any nationality? The April number of the *American Monthly Review of Reviews* contains a picture of "Herr Coloman Szell, the new Hungarian Premier." *Herr*, needless to say, is neither Hungarian nor English. The Hungarian word is "Ur" and is placed after the name, viz., "Coloman Szell Ur." I remember having seen in American papers the combination, "Herr Ristowitsch," which, in the vernacular of that gentleman's country, would be "Pan Ristowitsch." I have seen *Herr* used in a great many other cases where it is absolutely uncalled for. Why assume such bogus learning? Why not call a man by plain English "Mr." (which is in no way farther remote from the language of the gentlemen mentioned than German "Herr")? Why prefix anything to their names at all? Even the German papers very rarely speak of "Herr Richter," "Herr Bebel," but either of "Richter," "Bebel," or of "Eugen Richter," "August Bebel." The latter form would be the usual one with pictures.

I presume that such protests may have appeared in your paper before, but it seems that they cannot be urged too often. I am afraid that some day I may see the likeness of a noted Chinaman with the inscription "Herr Li Hung Chang."

Yours respectfully, E. C. R.

ANN ARBOR, MICH., April 17, 1899.

Notes.

Prof. George Hempl of Michigan University has in preparation a volume of 'Runic Studies' to be issued probably during the present year. An abstract of one of its chapters was read at the sixteenth meeting of the Modern Language Association, and is to appear in the current volume of the *Journal of Germanic Philology*. It offers a key to the origin of the Runic alphabet.

D. Appleton & Co. announce for early publication 'The Races of Europe: A Sociological Study,' by Prof. William Z. Ripley; 'Imperial Democracy,' by David Starr Jordan; 'Alaska and the Klondike,' by Prof. Angelo Heilprin; 'Love among the Lions,' by F. Anstey; 'Idylls of the Sea,' by Frank T. Bullen, author of 'The Cruise of the Cachalot'; 'Hungarian Literature,' by Dr. Zoltan Bodthy; 'Uncle Sam's Soldiers,' by O. P. Austin; 'Our Navy in Time of War,' by Franklin Matthews, and 'The Story of the English Kings according to Shakespeare,' three new volumes in Appletons' "Home-Reading Series."

A life of Oliver Cromwell, elaborately illustrated, is in preparation by Samuel Raw-

son Gardiner, and will be published by the Scribners. They announce also 'Cathedral Builders: The Story of a Great Guild,' by Leader Scott; and 'Across the Campus,' life at Smith College, by Miss Caroline M. Fuller.

'Two Summer Island Papers,' a new book about Bermuda, "in effect a literary history of the islands," by J. C. L. Clark, is to be published in September by C. de Hasbrouck, No. 57 Bromfield Street, Boston.

A new number of the Columbia University Series of Contributions to Philosophy, Psychology, and Education (Macmillan) will be 'Educational Legislation and Administration of the Colonial Governments,' by Miss Elsie W. Clews.

The "Cambridge [Mass.] Edition" of the 'Complete Poetical Works of John Milton' (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) succeeds in compressing them into one octavo volume of a little more than 400 pages. The poems are in double columns, but considerable space is allotted to a Life and to appropriate introductions and notes, calculated for school use or private culture. A youthful portrait of the poet is the only one given. It is a pity that an editor could not have been found with some simplicity of style and reverence of temper, not patronizing Milton alike in his juvenile psalms and in "Paradise Regained"—not "steeped to his lips," to borrow from Matthew Arnold, "in the fantasticalities" of this present decadence, every bit as unnatural as those of Donne or Cowley. We are shown, "in odd relief out of this precocious solemnity, one of those lightning flashes from the clear sky of youth which tell of the summer passion suspended there," and learn that of "the twin poems" "the speech incarnates the thought as easily, as satisfyingly, as the muscles of a Phidian youth incarnate the motor-impulses of his brain." "Il Penseroso" and a boxer! Hyperion to a Satyr! The editor twice has to use the term "conceitfulness" to express his idea of Milton's early style. The prose translations of the Latin poems are neither strict nor graceful, and there are some bad misprints.

More endearing to the eye is the little selection of 'Poems, Narrative, Elegiac, and Visionary, by Percy Bysshe Shelley,' in the Dent-Macmillan "Temple Classics" series. Mr. Gollancz has naturally called to his aid as sub-editor Mr. H. Buxton Forman, whose task has not been heavy. To the same series belongs De Quincey's 'Confessions of an English Opium-Eater,' with marginalia and notes from the hand of Mr. Walter Jerrold.

Much solicitation has at last obtained of Macmillan & Co. the inclusion in their Golden Treasury Series of Fitzgerald's 'Omar'; with Fitzgerald, however, omitted from the title-page, and invisible by name everywhere except incidentally in the bibliographical chronicle on the verso of the title. To be in keeping with the series, this edition could not compete altogether with the best American, in comparison with which all that can be said is that it is handy.

Lieut. Hobson's unaffected account of 'The Sinking of the *Merrimac*' has been read serially by thousands in the *Century Magazine* with thrilling interest. Posterity is entitled to share this emotion, with the added ease which a book affords, and the *Century Co.* has done well to reproduce in a handsome volume the story of an exploit whose glory (let rampant warriors take heed) is in its essentially non-resistant character.

Mr. John Boyd Thacher of Albany, who maintains so creditably the traditions of an older generation of book collectors who cared for something more than the price their treasures cost them, prepared one of the most interesting of the papers presented in honor of John Cabot at the quadricentennial meeting in Halifax in 1897. His address, which describes the discovery of 1497 in picturesque fashion, but with a proper sense of the distinction between the known and the guessed-at, was printed in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, and a special edition has also been issued by Mr. Thacher. He has illustrated it most intelligently with heliotype facsimiles of several of the significant sources of Cabotian information, taken from books and manuscripts in his library.

Dr. Georgiana Morrill's 'Speculum Gy de Warewyke' is one of the most elaborate pieces of editing on which the Early English Text Society has so far put its imprint (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.). The text, with the variants, takes up less than fifty pages; the introduction, notes, and glossary extend to more than two hundred and fifty. Miss Morrill is a pupil of Zupitza and of Schick, and has been carefully trained in Middle English linguistics. She has worked at her thirteenth-century poem with industry and enthusiasm, and her edition is not likely to be superseded. The 'Speculum' is, in the main, a *refacimento* or free version of Alcuin's moral epistle to Count Guy of Tours. It is a very dull composition, and its interest consists almost entirely in the fact that the English redactor has, by a natural transference, attached the "sarmoun" to the romantic history of Guy of Warwick. Anything that throws light on this mysterious personage is welcome to the student of popular literature, and Miss Morrill's extensive and erudite, though somewhat indigested, introduction will doubtless be frequently consulted.

The Department of the Colonies of the Netherlands issued, two years since, the first part of a daily record, kept at Batavia, of early events in the Dutch East Indies, whose original is in the Government archives at The Hague. The second part of this 'Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia' (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1898), continues the story from 1631 to 1634. The book, a volume of nearly 500 pages, is more of a detailed history than its title implies. The part here under review comprises the administrations of the Governors-General Jacques Specx and Hendrik Brouwer. As the editor, Dr. H. T. Colenbrander, points out in his preface, the commerce of the Dutch East India Company in this period is seen steadily to increase, and the shadows, at least, of the assertion of sovereignty that the Company, through the force of circumstances, is gradually obliged to make, have already become visible. Not only is it necessary for the Dutch to defend themselves in the possession of their property, but they are forced from time to time, for the sake of prestige, to assert themselves by assuming the aggressive. The record, furthermore, does not confine itself to what has since become the Dutch East Indies, but extends to dealings with other countries and islands of the East, with Persia, Japan, Siam, India, Ceylon, and the Philippines, and incidentally has no little material with regard to the early navigation of the unknown Malay archipelago. The book is an extremely

valuable source of original information concerning not only the development of the Dutch colonies, but of European commercial and colonial power in the Far East. There is a carefully prepared index.

In the *Atenaeum* of April 8 Mr. W. Fraser Rae begins, in a first instalment, to pour forth his "New Light on Junius." This light does not, he confesses, illumine the hitherto undiscoverable incognito beyond dispute, but it helps to throw Sir Philip Francis and his adherents still further into the shade.

Prof. E. Hübner of Berlin, who ten or eleven years ago occupied temporarily a chair in the Johns Hopkins University, and at that time published contributions to a Ciceronian bibliography, writes in the *Rundschau* for April on the variable position held by Cicero, the writer and the man, in the estimation of scholars and cultivated circles, in different lands and periods. He regrets the disfavor, not to say condemnation, which the character and writings of the immortal Roman have for some time past incurred among the educated class in Germany. Though disclaiming any attempt at a *Reitlung* or whitewashing of Cicero, he nevertheless has at heart the rehabilitation of the great classic wherever he may have lost prestige.

The *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for April opens with a description of the Caroline Islands by F. W. Christian, who emphasizes the neglect of the Spaniards to develop their resources or to civilize the natives. Some of the islands are "nothing better than pirate strongholds." In earlier days the natives were "great navigators, guiding their way fearlessly by a most accurate knowledge of the stars and ocean currents." Even as late as the beginning of this century a fleet of eighteen or twenty large canoes sailed annually in February to Guam, a distance of some five hundred miles, returning in April or May. The article is illustrated by pictures taken by a Manila photographer who accompanied the writer, but has since been shot by the Spaniards as a rebel. Mr. Christian's reference to the native rising in the Philippines is interesting as that of a non-partisan observer. He says emphatically that it is "not a cause of pure patriotism. It is directed by unprincipled men working for their own selfish ends against law and order. . . . It means the massacre of peaceful Europeans, and the torture of helpless women and children." There are also accounts of a region on the western shore of Lake Balkal and of the French Niger Territory, some of which is extraordinarily fertile but still undeveloped.

The *Consular Reports* for April opens with a statistical account of the trade of this country with northern China, which it shows has for some years been "constantly increasing—not slowly, but in an almost phenomenal manner." There is also a description of a method of inducing persons of small means to save which has proved very successful in some German cities. Instead of obliging them to bring their savings to the bank, the bank undertakes to collect from its depositors certain fixed sums weekly. On the receipt of the money, which varies between the limits of 50 pfennigs and 10 marks, the depositor is given a printed coupon, showing the amount collected, the date, and the number of the pass-book. In Mainz the number of weekly depositors on January 1, 1898, was 5,799, who made a weekly deposit of \$3,704, the majority depositing one

and two marks. In a table showing the tonnage of ships entered in the principal ports of the world in 1887 and 1895, it is noteworthy that Constantinople stands second, or next to London, with (in round numbers) thirteen millions—an increase of nearly four and a half millions. New York has dropped from the fifth to the eighth place on the list, foreign commerce alone being included, with an increase of less than a million.

In one of the recent monthly meetings of the Association de Représentants de la Presse Étrangère, at Constantinople, Major von Huber, one of the German officers in the service of the Ottoman Government, in connection with the building of the Anatolian railroad, reported the preparation by himself of a map of Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine, based on reliable sources of information, mostly of an official character, access to which was facilitated by the friendly feeling entertained by the Turkish authorities towards the Germans. The size of the map, which as yet has had only a limited circulation in MS. reproductions, but is soon to be published somewhere outside of Turkey, is 1.30 by 0.94 metres, and the scale is 1:1,500,000. The author states that it contains some 9,500 data with reference to the highways, railroads, etc., of these provinces, while special efforts have been made to indicate the exact population, status, etc., of the Christian contingent. Accompanying this main map are two smaller ones, dealing with Crete and Constantinople. The political significance of this collection of charts at the present time is apparent at a glance, and probably explains why the Porte refused to permit their publication within the limits of the Empire. It is Von Huber's purpose to bring out his map in an accurate but quite inexpensive edition.

We are requested to state that the entrance examinations for the Library School of Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, are to be given this year on June 24 instead of in September as heretofore.

The summer courses for foreigners in the study of the French language at the University of Grenoble will be open from July 1 to October 31, and will be more complete than ever. In the first fortnight in July a formal opening session will be presided over by the rector, and will comprise a lantern lecture on the geography of Dauphiny by Prof. Collet. For all particulars, students should address M. Marcel Reymond, No. 4 Place de la Constitution.

The Anti-Imperialist League, whose headquarters are at No. 43 Milk Street, Boston (Francis A. Osborn, Treasurer), desires contributions in aid of the spread of argumentative literature that makes for peace and national integrity.

—The American success of "Cyrano" has led to the republication (Doubleday & McClure Co.) of a quaint seventeenth-century translation of the 'Histoire comique des états et empires de la lune,' with an excellent biographical introduction and notes by Mr. Curtis Hidden Page. Though subordinate to the work itself, the editor's share calls for special attention on account of the reasonable limits to which it has been restricted and its accuracy in matters of detail. For example, Mr. Page's note on "sara-band," which makes of this "a Hoely Spanish dance," differs from the common erroneous description of English dictionaries, which call it "stately," and agrees with the *con poco modestia* of Spanish authorities. Also, the

bibliographical indications point out important works of kindred character in various languages, and suggest possible indebtedness on the part of Cyrano. Of the "Voyage," comparatively little is likely to hold the interest of readers unprepared by reëxamination of Gautier's essay in 'Les Grotesques.' The work is a fitful gallopade in the thin upper regions of a fancy somewhat lacking in ethereality and inventiveness. Even in the common device of inverting or reversing terrestrial conditions, the author fails to work out the scheme on systematic lines. We find that some of the lunar inhabitants, though shaped like human beings, walk on four feet; that they puzzle over the nature and sex of their earthly visitor; that they feed, not on solids, but on vapors—with more of the same sort. Underlying all these imaginings come theories physical and metaphysical, gathered right and left from Campanella, Cardan, Gassendi, and others, but presenting, to our eyes, a veritable farrago of speculation, in which, however, a subtle allegory may possibly lurk. More attractive is the curiously anticipatory character of several practices of Cyrano's entertainers, who are familiar with cremation and "ambulatory" houses; and who, to belief in a sort of microbian hypothesis, add a firm trust in the efficacy of faith-cures. It is also worth noting, as a typical bit of Cyranoesque egotism, that *large-nosed* moon-dwellers are alone permitted to multiply. And, lastly, when we observe what poetical setting M. Rostand has succeeded in giving to his hero's ways of reaching the moon, all prosaically detailed here, we feel more than ever the truth of Cyrano's sad dying admission,

"Où, ma vie,
Ce fut d'être celui qui souffre—et qu'on oublie!"

—Under the title of 'Nouvelle-France et Nouvelle-Angleterre' (Paris: Calmann Lévy), Mme. Th. Bentzon publishes her impressions of travel lately issued in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. The notes for this volume were the fruit of observations along the Saguenay trip, in Montreal and Quebec, and during rapid visits to Concord, Salem, the commencement exercises at Harvard, and so on. In the Canadian part there are two distinct elements—a capital guide-book for future tourists, compiled with the practised ease of a good observer, and a bundle of judgments and opinions on the conditions of French Canadian life as affecting women, to which aspect, it would appear, Mme. Bentzon almost exclusively confined her attention. For the many conventual establishments—and especially for hospitals directed by Sisters of Mercy—which came in her way, the traveller has little else than praise, not unaccompanied with disparagement of rival institutions in hands English and secular, concerning which (from hearsay, apparently) she concludes less favorably. At the same time, a discreet innuendo here and there suggests that ecclesiastical reins struck the writer as being drawn a little closer in the Province of Quebec than in France of today; and there is also recognition of the fact that difference of race would produce much less friction in the absence of religious antagonism. Dealing with French Canadian peculiarities, Mme. Bentzon takes a more charitable view than the late H. C. Bunner, and finds the *habitant* guilty of the sole vice of drunkenness. She touches very gingerly on the quality of language and accent characteristic of French Canada, contenting herself with the mild irony of "Oet accent

non classé est tout simplement, on le croit du moins au Canada, l'accent du XVIIe. siècle." It is, however, surprising that in connection with the return of Canadian factory-hands from New England industrial towns, no notice should have been taken of the frequent Anglicising of names; but an unprepared traveller may well be excused for not recognizing "Noël Trudeau" under his alternative designation of "Christmas Waterhole."

—Passing from French Canada into New England, Mme. Bentzon's attention was drawn to the contrast thus presented in life, type, and character, though the difference appears less sharp to one who proceeds slowly by way of the district known as the "Eastern Townships," between the St. Lawrence and our own frontier. The visits to Concord and Salem contain little more than the traditional observations and reflections on the Transcendentalists and the witches, many of which are doubtless new to French readers. The latter should, however, be informed that "a lintoo roof" is approximately correct in sound, yet unconventional in spelling; also, that to English ears a "glee club" does not suggest "club de la joie." In conclusion, the author, prudently hazarding no independent counsel or opinion, records a hope for a splendid future to Canada, as a mark of gratitude for attentions and hospitality generously given and here so gracefully acknowledged.

—In order to excite greater zeal in the study of modern languages and to make it possible to learn them more thoroughly, somewhat more than a year ago a number of educators in Germany organized a system of international correspondence between the pupils of schools in different countries, the exchange being made through a central office at Leipzig. Experience has now shown the thorough success of this innovation. More than thirty schools in Germany, England, and France have in this first twelvemonth already cooperated in the scheme. Somewhat to the surprise of the Germans, the French and the English have been the most enthusiastic participants. The plan calls for a letter from each member every two weeks, alternating in the language of the writer and that of the recipient. The recipient returns the letter corrected. Each pupil is permitted to have but one correspondent. In order to avoid possible trouble, the missive is addressed, not to the pupil, but to the school. The higher schools for girls are taking the liveliest interest in the work. The principal of a young ladies' seminary in Macon, France, writes to the central office at Leipzig that through these letters her pupils have become ardent students of German, and that the communications have proved to be great aids to study. The applications for membership by the schools of France and England have been so numerous as to embarrass the Leipzig office. The friends of the movement, in addition to the educational value of it, draw attention to the moral benefits in the formation of friendships between young people of different nationalities which will necessarily bear good fruit hereafter.

RECENT AMERICAN POETRY.

It can scarcely be denied, in looking over the harvest of American poetry yielded during the last six months, that the three or

four volumes indicating most promise are by women. One of these writers is Mrs. Lilla Cabot Perry, known best as a painter; but also through her remarkable translation of 'Pictures in Prose,' by Turgeneff, and her little volume, 'In the Garden of Hellas,' of versions from the Greek Anthology. In her 'Impressions' (Copeland & Day) there is a vigorous grasp, as in the following (p. 81):

A DREAM.

"Horseman, springing from the dark,
Horseman, flying wild and free,
Tell me, what shall be thy road,
Whither speedest far from me?"

"From the dark into the light,
From the small unto the great,
From the valleys dark I ride
O'er the hills to conquer fate!"

"Take me with thee, horseman mine!
Let me madly ride with thee!"
As he turned I met his eyes,
My own soul looked back at me!

The same quality is seen also in the fine closing line of this brief definition (p. 47) called

ART.

Wouldst know the artist? Then go seek
Him in his labors.—Though he strive
That Nature's voice alone should speak
From page or canvas to the heart,
Yet is it passionately alive
With his own soul! Of him 'tis part!—
This happy failure, this is Art.

It is to be noticed that each of these poems culminates in the complete felicity of the last line, as often happens in the Greek Anthology; and this is true of many of Mrs. Perry's poems, whereas with more commonplace artists the last line is apt to enfeeble the whole. Her defect lies, however, after all, in an imperfect control of her own chisel; there are halting lines, insufficient cadences. This, and this alone, leads to the impression that perhaps the pen is not, after all, her final and predestined implement.

Miss Josephine Preston Peabody, in 'The Wayfarers' (Boston: Copeland), is one of the youngest American women whose poems have matured into a volume, and she is certainly one of the best worth reading. Sometimes mastered by her own conception and not always working it thoroughly out into clear utterance, she yet has always something to say, and often gets it well and strongly uttered. "The Weavers," for instance, is a very striking and original personification of the unseen powers that mould our destiny even while we sleep (p. 26):

THE WEAVERS.

All day I walk among the crowd,
Seeking the Weavers. Well I wot
This noonday, starting blank and hot,
Is not for them; yet in a cloud
Of men I wander—call aloud.
All day I seek, and find them not.

Lo, every night the Weavers come,
And one by one, and silently,
With eyes down-looking timidly,
They steal into the darkening room,
Bent forms and eid against the gloom,
With faces gray as mystery.

Dim faces have the Weavers,—eyes
Of patience that do seem to shun
The waning light, as one by one
They come what way the shadow lies,
Like long imprisoned memories
That dare not look upon the sun.

With flickering smiles of gentleness,
Finger on lip, they come: and soon
Beneath the shuttle's lowly croon
The silence groweth less and less,
As dusk before the loveliness
Of a slow-rising summer moon.

The shuttle singeth. And fair things
Upon the web do come and go;
Dim traceries like clouds ablow
Fade into cobweb glimmerings.
A silver, fretted with small wings,—
The while a voice is singing low.

The quiet yieldeth up its sweet
To a great laughter; winds arise;
Wild birds awaken alien skies,
And in a tremulous outer heat
The pulses of the summer beat
To the deep hum of dragon-flies.

"Lo, the Life-glory, it hath come!"

Ah, Soul, who laughed aloud at thee?
Nay, not the Weavers. Mystery!
Was it a shuttle, broken, dumb?
Nought is there, nought in all the room
Save daylight and its vacancy.

Last night the Weavers came and went.
Ay me, so fair a web was wrought,
All winged hopes within it caught!
And ere the colors were forgotten,
The blank day matched the joy they lent,
Day, starting like a thing distraught.

I seek the Weavers. As I go,
All faces save their own I see,
But not their gentle company,—
Never their smiles that flicker so.
There are the only eyes I seek;
All other folks are strange to me.

In 'England and Yesterday,' a book of short poems by Louise Imogen Guiney (London: Grant Richards), we have, all things considered, the finest poetic tribute yet paid to that imperishable tie which links England and America in literary traditions. Miss Guiney, perhaps the most cultivated and the most original of American women who write poetry, has printed in England a little book of poems born in English soil, yet essentially American at heart. She is the only representative here of that Celtic revival which is the best thing in contemporary English verse; and it is not strange to find her various lyrics and sonnets inscribed to leaders of that movement, such as Lionel Johnson and Dora Sigerson. Oxford has also laid its spell on her, as on all such temperaments; and many charming memories will be recalled by a sonnet like this (p. 20):

BOOKS IN NEW COLLEGE GARDENS.

Through rosy clouds, and over thorny towers,
Their wings with darkling autumn distance filled,
From Isis' valley border, hundred-billed,
The rooks are crowding home as evening lowers:
Not for men only, and their musing hours,
By battled walls did gracious Wykeham build
These dewy spaces early sown and stilled,
These dearest inland melancholy bowers.
Blest birds! A book held open on the knee
Below, is all they guess of Adam's light:
With surer art the while, and simpler rite,
They follow Truth in some monastic tree,
Where breathe against their docile breasts, by
night,
The scholar's star, the star of sanctity.

Best of all, perhaps, as separating her by a clear strong line of demarcation from those Americans whom England simply dwarfs and retains, is this memory of home, even among the London docks (p. 14):

IN THE DOCKS.

Where the bales thunder till the day is done,
And the wild sounds with wilder odours cope;
Where, over crouching sail and colling rope,
Lascar and Moor along the gangway run;
Where stifled Thames spreads in the pallid sun,
A hive of anarchy from slope to slope;
Flag of my birth, my liberty, my hope,
I see thee at the masthead, joyous one!
O thou good guest! So oft, as, young and warm,
To the home wind thy hoisted colours bound,
Away from this too thoughtful ground,
Sodden with human trespass and despair,
Thee only, from the desert, from the storm,
A sick mind follows into Eden air.

Miss Helen Hay, under the modest title of 'Some Verses' (Chicago: Stone), fortunately does not follow her father in the direction of dialect—since one dialect writer is enough for a family—yet shows much power in verse-making, a delicate eye for nature, and a real depth of feeling, which, unfortunately, takes, especially on the first and last pages, a somewhat severe and even repulsive form. There is much concentration in these poems, and the very shortest sometimes present a striking imaginative suggestion, as in the following (p. 67):

THE LAST CLOUD.

A red-rose cloud upon the evening sky,
A warrior cloud which dies in gallant fight,
Too proud for prisons of triumphant night,
Knowing no pause, no strain of changing years,
Its little hour too short for dreams or tears,
The faithful sun its first and latest light—
Who would not so be glad to fight and die!
A red-rose cloud upon the evening sky.

The poem which, although not remarkable in conception, shows the most distinctly mu-

sical gift, and has even a haunting quality, is the following (p. 60):

TO DIANE.

The ruddy poppies bend and bow,
Diane! do you remember?
The sun you know shines proudly now,
The lake still lists the breeze's vow,
Your towers are fairer for their stains,
Each stone you smiled upon remains.
Sing low—where is Diane?
Diane! do you remember?

I come to find you through the years,
Diane! do you remember?
For none may rule my love's soft fears.
The ladies now are not your peers,
I seek you thro' your tarnished halls,
Pale sorrow on my spirit falls,
High, low,—where is Diane?
Diane! do you remember?

I crush the poppies where I tread,
Diane! do you remember?
Your flower of life, so bright, so red—
She does not hear—Diane is dead.
I pace the sunny bowers alone
Where naught of her remains but stone.
Sing low—where is Diane?
Diane does not remember.

'Along the Trail: A Book of Lyrics,' by Richard Hovey (Boston: Small, Maynard & Co.), is rather misnamed, for the author shows us his well-known lyric gift only in the now familiar song "Give a Rouse then in the May-Time," while a large part of the book takes the sonnet form. It is fitting that a good deal of the book should have academic reference to Dartmouth College and the Psi Upsilon Fraternity, and in these it is appropriate enough that the author's art should show itself as being, in his own phrase, "frank-and-twenty"; yet there comes a time when this prolonged juvenility must perforce wane a little, and, perhaps, both the authors of 'Vagabondia' need to bear this fact in mind. For some reason or other, the maturer muse of Mr. Hovey does not seem always to show recognition of this truth, nor are the luscious and morbid horrors of Mallarmé the best school for a healthy maturing; but there is no cause for real anxiety in regard to one who can write, in the intervals of 'Vagabondia,' anything so strong and simple as this sonnet (p. 27):

AFTER BUSINESS HOURS.

When I sit down with thee at last alone,
Shut out the wrangle of the clashing day,
The scrape of petty jars that fret and fray,
The snarl and yelp of brute beasts for a bone;
When thou and I sit down at last alone,
And, through the dusk of rooms divinely gray,
Spirit to spirit finds its voiceless way,
As tone melts meeting in accordant tone,—
Oh, then our souls, far in the vast of sky,
Look from a tower, too high for sound of strife
Or any violation of the town,
Where the great vacant winds of God go by,
And over the huge misshapen city of life
Love pours his silence and his moonlight down.

'Poems by Richard Realf, Poet, Soldier, Workman,' with a memoir by Richard J. Hinton, is a thick volume of more than 300 pages (Funk & Wagnalls), about one-half being biography and one-half verse. The memoir is a curious illustration of a fact as old as history—the fascination exercised by the brilliant, sentimental, mercurial type of man over the honest but unimaginative friend. It is simply impossible to make a hero—outside of a French novel—of one who began his career at nineteen in England by seducing a young relative of his chief benefactor, Lady Byron, and who, being beaten unmercifully by the girl's brother, disappeared and was afterwards recognized as a barefooted ballad singer; who, being banished from England to America, married three wives, two of them illegally, and finally committed suicide because his second wife, being apparently of more determined character than the others, persisted in following him up. It was perfectly in character for such a man to become John Brown's secretary, and betray his secrets for six hundred dollars (p. xlvii), and on the other hand, that he should give away half the money

to two of John Brown's escaped companions; nor is it out of character that he should write to his sister, "Why, Sallie, I have sung 'Home, Sweet Home,' when no eye but God's has seen me, and when no ear but His has listened; because, if I had not sung it, my full heart would have broken; and the tears would roll down my cheeks, and I would tremble till I could hardly sit on my horse" (p. xxxv). The best explanation that his faithful friend and biographer can give of him, is that he must have "suffered at times from some form of dementia" (p. xxx). Thus much of the memoir, and for the poems the following love-sonnet is, perhaps, the very low-water mark; it would be a pity, indeed, to have it go much lower (p. 19):

PASSION.

I clench my arms about your neck, until
The knuckles of my hands grow white with pain,
And my swollen muscles quiver with the strain,
And all the pulses of my life stand still.
I say I clench so. Ah! you cannot tear
Yourself away from my immortal grip.
Of forlorn tenderness and salt despair.
And child-like sorrowing after fellowship,
And wolf-like hunger of the famishing heart;
For not until my sundering fibres crack,
And my torn limbs from their wrenched sockets start,
O darling, darling! will I yield me back
To that lone hell whence, shuddering through and through,
With one wild tiger-leap I sprang to you.

So far as it appears, Real was a good soldier for four years during the civil war, and was offered a first lieutenantcy in the regular army, but declined it (p. lxxi). The high-water mark of his verses—which are in general, it must be said, mediocre—is, perhaps, the following (p. 40):

MY SWORD SONG.

Day in, day out, through the long campaign,
I march in my place in the ranks;
And whether it shine or whether it rain,
My good sword cheerily clanks.
It clanks and clanks in a knightly way
Like the ring of an armored heel;
And this is the song which day by day
It sings with its lips of steel:

"O friend, from whom a hundred times
I have felt the strenuous grip
Of the all-reouncing love that climbs
To the heights of fellowship;
Are you tired of all the weary miles?
Are you faint with your swooning limbs?
Do you hunger back for the olden smiles,
And the lift of olden hymns?"

"Under the wall of the shuddering world
Amoan for its fallen sons;
Over the volleying thunders buried
From the throats of the wrathful guns;
Above the roar of the plunging line
That rocks with the fury of hell,
Runs the absolute voice: O Earth of mine,
Be patient, for all is well!"

Thus sings my sword to my soul, and I,
Albeit the way is long,
As soiled clouds darken athwart the sky—
Still keep my spirit strong:
Whether I live, or whether I lie
On the stained ground, ghastly and stark,
Beyond the carnage I shall decry
God's love shine across the dark.

Take four parts of Joaquin Miller, add two of Kipling, one of Stephen Crane, and three of natural and almost boyish feeling—lasting strangely amid a medley of discourse, often childishly or vulgarly selected—and you have 'Kufu, and Other Poems,' by Clay Arthur Pierce, published in St. Louis by the author. The volume is an excellent piece of book-making in externals (from the Gottschalk Press, St. Louis); and its checkered black and red lines have an oddity which sometimes verges on picturesqueness. Apparently, the author wishes you to know his favorite lines, and so puts them in scarlet, and he often uses these tints instead of ordinary italics; or employs them to designate in the margin the precise date of the poem—for he is very much interested in his own statistics. Occasionally a red line slants across the whole page, not for erasure, but for distinction. Yet with all these evidences of whim and perhaps juvenility, there are signs of pro-

mise in "The Ballad of Yuba Wood" (p. 96), and in the protest against Juvenal's Sixth Satire (p. 141).

We have glimpses of Kipling again and of Browning and of Leopardi—and, above all, of youth and its ardor and its crudeness—in "The Song of the Wave, and Other Poems," by George Cabot Lodge (Scribners). The enormous gilded wave which overspreads the cover of this book answers the purpose of all Mr. Pierce's torrents of scarlet, and they alike give a promise of something turgid and rhetorical, whose pledge the book itself in each case does something to fulfil. Yet the title-poem (p. 7) is not wholly unbecoming the grandson of an Admiral:

THE SONG OF THE WAVE.

I.
This is the song of the wave! The mighty one!
Child of the soul of silence, beating the air to sound:
White as a live terror, as a drawn sword,
This is the wave.

II.
This is the song of the wave, the white-maned steed of the Tempest,
Whose veins are swollen with life.
In whose flanks abide the four winds.
This is the wave.

III.
This is the song of the wave! The dawn leaped out of the sea
And the waters lay smooth as a silver shield,
And the sun-rays smote on the waters like a golden sword.
Then a wind blew out of the morning
And the waters rustled
And the wave was born!

IV.
This is the song of the wave! The wind blew out of the noon,
And the white sea-birds like driven foam
Winged in from the ocean that lay beyond the sky,
And the face of the waters was barred with white,
For the wave had many brothers,
And the wave was strong!

VI.
This is the song of the wave, that rises to fall,
Rises a sheer green wall like a barrier of glass
That has caught the soul of the moonlight,
Caught and prisoned the moonbeams;
Its edge is frittered to foam.
This is the wave!

Mr. Paul Laurence Dunbar has effectually commanded an audience for his poems, and the time has arrived when they should be discussed, not as something sporadic or unexpected, but as dispassionately as if they came from the Anglo-Saxon type. Thus judged—and sympathy makes it difficult to apply the test—it must be said that, while smooth in diction and fairly animated in thought, they do not show that supreme quality which promises to help the colored race as it has been aided by the eloquence of Frederick Douglass or the organizing power of Booker Washington. Yet there is certainly promise in this volume, 'Lyrics of the Hearthside' (Dodd, Mead & Co.); the poems are not tinged with conceit because of sudden applause; and they are best where they come most nearly from the peculiar conditions of the author's life, as in the following poem (p. 40):

SYMPATHY.

I know what the caged bird feels, alas!
When the sun is bright on the upland slopes;
When the wind stirs soft through the springing grass,
And the river flows like a stream of glass;
When the first bird sings and the first bud ope,
And the faint perfume from its chalice steals—
I know what the caged bird feels!

I know why the caged bird beats his wing
Till its blood is red on the cruel bars;
For he must fly back to his perch and cling
When he fain would be on the bough a-wing;
And a pain still throbs in the old, old scars
And his pulse again with a keener sting—
I know why he beats his wing!

I know why the caged bird sings, ah me,
When his wing is bruised and his bosom sore,—
When he beats his bars and he would be free;
It is not a carol of joy or glee,
But a prayer he sends from his heart's deep core,
But a plea, that upward to Heaven he flings—
I know why the caged bird sings!

We have before now called attention to

the fact that, when our race once reaches the shores of the Pacific, the merely English traditions and phrases are apt to drop aside from verse, and something fresh and indigenous is revealed. 'Songs from Puget Sea,' by Herbert Bashford (San Francisco: Whitaker), may not as a whole be pronounced original or great, yet how refreshing are the local coloring and atmosphere in this little poem (p. 32):

EVENING ON THE RANCH.

The sunshine gilds the moss-robed roofs
And glares upon the window panes;
By two and threes the lazy herd
Strolls down the winding, dusty lanes.

The flushed sun sinks; the gold-blurred west
Shows dimly through the maple boughs;
The stars flame out; within their stalls
The wearied oxen dream and drowse.

Like some huge ship with hull afire
The crescent moon in vast, wild seas
Of sombre pine slow settles down
And burns the black tops of the trees.

A sudden silence, deep, profound,
Steals through the wan, uncertain light,
And now one lone frog's lagoon-let
Rings clear across the falling night.

The same native quality sometimes shows itself in the smallest California productions; so that a little pamphlet of a dozen pages (privately printed), such as 'Southern California Verses,' by Grace Luce, may give more that is indigenous and genuine than Bret Harte, for instance, has told us about California during the quarter of a century that he has lived across the Atlantic, reproducing old types of human life now as utterly departed as the Aztec civilization. Yet the poppies still remain on the hills, and Miss Luce sings them as freshly as Wordsworth his daffodils (p. 5):

POPPIES.

Poppy, blitheest flower that grows—
The bees that bend thy orange bloom
Are silenced by thy wild perfume,
And they leave thee in thy whispering rows
Afar from any garden close.
Children of our sunset skies,
And, dancing where the west wind blows
Over mesas, hills, and flowering leas,
You wander to the brink of seas,
A vagrant with the wilful breeze.
Free and wild, where men go not,
The wilderness your favored spot,
You open wide your winsome eyes
On Nature's gorgeous mystic-rites,
Content to grow, to gleam, and glow,
Forgotten by the butterflies.

The harvest of military and naval verses is not yet at an end, although the Philippine war seems, for very obvious reasons, to add little to it. Even the Spaniards have written but little heroic verse about bull-fighting. 'War Poems, 1898,' compiled by the Californian Club (San Francisco: Murdock Press), has in it not much that is above mediocrity, and the illustrations are below even that grade. Of the poems, the following is best worth quoting, by Miss Blanche M. Channing (p. 106):

THE NEGRO SOLDIER.

We used to think the negro didn't count for very much—
Light-fingered in the melon-patch, and chicken-yard, and such;
Much mixed in point of morals, and absurd in point of dress,
The butt of droll cartoonists and the target of the press;
But we've got to reconstruct our views on color,
More or less,
Now we know about the Tenth at La Quassina!

When a rain of shot was falling, with a song upon his lips,
In the horror where such gallant lives went out in death's eclipse,
Face to face with Spanish bullets, on the slope of San Juan,
The negro soldier showed himself another type of man;
Read the story of his courage coldly, carelessly, who can—
The story of the Tenth at La Quassina!

We have heaped the Cuban soil above their bodies,
Black and white—
The strangely-sorted comrades of that grand and glorious fight—
And many a fair-skinned volunteer goes whole and sound to-day
For the succor of the colored troops, the battle-records say.
And the feud is done for ever, of the blue-coat and the gray—
All honor to the Tenth at La Quassina!

Another book of the same class, although by a single author, is 'Songs of Good Fighting,' by Eugene R. White (Lamson, Wolfe & Co.). Just as a Whitman literature already exists in the line of imitation, because it is so easy to follow a poet's whims and omit his inspiration, so this book may yet have a bibliographical interest through the rhetorical tricks it borrows from Kipling, as in the following (p. 41):

ON THE GREAT LAKES AND THE SEA.

AS SAID THE SEA:

Now, list to me, said the Cresting Sea, ye wastrel spawn of land,
Ere that ye claim, so confident, kin to the Master's band;
For I am grey as Time is grey, for I am the Twin of Time.
I have seen the base of the Elder Days, I have looked on the ancient rime,
I have battled with man, I have battled with cliff,
I have battled with ships and dune,
At the Altar of Fate I pledged my hate that none may be immune.
Though I be grey with baffled deeds, yet red is the race I ran,
No rest I take my thrall to slake till the Earth be purged of man.

We catch another glimpse of Kipling in these verses from 'For the King, and Other Poems,' by Robert Cameron Rogers (Putnam) (p. 85):

THE STEERSMAN'S SONG.

The fore-shrouds bar the moonlit scud,
The port-rail laps the sea—
Aloft all taut, where the wind clouds skim,
Along the cutwater snug and trim,
And the man at the wheel sings low; sings he—
"Oh, sea-room and lee-room
And a gale to run afore—
From the Golden Gate to Sunda Strait,
But my heart lies snug ashore."

Her hull rolls high, her nose dips low,
The rollers flash alee—
Wallow and dip and the up-tossed screw
Sends heart-beats quivering through and through—
And the man at the wheel sings low; sings he—
"Oh, sea-room and lee-room
And a gale to run afore—
Sou'east by South and a bone in her mouth,
But my heart lies snug ashore."

The book has, however, some good frontier poems, the best of which is "The Maverick" (p. 48)—this being, as is well known, the name given by frontiersmen to the stray, unbranded, unshod horses who make up the untamable "wild bunch" of the prairies.

The Kiplingese influence is to be found again in 'The Shadows of the Trees,' by Robert Burns Wilson (New York: R. H. Russell), and it is the more remarkable because the pervading tone of the book is that of the love of nature and of a gentle melancholy. The volume is, however, exceptional in merit because the illustrations adorn instead of impairing it, as is more usual. The Kipling strain occurs thus, for instance (p. 7):

A SONG OF NEW SEAS.

Give us new seas to sail—the cry is, give us new seas to sail!
New seas to sail, be they never so mad and we ship in the teeth of the gale:
For the old seas pall on our souls like death, their tides and their deeps we know,
The slope of the continents under the brine, and the black ooze-beds below.

The currents that drift from pole to pole—what new hope can they bring?
And the breakers that beat on the thousand shores, what new song can they sing?
The thousand shores—the dreary stretch, what have they else to give
But the same dull death for those that die, and the same dull life to live!

The thousand shores—the gabbling millions, fronting the patient sun,
What will they do in their child's-play world but that they have always done?
These slaves of time with the farce of their flags, and their drivelling cant, accurst,
They will know no more when the last man lives than the first man knew at first.

A collection of more value than these is one called 'The Memory of Lincoln' (Boston: Small, Maynard & Co.), containing poems selected from a dozen different authors and skilfully edited, with an introduction, by M. A. De Wolf Howe. Another charming compilation—the best upon its own theme, indeed,

that we have ever seen—is 'Mother-Song and Child-Song,' edited by Charlotte Brewster Jordan (Stokes). From "Philip My King" to "Little Orphant Annie," this includes the whole gamut of poetry for young children, and will be a messenger of delight to many households.

A History of Physics in its Elementary Branches. By Florian Cajori. Macmillan Co. 1899.

Prof. Cajori's 'History of Mathematics' has proved a useful book, notwithstanding the fault that was found with it for not being a kind of book it was never designed to be. Should a similar mistake be committed about the present work, however, it will be in a measure the author's own fault; for in a preface he quotes from the chemical leader William Ostwald some sentences which, in German verbose eloquence, express the idea that scientific teaching is not sufficiently historical, and thereupon hopes that this book may do something towards remedying that defect. This, being the main substance of the preface, seems to declare the purpose of the book. But what Ostwald wished to recommend, if anything more than the perusal of classical memoirs, was probably text-books on the plan of Mach's 'Die Mechanik in ihrer Entwicklung historisch-kritisch dargestellt' (a good translation is published by the Open Court Co.), which imparts a very clear notion of the fundamentals of the science in a quite admirable account of the historical evolution of its conceptions; adulterated, unfortunately, it is true, with some baseless metaphysics. Since 99 per cent. of those who study chemistry, as of those who study mechanics, pursue it simply with a view to making industrial applications of their skill, we have little doubt that, for their purposes, Ostwald is quite right in confessing that the unhistorical methods are "very successful," contrary to the contention that there is economy in the historical way of teaching. But, however that may be, in what manner Prof. Cajori can imagine that an anecdotal and "crisp" (we will not say newspaper) narrative of physical discovery can subserve the historical plan of inculcating profound ideas of physics, is not very clear.

All that can be expected in a volume which compresses the whole development of elastics, thermotics, acoustics, optics, electricity, etc., into a hundred thousand words, is a sketch of the most exterior facts for those who come to it utterly ignorant, together with entertaining reminiscences and perhaps some stray, forgotten circumstances for those who have been over the ground before; and so much this volume certainly gives us. It is impossible to blame the author for not introducing us into the inner current of physical thought, except when he himself, by direct pretension to discuss the vexed question of the reason for the failure of ancient physics, renders it impossible not to notice this side of the work. All our studies of scientific methods during the last half century have gone to confirm Whewell's sagacious induction of 1837, that scientific discoveries cannot be made until appropriate ideas have first grown up. For example, the fact that Aristotle could assert that heavy bodies fall faster than light ones shows that his ideas were not in that state of preparation for the subject which would insure its occurring to him that, whether two bodies of equal weight falling side by side were welded together or not, could

make no difference in their rate of falling, unless a strain upon the welding would necessarily be brought about; and so long as such ways of thinking would not be sure to occur to him, he was plainly incapable of devising any suitable experiments relating to the phenomenon, as well as of reasoning from them rightly had they been brought before his eyes. Very few have been the exact general propositions drawn from history, perhaps none before Whewell's date, so eminently instructive as this; for it shows us that science is not unmixed receptivity, but essentially involves a conceptual element that has to go through a period of growth and a process of ripening. There is a certain psychological naïveté, therefore, in Prof. Cajori's bringing forward in 1899 the objection (borrowed from the most anti-historical of all modern schools of philosophy) that Whewell does not explain why such quick-witted folks as the Greeks should have failed to catch appropriate concepts; as if concepts were things that bright minds could always pluck at will. Certainly, Whewell's law does not pretend to explain everything about its subject-matter. That is a character it shares with the theory of evolution through variations at birth, and indeed with all genuine scientific inductions. But it does render the sort of cavil noticed a mere *ignoratio elenchi*. It is true enough, as Prof. Cajori says, that the ancient Greeks were not good physicists because they did not care seriously for physics and had no turn for it. But the reason why they did not care for it and had no turn for it was that they had not yet grown up to it, nor developed the ideas appropriate to that study. In later times, they turned out extremely successful with such branches as by the growth of appropriate ideas they were prepared to study.

Prof. Cajori distributes his space justly both among the different branches of physics and among the different periods of history. The Greeks get 1-24 of his 300 pages, the Romans 1-150, the Arabs 1-75, the Middle Ages 1-37, the Renaissance 1-12, the seventeenth century 1-6, the eighteenth 1-8, and our own 5-9. The natural consequence is that the book gets better and better the further one reads. The very best chapter is the very last, on the evolution of physical laboratories. On the other hand, a person who could not off-hand furnish a more satisfactory account of Greek physics than is here to be found, could hardly be reckoned as ordinarily well informed on the subject. No doubt, Prof. Cajori could have done much better. But he has given such rough characterization as the space to which he restricted this period would permit, as long as it was assumed that the reader was pretty thoroughly unacquainted with the Greeks beforehand.

Whatever all the similar modern compendiums get right this book gets right, and where they are apt to slip, this book is pretty sure to come to grief along with them. Thus, Mach having raised some purely gratuitous objections to the statical reasoning of Archimedes, prompted thereto by his metaphysics, we find Cajori only willing to admit that Archimedes "endeavored to establish" the principle of the lever. Good logic and good sense go with Lagrange in the opinion that the demonstration is perfect, epochal, and superbly ingenious in the highest sense. At any rate, if Prof. Cajori would only attend to the meaning of the word "establish" in English and not of *feststellen*,

or *beseidigt*, or *begründen*, in German, we think he must admit that, whether the proof was indisputable or not, the principle was, as a matter of historical fact, established by Archimedes. In like manner, he meekly falls into the train of those German commentators who have blunderingly accused Galileo of fallacious reasoning in his refutation of the hypothesis that the velocity of a falling body is proportional to the space described from the state of rest. The most that ought to be admitted is that, in reproducing at eighty years of age his reasonings of sixty years before, he does not set them forth with quite sufficient fulness; but that the reasoning itself, once it is fully stated, is perfectly sound, is quite beyond dispute. He assumes, of course, that the time of the fall is not infinite, and on that basis asserts that, were the law as supposed, the time of falling the first four yards would be no longer than the time of falling the first two. His suppressed reasoning was no doubt something like this: Under the supposition, the time of falling the second half of the first four yards would equal the time of falling the second half of the first two yards, the time of falling the second quarter of the first four yards would equal the time of falling the second quarter of the first two yards; so with the second eighths, the second sixteenths, and so forth indefinitely. Hence, there is no fallacy in concluding that, if the total times are not infinite, they must be equal. The truth of this conclusion is an elementary corollary from an unquestioned formula (that the time is the space integral from zero of a constant divided by the space described from the state of rest); but this does not prevent congenial blunders from flatly denying it. Prof. Cajori, by the way, tells us in a footnote where to find a German version of Galileo's 'Discorsi'; but an elegant and well-known translation into mere English is passed over in silence. Of nobody was it ever truer than of Galileo that the style is the man; and perhaps Prof. Cajori deems the German language and habits of composition fitter stuff for rendering the keen sixteenth-century Italian than English can be filed down to be.

It is for sundry reasons a good deal easier to write a satisfactory history of physics than a history of mathematics; and probably this will prove the most successful of all Prof. Cajori's histories. The chief difficulty of such an undertaking arises from the separateness of the several branches of physics, and the consequent danger of producing, not a history of physics in general, but a fagot of historiettes of its different branches under one binding. Towards the untying of this knot the present essay affords little clue. However it may be sweetened, a book like this is mainly a record of definite dry facts; and the principal question is, Is it accurate? Without undertaking to search out little flaws, we have found it to be in that respect all that could be expected.

Natalité et Démocratie. Par Arsène Dumont. Paris: Schleicher Frères. 1898.

This book illustrates in a striking way the methods which make so many French treatises at once instructive and futile. Nothing can exceed the industry of the author. He has been at infinite pains to study and classify the returns of marriages, deaths, and births, not only from France as a whole, but

also from particular departments and even communes. He has supplemented these labors by personal observations on the condition of the inhabitants in selected regions, and his generalizations are, so far as the movements of population are concerned, correct and of much value. He demonstrates mathematically the existence and the strength of important tendencies, and shows what these tendencies signify for the French nation. He has thus laid a substantial foundation for a conclusive determination of the causes which prevent the increase of population in France, and for the means by which these causes can be counteracted. This superstructure, however, he is unable to erect, and he is thus obliged to confine himself to lamentations over the present deplorable conditions and to gloomy prognostications of the future.

Before considering his statistics, we shall briefly explain this failure of his to make any profitable use of them. Attention has been forcibly directed in this country of late to the distinction between the Government and the community. We have seen patriotism defined as enthusiastic support of whatever policy and whatever measures our rulers, or a majority of them, are pleased to adopt, without regard to their effect on the general welfare. We have seen criticism of this policy and these measures denounced as treason, and the critics accused of "un-Americanism." Happily, a very large number of our citizens have not been silenced by this clamor, and among them are included most of those qualified by experience, by learning, and by disinterested public service to form an intelligent opinion. They understand wherein true patriotism consists, and are not prevented by the outcry of ignorant and corrupt demagogues from proclaiming that it consists as often in opposing the policy of rulers as in supporting it.

In France, however, we must recognize the fact that this confusion of thought and emotion, this most pernicious of political fallacies, is almost universally prevalent. There are a few disciples of the school of Turgot left, a few descendants of the believers in the rights of man. But they are very few, and they are without influence. The welfare of the French people is assumed to be whatever the rulers of France declare it to be; and hardly any one sees, or dares to say if he sees, that the policy of the French Government is in many respects ruinous to the prosperity of the people. Hence that policy receives no intelligent criticism. The condition into which France has been brought is everywhere admitted to be alarming; but no one is able to suggest any practical reforms. Those who lift up their voices, indeed, point out that if human nature were other than it is, in such respects as it pleases their fancy to imagine, the present policy of France might be continued; but their brilliant generalities have no practical value.

M. Dumont, for example, tells his fellow-citizens that they are deficient in "solidarity"; if they only had solidarity enough they would beget large families of children in order that the vast colonial possessions of France might be peopled, the French army increased in numbers, the revenues of the Government enlarged by additional taxes. He entirely ignores the fact that the colonial acquisitions of France are a curse to the country, that it was folly to

seize territories which there were no Frenchmen to colonize, and which can never be inhabited by people of the French race. He is blind to the plain truth that it is madness for France to crush her people with the burden of a vast standing army, which is a menace not only to her own tranquillity, but also to that of Europe. France has no enemies except those of her own creation. No other Power has anything to gain by attacking her, and were her army to be disbanded, the country would be safer from attack than it is now. To beget children that they may be exiled to the Sahara, to Tonkin, or to Madagascar, or slaughtered on European battle-fields in wars that can only increase the miseries of the French people, is not an impulse of "solidarity." Solidarity means, as M. Dumont explains, what we call public spirit; and it is no exhibition of public spirit to promote a national policy which will ruin the nation.

M. Dumont's researches prove that the decline in French "natality" is due to no physiological cause, but to voluntary abstention from procreation. There is no lack of marriages, but they produce few children. He indulges in many speculations concerning the motives for this abstention, but he neglects the most important. He does not see that Frenchmen are unwilling to bring children into the world when they know that their lot will be worse than that of their parents. They know that the French law of inheritance will tear the heritage to pieces, and confiscate a large part of it in the process. They know that their sons must receive the corrupting education of the barracks, and that the dowries of their daughters will be wasted by taxation. Many of them decline the responsibility of thrusting existence under such conditions on human beings, and most of them decide that they will have, in any event, but one or two children. As the policy of the French Government is resulting in a decrease of foreign commerce, and even the deposits in the savings banks are declining, we need not be surprised that the population is also diminishing.

It is true, as M. Dumont argues, that luxurious living is unfavorable to a high birth-rate. People who devote themselves to sensual gratification think the pleasures of paternity are not worth the prolonged trouble of the care of children. To a certain extent this tendency may affect a whole people. When its wealth is declining under the influence of misgovernment, its birth-rate may also decline. But to attribute a general decline to the increase of selfish indulgence—which is what M. Dumont understands by "individualism"—is preposterous. His own labored statistics refute him. He proves that in many communities where the very idea of "solidarity" is unknown, the birth-rate is high. Some of these cantons he describes as "plongés dans l'ignorance et la superstition"; one department is "absolument étrangère aux mœurs et aux idées françaises." There are many communities where poor people limit the number of their offspring; there are many where well-to-do people do not. There are none, however, where the size of families is shown to have any connection with "solidarity"; it may be doubted if a single Frenchman ever begot a child with the intention of increasing the population of the French colonies. The general result of M. Dumont's investigations is that civilization and progress

check the growth of population; he might claim to have proved inductively that only those Frenchmen have large families who are too ignorant to know or too besotted to care what their future may be. The evidence, however, appears to us to prove that Frenchmen refrain from having large families because their institutions discourage progress. It justifies the conclusion that if they were assured that their offspring would be exempt from military servitude, and would receive the savings of their parents intact, their families would be of sufficient size to dispel all apprehension of the extinction of the French race.

Saladin and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. By Stanley Lane-Poole, M.A. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1898. [Heroes of the Nations Series.] Pp. xxiv + 416. 8 maps and plans; 3 folding genealogical and chronological charts; many contemporary illustrations.

There are comparatively few books in English which deal in a scholarly and trustworthy way with Muslim history, and to these Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole has made a welcome addition. The book is based throughout on a sound study of the original sources, and yet the weight of learning is borne lightly, and few lay readers will guess how much solid work has been put into it by the veteran numismatist. A few prints of coins inserted here and there for ornament are all that shows what is the chronological backbone of the book, and we are introduced to the authors of the written sources, Eastern and Western, in some half-dozen prefatory pages.

It may be said broadly, and yet with essential truth, that it is impossible to write Muslim (or any Oriental) history according to the canons of modern historical science. In one respect only are we on a sound basis; there are the coins and they do not tell lies. But beyond that there is no one of the means on which the modern historian relies to build up a certain narrative. The historian of the East has no letters, state-papers, treaties, records of any kind. Such a source as *Domesday Book* for early English history he cannot dream of. The laborious but sure fixing of facts by indirect references and odd remarks made by the way, with no reason for their falsification, has little place with him. There are few inscriptions, and the most of these are inaccessible; their *Corpus* has not struggled beyond the first number or two. Practically he is referred back to the Arabic historians, and only a student of these knows how they can lie. In them the Oriental imagination is seen at its best, and their reader must ever be on his guard not to be misled by popular aphorisms about smoke and fire.

Fortunately, the materials for the life of Saladin, though they are of this nature, are good of their kind. They comprise a formal biography, of a worshipful and eulogistic character, by Bahā ad-Dīn, who was in close intercourse with him through the last years of his life. Bahā ad-Dīn is a fairly honest man and good writer, but he cannot be trusted to tell anything to Saladin's discredit; thus the shadow over the Assassins and their relations to his master is broad and deep. Imād ad-Dīn, another of Saladin's secretaries, wrote a history of the winning back of Palestine and Jerusalem, rhetorical but still at first-hand. Ibn al-Athīr, a contemporary

historian, gives the hostile criticism to balance the eulogy of Bahā ad-Dīn. Usāma ibn Munqidh, who died an old man five years before Saladin, left behind him a most entertaining autobiography full of side lights on his times. Abd al-Latif, the great Baghdad physician, has left a record of how Saladin impressed him. Ibn Jubayr travelled through the Syria and Egypt of the time and wrote his travels. Then there are the crusading chroniclers, William of Tyre, Ernoul, and the rest. From all these a fairly sound if never absolutely certain historical picture may be constructed, and that has been done in the present biography. It cannot be doubted that its portrait of Saladin is true and just, even though we may find it difficult to understand how such and such qualities could be united in one character. Saladin was a Kurd and a Muslim, of Aryan blood and Semitic faith; and that may explain much. Many details, it is true, remain still obscure. The strange story of how he was dubbed knight by the great Constable, Humphrey of Toron, his dubious dealings with the Assassins, his hatred of the Templars—these may never be entirely cleared up. But there are some points on which the reader might, with justice, ask further light. It would not be necessary to go back to the beginning of all things to explain the religious situation of the time. Sūfism, in its two forms, monotheistic and pantheistic, hardly has justice done to it; the explanations of such terms as Shāfi'ite, Shi'ite, Sunnite, of the difference between the Abbāsids and the Fatimids, are bald in the extreme. It is evident that Mr. Lane-Poole knows his ground, but he might tell his readers more. Probably he feared making his book too ponderous; but that is where skill is needed and may fairly be required.

Apart from this criticism, which is really a recognition of what Mr. Lane-Poole could do if he chose, we have little fault to find. One inevitable error clings fast. On page iv we have the old story that Nizām al-mulk had been a school-fellow of Omar Khayyām. When we consider that Nizām al-mulk was assassinated, nearly eighty years old, in 1092, while Omar did not die for another thirty years, we need hardly investigate further. But it can be shown that the whole legend, so dear to biographers of Omar, goes back to a book, the 'Wasāyā,' written probably in the fifteenth century, and thereafter falsely ascribed to Nizām al-mulk. (See Houtsma's edition of al-Bondārī, preface p. xiv, and Rieu in the 'Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum,' ii, 446.) There are hardly any other points open to criticism except the veriest details. Boccaccio's use of Saladin in the 'Decameron' should have had part in the chapter on Saladin in romance; even there he is the chivalric and generous figure that afterwards appeared so often in Western literature. The standard misquotation, "the last infirmity of noble minds," plays again a part. But enough. The book is far too good, both as history and as literature, for any picking at weak points. It may be heartily recommended to all, whether specialists or not; the lay reader will enjoy it and the specialist will learn from it. The choice of illustrations is excellent, but the mechanical reproduction of some of them is very poor.

Christian Wagner: Der Bauer und Dichter zu Warmbronn. Eine ästhetisch-kritische und sozial-ethische Studie von Richard

Weltrich. Mit einem Bildnis des Dichters in Lichtdruck nach dem Gemälde von Emilie Weisser. Stuttgart: Strecker & Moser. 1898. Pp. xii, 497.

Warmbronn is an obscure Suabian village lying about a dozen miles westward from Stuttgart and containing some seven hundred inhabitants, who live chiefly by rearing cattle and selling fire-wood and juniper berries. A couple of hours distant is the market-town Weil, the home of Luther's contemporary and coadjutor Brenz, and near it the old hamlet Magstadt, in which the astronomer Kepler was born as the son of a country innkeeper; while a few miles to the north is Leonberg, the birthplace of the philosopher Schelling, and now perhaps still more famous for a breed of dogs rivaling those of St. Bernard in strength and sagacity. No local celebrity has ever given especial distinction of this kind to Warmbronn; even the name has no etymological significance in its application to this place, since no record or tradition exists of any "warm spring" that dispensed its healing or cleansing waters there; least of all is it a spot where we should expect to find a "Pierian spring" or a single inhabitant thirsting for such a fountain. It was here, however, that Friedrich Christian Wagner, whose soul, as it takes expression in his poetry, is a living source of the warmest love for every form of life, was born on August 5, 1835.

He was the only child of his parents. The father combined the trade of a carpenter with the management of a small farm; the mother, whose maiden name was Friederike Weeber, belonged to a family which had produced one schoolmaster and one musician, and through her the boy seems to have inherited his taste for letters and his talent for poetry. As his rather frail physical constitution unfitted him for severe manual labor, it was deemed best that he should become a teacher, and for this purpose he attended the village school until his fourteenth year, when he went to Esslingen on the Neckar to enter the so-called Paedagogium, or Normal Institute, where, after a few weeks, he was taken ill, and, on the advice of a physician, sent home and obliged to abandon his prospective career. Fate decreed that he should remain a peasant and lead the life of "a homely swain" in the open air. This decision was unquestionably best for his physical, and perhaps also for his mental, health and growth, since it enabled him to gratify the intense and universal love of nature which is one of the strongest passions of his soul and most characteristic features of his poetry. To him the fields and woods of Warmbronn are, like *Prospero's* enchanted isle,

"full of noises,
Sounds and sweet airs, that give delight and hurt
not."

His imagination animates and personifies the simplest objects and endows them with thought and feeling. The violet, the lily, and the rose are to him not mere symbols of certain attributes, modesty, purity, and love, but independent entities, with characteristics akin to those of man and distinctly individual self-consciousness.

This subjective illusion, by virtue of which the phenomena of nature become the confederates of his mythopoetic conceptions, pervades all his creations. The first collection of his verses, entitled 'Sonntagsgänge,' consists almost exclusively of legendary interpretations of local flora, sometimes the

amplifications of popular tales and traditions, but more frequently the suggestions of his own alert and genial fancy, as he wanders on Sunday through the meadows and forests. One of the most charming of these productions is that addressed to the anemones as "pale daughters of Zion," standing in groups and mournfully hanging their heads on Easter eve. Equally subtle and startling are the transformations wrought by his imagination with the buttercup, the daisy, the tulip, the spurge-laurel, the Turk's-cap, the slender shivering birch, and the blooming cherry tree.

As a peasant, Wagner is especially fond of rearing cattle and proud of having the finest specimens in his stall. When he began to own live stock, he firmly resolved never to fatten any animal for slaughter, but, if necessary to sell it, to find a purchaser who would treat it kindly and keep it alive. No amount of money could ever induce him to dispose of an ox, a pig, or a sheep to the butcher, and yet his scruples are not so strong as to prevent him from eating the flesh of animals with which he has no personal associations. His aversion to this kind of food, or rather his scruple to supply the shambles with it, would seem, therefore, to be based on romantic sentiment rather than on philosophic principle; and yet a closer investigation of the grounds of his conduct proves that such is not the case. He holds the doctrine of metempsychosis, and it is this psychological theory, and not a mere myth-making whim of the fancy, that endows all organisms with spiritual life and personality. Prof. Weltrich devotes the greater part of his volume to the exposition of Wagner's "Weltanschauung," and gives a succinct and exceedingly interesting history of the origin and evolution of the idea of the transmigration of souls and its influence upon the relation of man to the lower animals. It is curious to observe this comparatively unlettered peasant in an obscure Suabian village absorbed in "speculations high and deep," which have engaged the attention of Indian sages and Oriental metaphysicians from time immemorial without a final and irreversible conclusion being reached.

Besides the above-mentioned "Sonntags-gänge," Wagner has published three volumes of verses: 'Weihegeschenke,' 'Neuer Glaube,' and 'Neue Dichtungen,' all of which are pervaded by a vein of mysticism, and, although lyrical in form, have a decidedly ethical-didactic character. He is a man of warm affections, keen intellect, and creative imagination, a rare combination of "Dichter und Denker," and one hardly knows whether to wonder more at his gifts as a poet or his acuteness as a thinker. That he should sometimes strike the reader as monotonous and crude is not surprising in view of his defective education and the narrow sphere of his life. The marvel is that he should show such variety of invention in his productions.

Report on the Investigations into the Purification of the Ohio River Water, at Louisville, Kentucky. By George W. Fuller, Chief Chemist and Bacteriologist to the Louisville Water Company, etc. New York: D. Van Nostrand Co.

The investigations in question covered a period of nearly two years. We learn that the Ohio River water is at no time clear, or free from minute particles of suspended matter, and with every rain it becomes muddy. A table on page 17 shows 1,059 freshets,

with one to forty-six feet rise, in a period of thirty-six years. The analyses indicate that at times the suspended matter amounts to from fifteen to sixteen tons, and for considerable periods two to three tons, for each million gallons of water. There is also at times serious pollution by sewage.

The experiments were mainly directed to testing the applicability of the "American" system of rapid filtration through sand, preceded by the injection of alum as a coagulant and a short period of sedimentation in settling tanks. The period allowed for subsidence was from twenty to sixty minutes. Three proprietary systems (viz., the Warren, Jewell, and Western), differing only in the less important details, gave filtered water of satisfactory color, odor, and taste, removed all suspended matter, some dissolved organic matter, and from 97 to 98 per cent. of the bacteria. Under careful operation, no alum appeared in the effluent. The carbonic-acid gas in the water was increased, making it more corrosive for steam-bollers, tanks, pipes, etc. The cost of the process is not given, but some of the elements of cost are furnished, and from these it is safe to conclude that it would not be less than \$12 per million gallons in actual practice. The cost of alum alone for the 25,000,000 gallons of water needed daily to supply Louisville is estimated by the author at from \$51,800 to \$58,800 annually, or over \$6 per million gallons. The author concludes that if the system is modified by increasing the period of sedimentation to twenty-four hours, the cost will be decreased and the results will be satisfactory. An investigation of coagulants shows that alum is the best for the purpose. Two systems of electric treatment failed utterly, and a polarite filter was found not to be applicable to this water.

The Lawrence experiments of the Massachusetts Board of Health were directed to the application of slow sand filtration, as practised in Europe, to purify naturally clear water charged with sewage; those at Providence and Long Branch, together with a number of successful plants in operation, had proved the value of the "American" system for clear, or slightly turbid, polluted waters; but the Louisville experiments are pioneer work in the treatment of the more troublesome, turbid waters of the Mississippi basin. Beyond the entire breakdown of the "American" system at New Orleans and its partial failure elsewhere, scanty data existed upon which intelligent opinion could be based, although few thoughtful engineers would have expected any filter to cope successfully with fifteen tons of mud per million gallons of water, without the aid of careful sedimentation. The whole investigation is thorough, timely, and suggestive.

Eighteenth Century Letters. Edited by Brimley Johnson. Henry Holt & Co. 1899.

The mere copiousness of a correspondence seldom deters the reader. No one is daunted by the fact that there are some twelve hundred pages of the Browning Letters to be read, and read carefully, or ever the tale is told. The drama enacted there lives and moves under the eye after more than half a century; and when the last luggage-label is bought, and we learn with breathless relief that the boxes are safely out of the house, we close the book with a feeling of personal loss that almost makes us sympathize with Mr. Barrett. It would be futile to make selections from a whole so or-

ganic. There are, however, letter-writers, even of the highest rank, about whom one feels, like Mr. Weller on matrimony, that it is hardly worth while going through so much to get so little. Of this class are Johnson and Chesterfield. Mr. Brimley Johnson has therefore done the public a service in editing, in two attractive volumes, under the title of 'Eighteenth Century Letters,' selections from the letters of the above-named authors and from Swift, Addison, and Steele. Johnson's letters have little literary interest. Except in the case of Mrs. Thrale, he disliked the exertion of letter-writing, and his correspondence, though it is full of sound sense and irreproachable moralizing, has a hopelessly perfunctory air. Nevertheless, about 1,100 of his letters have already been printed, and Dr. Birkbeck Hill, who writes a pleasant introduction to Mr. Johnson's first volume, intimates that from time to time others come to light. From Johnson to Chesterfield is a long drive, and the former at least would not have thanked his editor for their coalition. "The utmost that can be said of Chesterfield's Letters," said Macaulay, "is that they are the letters of a cleverish man." Like some other judgments of that rhetorical critic, this estimate of Chesterfield is quoted to-day only to discredit its author. On the other hand, Landor thought that "one reason why a gentleman has become almost as rare as a man of genius" was the neglect of these Letters. Mr. Johnson's edition includes several of the "Letters to his Godson" which appeared for the first time in 1890, and are, as a rule, far less entertaining than the earlier work.

Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole's introduction adds to the interest of the second volume, which is mainly devoted to the correspondence of Swift. Dr. Hill published this year, for the first time, Swift's Letters to Chetwode, a fact which has caused a revival of interest in the Journal to Stella. The present selection is from Sir Walter Scott's colossal edition. Addison's stately epistles are relieved by the advice to the young Earl of Warwick on bird-nesting; yet even on this theme he cannot forbear quoting Cicero and Statius. Steele's ill-spelt and ill-considered letters to his "dear dear Prue" are in contrast a great refreshment. There is certainly no offensive elaboration about the following:

DEAR PRUE,

I dine with Lord Halifax and shall be at home half hour after six. For thee I dye, for thee I languish. RICHARD STEELE.

To our mind, Steele's effusions are the best reading of the collection.

The Land of the Pigmies. By Captain Guy Burrows. With introduction by H. M. Stanley, M.P. With illustrations from photographs and sketches by the author. T. Y. Crowell & Co. 8vo, pp. xxx, 299.

Captain Burrows was commander of a district in the eastern part of the Congo Free State from 1895 to 1897, but he has little to tell of his official life and work. Possibly he was not free to do so. He describes briefly his uneventful journey to his distant post, and one or two "punitive expeditions" in which he took part. Some information, also, is given in regard to the composition of the central government, and to the medical service, and there are a few missionary statistics. The greater part of the book consists of somewhat amateurish observations on the manner of life and customs of some

of the tribes inhabiting the Upper Wellé region, in which we have detected not much that is new. Novel is the statement that the "great ladies" of the Mang-bettous "wear the nails of the last three fingers of the left hand very long, to show that they do no manual labor." The most interesting chapter is upon the Akkas, or pigmies, whom the author claims to have had exceptional opportunities of studying. He says that they "have apparently no ties of family affection, such as those of mother to son, or sister to brother, and seem to be wanting in all social qualities, asking nothing more than to be let alone." On the other hand, though cunning, revengeful, and suspicious, the pigmy "will never steal." In proof of this assertion, Captain Burrows says that they are very fond of bananas, and that

"on returning from a day's hunting, the pigmy carefully wraps up several small pieces of meat in grass or leaves, betakes himself to the nearest banana plantation, and, having selected the bunches of bananas he requires, shins up the tree, cuts down the branches selected, and in payment affixes one of the small packets of meat to the stem by a little wooden skewer. By this means he satisfies his conscience, and can declare that he has not stolen the bananas, but only bought them."

An excellent marksman, "he will shoot three or four arrows, one after the other, with such rapidity that the last will have left the bow before the first has reached its goal." He has an excellent appetite, also, if the statement is not an exaggeration that he "eats as a rule twice as much as will suffice a full-grown man. He will take a stalk containing about sixty bananas, seat himself and eat them all at a meal—besides other food."

No great interest attaches to Mr. Stanley's introduction, or King Leopold's letter printed in the appendix, beyond the stress laid by the latter on the fact that all his efforts have been concentrated on occupying and guarding the frontiers of the State. This policy has its advantages in preventing such disputes as those between France and Great Britain in West Africa, but it means the deliberate subordination of the interests of the natives and the development of their country to a policy of forcible conquest, with all its attendant evils both to conquerors and conquered. A glossary of Mang-bettou words and phrases is appended, and there are numerous well-chosen illustrations.

The Foundations of England; or, Twelve Centuries of British History. (B. C. 55—A. D. 1154.) By Sir James H. Ramsay of Bamff, Bart. With maps and illustrations. Two volumes. Macmillan. 1898.

We must be content with indicating the general character of this extensive and painstaking work, since the multiplicity of its topics is such that any notice of special points would seem purely arbitrary and haphazard. Sir James Ramsay, who is already well known through his 'Lancaster and York,' puts forward the present volumes as a further instalment of his researches in English history. "Reasons to which I need not refer," he says, "induced me to begin by publishing the last section of my History first. But I do not propose to go on advancing by backward steps, and therefore I now go straight to the period at which the British Islands are first brought within the light of external history."

If we were seeking to define in a single

phrase the quality of Sir James Ramsay's *opus*, we should style it a chronological dictionary of English antiquities. In brief, precise, and colorless paragraphs it considers almost all the main questions which arise from a consecutive survey of English progress down to the date where the study ends. Facts as they arise in due sequence are considered with reference to their truth. The basis upon which each rests has been examined, and copious citations from the original sources evince an independent accumulation of material from widely scattered quarters. Determination of evidence, then, is made the chief point. Exposition is rendered subservient to it in a way which fixes upon the book the character of a dictionary.

Executed as it is honestly and without perverting prepossessions, this compendium should be of great practical value, especially to teachers of English history. Since the days of Lappenberg, Pauli, and Pearson, the investigation of origins, though not always conducted systematically, has been continuous; and few will deny Sir James Ramsay's claim that "a fresh landmark may fairly now be set up." The only question is that regarding the particular author's ability and attainments. Of Sir James Ramsay's qualifications there can be no doubt whatever. He has worked on his subject diligently and with single purpose for many years. In the dedication he refers to his "lengthy task," and constant evidences of sustained effort show that this phrase is not merely an idle profession. Year by year, topic by topic, he advances steadily, without animation of style or desire to establish new theories of church and state, but with a persistent anxiety to get at the ground facts as they have occurred. His footnotes are so full that they furnish a tolerably complete bibliography of the best documents available in each case. When stating that the book will be useful to teachers, we have in mind the wealth of brief notes just mentioned, and the heavily loaded marginal headings which abound on each page. The text not only represents a vast amount of inquiry into minutiae, but is so divided that it can be quickly consulted on all these separate particulars.

Topography is one of Sir James Ramsay's leading interests, and he is never more agreeably occupied than when discussing the site of an obscure battle-field, *e. g.*, the exact situation of *Mons Graupius*, where Agricola and Calgacus fought it out in 84 A. D. For the earlier Anglo-Saxon period he avows that "fixing of dates and sites is the most that can be done." At a later age, Brunanburh, Maldon, Ashington-Canewdon, and Senlac all furnish subjects for topographical excursions. In the last-mentioned case Sir James declares against palisades:

"With respect to a much disputed question, we find no sufficient authority for holding that the English position was protected by earthworks, palisades, or fixed defences of any sort. The only writer who introduces them is Wace in the *Roman de Rou*; his statements on the subject are inconsistent with each other, while neither he nor any other authority gives any incident of the action in any way implying their presence. On the contrary, we hear of the English as repeatedly breaking out of their ranks and then rejoining them without impediment; the Normans, on the other hand, gaining ground inch by inch."

One of the most admirable features of Sir James Ramsay's researches is a desire to throw light on English affairs by an examination of the Continental authorities. Thus, Baudri of Bourgeuil, Adam of Bremen, Ru-

dolph Glaber, William of Poitiers, William of Jumièges, Robert de Monte, and Suger have been profitably examined, besides other greater or lesser chroniclers who figure in Pertz, Muratori, and the leading European collections. This thorough search is, of course, no more than should be expected of every systematic writer, but, because so often neglected, it signalizes Sir James Ramsay's care and erudition.

Against the meritorious features which we have named must be set some shortcomings. The style is not on a level with the information displayed. Even for scientific history it is unnecessarily bald, and we imagine that few will ever read the two stout volumes through. Again, for any work not avowedly a dictionary, facts are often too solidly tabulated, *e. g.*, vol. II., p. 456, where one finds half a page of unbroken names—a list of Cistercian and Augustinian monasteries. To face it, p. 457, is another half-page of Stephen's children and grandchildren. Finally, the notes are sometimes trivial, and the proof-reading is not quite up to the mark.

On striking a balance, the praiseworthy part of Sir James Ramsay's work far outweighs that with which fault can be found, and both volumes deserve a place in every good historical library.

Letters of Walter Savage Landon, Public and Private. Edited by Stephen Wheeler. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1899.

Two years ago Mr. Stephen Wheeler edited a volume of letters and writings of Landon, hitherto unpublished. The present work is in the main a collection of letters addressed to Miss Rose Paynter, the niece of that Rose Aylmer whose memory received a sort of literary apotheosis in one of the most celebrated of English lyrics. "Whatever he may profess," Browning wrote, in 1860, to Forster, "the thing he really loves is a pretty girl to talk nonsense with; and he finds comfort in American visitors, who hold him in proper respect." To that amiable weakness we owe these letters. They are pleasant and garrulous, as might be expected; the letters of an old and disillusioned man, whom a massive and endearing self-conceit had kept free from a touch of sourness. Forster occasionally quoted from them in his biography of Landon, but for the most part they will be new to the public. The occasional poems that Landon was in the habit of enclosing to his "fair correspondent" will add little to his reputation. He was not a brilliant letter-writer, and the most that can be said for the present volume is that it gives a clearer picture than one had before of the life he led at Bath from 1838 till his death in 1863, after his final retreat from England. The public letters addressed to the *Esaminer*, printed at the end of Mr. Wheeler's volume, need hardly have been exhumed from "the limbo of old newspapers." They are on political subjects, and Landon was no politician. Fisher's sketch of Landon in a passion, made in 1840, is very happy, and, though it borders on the limits of caricature, it is so convincing to the imagination that it should supersede all other portraits of the "old Roman."

Mr. Wheeler's volume is admirably got up, and contains, besides the sketch mentioned, a charming reproduction of a miniature of Miss Rose Paynter. We observe that Landon's 'Commentary on the Memoirs of Charles James Fox,' which was suppressed before publication, is now to be reprinted.

The only copy known to exist is in the possession of the Earl of Crewe. All this shows a very admirable zeal for the memory of Landor. But we question whether the publishing of trifles that their author was willing to let die, is ever anything but a mistaken kindness. What Mr. Garnett did for Shelley and Mr. Kitton for Dickens, Mr. Wheeler is now doing for Landor. Will Landor's genuine admirers feel a becoming gratitude?

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Alden, Mrs. G. R. A Modern Sacrifice. Boston: Lothrop Publishing Co. 75c.
 Bay, J. O. Danish Fairy and Folk Tales. Harpers. \$1.50.
 Carle, Thomas. Wilhelm Meister. 2 vols. (Centenary Edition.) Scribners. \$2.50.
 Portier, Prof. Alcée. Précis de l'Histoire de France. Macmillan. 75c.
 Garland, Hamlin. Rose of Dutcher's Coolly. Macmillan. \$1.50.
 Hamilton, S. M. The Writings of Monroe. Vol. II, 1794-1796. Putnam.
 Kellogg, Rev. S. H. A Handbook of Comparative Religion. Philadelphia: Westminster Press.
 Macpherson, H. C. Adam Smith. [Famous Scots.] Scribners. 75c.

Nazarbek, Avetis. Through the Storm. Pictures of Life in Armenia. Longmans, Green & Co. \$2.
 Ostrovsky's The Storm. Translated by Constance Garnett. Chicago: C. H. Sergel Co. \$1.25.
 Peattie, Ella W. Jekery Ann, and Other Girls and Boys. Chicago: H. S. Stone & Co.
 Sergeant, A. J. The Economic Policy of Colbert. Longmans, Green & Co.
 Sears, Hamblen. Fur and Feather Tales. Harpers. \$1.75.
 Sedgwick, Jane M. Sicilian Idyls, and Other Verses. Boston: Oopeland & Day. \$1.25.
 The Annual American Catalogue. 1898. New York: Publishers' Weekly.
 The Rise and Fall of the United States. F. T. Neely.
 Verestchagin, Vassili. "1812." Napoleon I. in Russia. Scribners. \$1.75.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 4, 1899.

The Week.

Gen. C. McC. Reeve, who has just returned from the Philippines, not only considers the war which we have been waging the past three months as deplorable and unjustifiable, "contrary to our principles in the past," but he also holds that "this bloodshed, this necessity of conquering these poor wretches, might have been avoided." To prove this contention, he tells "one piece of news that is not generally known in the United States," but which ought to be brought to the attention of every citizen:

"On Sunday, February 5, the day after the fighting began, Gen. Torres of the insurgents came through our lines under a flag of truce and had a personal interview with Gen. Otis, in which, speaking for Aguinaldo, he declared that the fighting had been begun accidentally and was not authorized by Aguinaldo, that Aguinaldo wished to have it stopped, and that to bring about a conclusion of hostilities, he proposed the establishment of a neutral zone between the two armies, of any width that would be agreeable to Gen. Otis, so that during the peace negotiations there might be no further danger of conflicts between the two armies. To these representations of Gen. Torres, Gen. Otis sternly replied that the fighting, having once begun, must go on to the grim end. And it has been going on ever since."

An official dispatch sent by Gen. Otis on the 8th of February, and given to the press by the authorities at Washington, stated that "Aguinaldo now applies for a cessation of hostilities and conference; have declined to answer." But it has never before been made plain, as it now is by Gen. Reeve, that Aguinaldo disavowed responsibility for the first collision of the opposing forces, and immediately sought to open negotiations for peace, but was repulsed by the American commander in terms which virtually forced him to keep on fighting.

Idaho volunteers have been doing their part in killing Filipinos, but now they are needed at home to put down riotous miners in the Cœur d'Alène district. The Governor of the State has called on the President for United States troops, inasmuch as the local militia have been sent to Manila. This demand is perfectly proper; and the general Government, having stripped Idaho of its own defenders, is bound to see to it that life and property are protected against riot. It is extremely fortunate that the country has been so generally prosperous during the past six months. Otherwise, Mr. McKinley might have had many disagreeable reminders, like this one from Idaho, of the danger of accepting the services of volunteers for one war and then holding them for service in another.

Of the men now talked of for Speaker

of the House, Mr. Cannon of Illinois is decidedly the fittest for the position by experience, temper, and firmness. He has been chairman of the committee on appropriations long enough to enable the country to form a judgment of his character, and the general conclusion is that the place has not been filled more acceptably during the present generation. He has been the consistent foe of jobs and extravagance, and no scandal has ever come near him. Moreover, although a consistent Republican, he has not been an extreme partisan. His most prominent competitor is Gen. Grosvenor of Ohio, a man of ability, but of uneven temper, and a partisan to the point of extreme fury. Two members from New York, Payne and Sherman, are also talked of, but neither of them has yet made such a mark in the public mind as either Cannon or Grosvenor. It is a part of the jargon of politics that the West can get the Speakership if the South will join forces in the attempt, or that the East can get it if Ohio and the South will help, and so forth. The less we hear of this kind of sectionalism the better. Speaker Reed was elected not because he was from the East, but because he was considered the best man for the place. The same was true of Mr. Carlisle when he was chosen Speaker, and of Mr. Randall and Mr. Blaine when they were chosen. Sectionalism was "not in it," and it ought not to be now, and probably will not be when the time comes for making a decision.

The argument on the Quay side in the controversy over the right of the Pennsylvania Governor to give the boss a temporary appointment as United States Senator develops some humorous features. One of them is the contention of the Philadelphia *Inquirer* that, when the Constitution says that the Executive of a State may make a temporary appointment if the vacancy happen during the recess of the Legislature, until the next meeting of that body, it means that Gov. Stone of Pennsylvania may name Quay, but that the Governor of Delaware cannot name his choice when the same sort of vacancy exists in that neighboring commonwealth. Four Legislatures which should have chosen Senators the past winter failed to do so—in Pennsylvania, Delaware, Utah, and California. One would naturally suppose that the Governors of all four States would possess equal authority to make a temporary appointment. The *Inquirer* insists that there can be no doubt of Gov. Stone's right to do this in Pennsylvania, but that Gov. Tunnell of Delaware must not, its language being:

"It is argued by some of his opponents that

while it might be an easy task to seat Quay on personal grounds, yet if he were seated, the Governors of Delaware, California, and Utah must be conceded the right to appoint claimed by Gov. Stone. This is not necessarily so, for each case must stand upon its own ground. It could hardly be claimed, for instance, that the Democratic Governor of Delaware should be entitled to appoint a Democrat when there is a Republican Legislature."

The *Inquirer* seeks to defend this position by laying down the principle that "the popular voice must be taken into account." It claims that Quay was made a direct issue before the people, that he won by a great Republican majority, that he was the regular candidate of more than two-thirds of the Republican members, and failed of election only "because a couple of petty Republican bosses entered into a conspiracy to defeat him." But Quay's opponents maintain that "the popular voice" of the majority of the people of the State was the other way. The truth is, that it is often difficult to tell what the popular voice in any State at a particular time is. Take the case of Connecticut, for example. In 1884 it gave a plurality of its popular vote for Cleveland for President, and chose a Legislature which elected a Republican to the Senate. In 1892 it again gave a plurality for Cleveland, and again chose a Legislature which elected a Republican to the Senate. Which was "the popular voice" in Connecticut in these two years—the support of the Democratic party on the Presidential issue, where every vote counted, or the support of the Republican party on the senatorial issue, through the unjust advantage enjoyed by that party in the apportionment of the State for members of the Legislature under an antiquated Constitution?

An incident of the Georgia lynchings on Sunday and Monday of last week forcibly illustrates the more than likelihood that "Judge Lynch" may err in his decisions. The mob that hung the colored preacher Lige Strickland, on the unsupported testimony at the stake of the wretch Sam Hose, would as readily have hung another colored preacher, against whom no charge had been made, but for an opportune discovery of a mistake in identification. After the murder of four negroes by lynchers at Palmetto last month, the colored minister there, named Tharpe, dared to criticise the act of the mob. Because of the consequent feeling aroused against him he was sent to Fayetteville, changing places with Strickland. When the mob started in search of Strickland they went to Fayetteville, not knowing of the change of ministers, and captured Tharpe. Placed in irons, he was started on the way to Palmetto, but at a railroad junction he was identified by Dr. Hal Johnson and Represent-

tative Blalock, and was released. Dr. Johnson says that if Tharpe had been taken to Griffin or Palmetto, it is certain that he would have been lynched. The people of the surrounding counties were on the lookout for Strickland, and, not knowing him, it is believed that they would have taken the word of the mob from Fayetteville that they had the man sought.

A movement has been started to procure from Congress a reduction of postage on authors' manuscripts passing between authors and publishers so that they may be sent as third instead of first-class matter. The bill is coming up at the next Congress. Many influential Senators and Representatives are especially interested in the bill, and will press it to a speedy enactment. If they succeed, authors' manuscripts will be placed on an equality with all other merchandise using the mails. The same manuscript which is now charged letter rates when going to the publisher for the first time can be sent back to the author accompanied by proof-sheets at third-class rates, and again returned to the publisher with the proofs at the lower rate of postage. It is only the first step that costs, yet there is no reason why the first step should be so costly. It would be necessary to provide in the law that nothing but the manuscript proper should be in the package—no directions or private communications of any kind in the nature of a letter—and for this reason the package should be unsealed. In England manuscript goes at third-class rates. It costs in England four cents to send a manuscript that here would cost sixteen cents. It is particularly important that the measure shall have the support of all those who will be benefited by the reduction.

It is to be said of the New York Legislature which adjourned on Friday that if it did not accomplish as much good as it might, it did far less evil than any of its predecessors for many years. Gov. Roosevelt has not had his way in some things which he has urged upon it, but he has succeeded in preventing all legislation which he did not approve. The most conspicuous failure of the session is the defeat of the biennial-sessions amendment, a breach of party pledges to the people which is to be charged entirely to the Platt machine. The failure to pass any radical police legislation was foreseen from the beginning, and is not a subject for lamentation. By all odds, the great achievement of the session is the repeal of the Black "starchless" law, and the enactment in its stead of the most thoroughgoing civil-service reform statute that any State has succeeded in getting. This is a distinct personal triumph for the Governor. Another was in the passage of a bill "appropriating \$20,000 for the use of Austen G. Fox and

Wallace MacFarlane, counsel designated by the Governor in connection with the investigation of the canal frauds." This records a defeat for Aldridge and Payn and the old canal forces that sought to put an end to the canal inquiry by refusing to have any State money employed in the work. The vigorous announcement by the Governor that if the Legislature refused the money, he would appeal to the public for a popular contribution, or would even pay it out of his own pocket, silenced all opposition. The appropriation was passed without a murmur, the feeling among the canal statesmen being that the less said about it the better.

The powers now conferred upon the State Civil-Service Commission are as great as those exercised by Croker in the administration of his government. The Commissioners virtually have the whole State at their mercy. They prescribe the rules for examinations; and every appointing officer filling a place in the classified service is obliged to make his selections from the eligible list in the order in which the names are placed upon it. He must take the person standing highest first, and proceed in order down the list. If he has only one place to fill, the Commissioners may give him only one name, the highest, and he must accept it. The State Commissioners have full powers of supervision over Municipal Commissioners; may compel them to adopt such rules and regulations as they choose; may, in case a Municipal Commission fails to establish rules as the law requires, compel them to take such rules as they wish; when a Mayor fails to appoint a Municipal Commission, they may appoint in his place; when a Municipal Commissioner fails to perform his duty, they may, by unanimous vote and with written approval of the Governor, remove him from office. They have power also to extend the competitive system to all the counties of the State, and are directed to investigate from time to time the operations of local boards and the acts of public officials generally, with respect to the execution of the law, and in this work they are endowed with all the powers of a legislative committee. This is "starch" in appalling volume.

The Krum bill amending the savings-bank law of the State, as it finally passed the Legislature and received the Governor's signature, permits savings banks to invest in the first-mortgage bonds of any railroad in other States connecting with and controlled by any railroad of this State, on the same conditions as to solvency and dividend-paying that are required in respect of New York railroads. They may invest also in the first-mortgage bonds of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad Company; Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad Com-

pany; Michigan Central Railroad Company; Illinois Central Railroad Company; Pennsylvania Railroad Company; Delaware and Hudson Canal Company; Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company; New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company; Boston and Maine Railroad Company; and Maine Central Railroad Company, on similar conditions. Not more than 20 per cent. of the whole amount of deposits of any savings bank can be invested in railroad bonds, and not more than 5 per cent. in the bonds of any one railroad. Street railways in cities are not included in the term railroads within the meaning of the act. This amendment of the law opens a new field to the investments of New York savings banks, without doing violence to the conservative precedents of the State. Yet it is not likely to increase the rate of dividends of those institutions. It may retard the decline in the rate of dividends, and at all events will equalize the New York rate with that of other States which have already allowed investments in the securities named.

The Mazet committee has obtained an extension of its time which will enable it to continue its sessions throughout the year, if it desires to do so, making its final report to the next Legislature on February 1, 1900. The scope of its inquiry has also been enlarged, so that it includes now the "occupation, character, composition, expenses, operation, conduct, and control of any and every department and public office of the city of New York and the counties therein included, and the influences affecting and controlling the officers therein, with full power to prosecute its inquiry in any and every direction in its judgment necessary and proper to enable it to ascertain and report the facts." This certainly affords a sufficiently wide field for a summer's work, and if that work is prosecuted with vigor and fearlessness, a large amount of interesting information should be forthcoming. Curiously enough, the increase in the power of the committee and the enlargement of its field of inquiry are accompanied, both here and at Albany, by a steadily growing suspicion that very little of consequence will be developed henceforth. It is even asserted positively, in some quarters, that our two bosses have reached an agreement that neither of them shall suffer any further annoyance from the committee, no matter who else suffers. Croker sailed away joyfully for Europe on Wednesday week, to live in luxury for the summer on the proceeds of his "private business." Platt sat at a banquet with Gov. Roosevelt and other reputable men and heard the Governor's fervid praise of his magnanimous conduct in consenting to the appointment of a commission to consider the future of the canals of

the State of New York. Conduct of that kind is always easy to him. It does not cost him a penny of patronage or business to have the future of the canals considered and reported on. The wonder of it is that Gov. Roosevelt should think the act one of such noble public service as to require eulogy.

Dr. Huntington's rejoinder to the clergyman who protested against Prof. Briggs's ordination as a priest of the Episcopal Church is crushing and conclusive. If Prof. Briggs cannot find rest and a welcome within the Episcopal communion, then some of its most distinguished members should leave it at once. One honored and godly scholar more can surely be received without destroying the foundations. We feel bound to say, also, that these nice points of doctrine are most unsuitable for discussion within the Episcopal fold. Its strength does not lie that way. The Presbyterians and Methodists can beat it hollow at that. The growth and popularity of the Episcopal Church in this country have been in no small part due to the belief and the fact that over its doors weary men and women have read the legend, "Leave all theological wranglings behind, ye who enter here." It would be a sad and disturbing event if Prof. Briggs should be the innocent means of carrying a theological storm-centre with him into his new ecclesiastical relations. There is a solemn truth in the protest of the Englishman who said, "Do not say a word to me against the Established Church; it is the only thing which stands between us and true religion." The Episcopal Church in this country has, in like manner, been a grateful barrier to many against the "true religion" which consists of theological hair-splitting and heresy-hunting; and it would be a fatal mistake for it to let those waters of bitterness break through.

Lord Salisbury's agreement with Russia about spheres of influence in China relates only to railway concessions, but may easily lead to a complete understanding on all points at issue. Even as it is, it amounts to a great diplomatic achievement in the interest of peace. Lord Salisbury himself refers to it in his customary guarded tone, but we have only to remember how short a time ago it is since Lord Charles Beresford and all the Jingoese wanted to go to war with Russia over this very dispute, to see how important is a peaceful arrangement putting the differences to sleep. It recognizes Russia's superior interests in Manchuria just as it does England's in the Yang-tse valley, and so marks one step more in Lord Salisbury's new policy of a friendly understanding with Russia. Of late years he has apparently taken up with the plan of allowing a subordi-

nate to let off steam and split the ears of the groundlings, while he keeps still, but drives on the work of negotiation. Now it is Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, now it is Mr. Chamberlain, who emits a good roar against Russia, or the Ambassador to France who breaks out in undiplomatic warnings to the French Government, but their chief is all the while as dumb as Br'er Rabbit and as bent on his own steadily sought ends. That these are peaceful ends, and that one after another of them has been honorably attained, is a fact enormously to Lord Salisbury's credit; and this latest settlement of his with Russia, coming on the eve of the Peace Congress at The Hague, emphasizes his great contribution towards the maintenance of the world's peace.

Satisfaction is expressed at Washington with the new Anglo-Russian agreement in respect of China, and the opinion is expressed that no commercial detriment will be felt by the United States in consequence of it. This is a very mild statement of the case. It would be quite safe to add that the influence of Great Britain in the Yang-tse valley will, within a few years, open that rich territory to a much larger commerce with the United States than we have ever enjoyed there before, or could enjoy without it, while the influence of Russia, in the region dominated by her, promises a similar although perhaps less decided gain. On the other hand, if the two countries had gone to war in that quarter, our trade with China would have been ruined for the time being, and our trade with Russia itself paralyzed. There is every reason why we should rejoice that this disturbing cloud in the East has disappeared, and with it the greater menace which a prolonged dispute between the two Powers would imply. The question what is meant by "sphere of influence" in China, as regards foreign trade and tariffs, is yet to be answered, but we know beforehand that in English phraseology it means the open door.

Thus far the proceedings of the new Irish County Councils seem to have been fairly respectable. We must remember how long in Ireland the business of the counties was confined to a class of Conservative gentry selected by the high sheriff, in which the Catholics had but little chance of representation; how hopeless it was for the Catholic farmers to expect to have any influence on the grand juries. The hostility existing between these gentry and the Irish people has long been one of the most lamentable phenomena of Irish life. All foreign observers who have discussed Irish affairs, from Arthur Young down—Beaumont, Cavour, though last not least General Gordon—have noticed this with a certain horror. Gordon speaks very

strongly about it in a letter printed in his recent *Life*. For fifty years before Gladstone's Home Rule, one never met an Irish Protestant gentleman abroad who did not give the very same atrocious account of the character of his own Catholic countrymen which the French nobles used to give of their peasantry in the eighteenth century. The Irish would undoubtedly have wreaked the same vengeance on their gentry that the French wreaked on theirs, if England had not stood in the way. It is a little too soon to expect *entente cordiale*. It is curious how soon we get into the way of abusing people we have injured. We are already at it as regards the Filipinos. They have done us no injury except refuse to let us own them, but we already pronounce them fit only for manure for their own fields.

The movement to erect a statue to Oliver Cromwell on his three hundredth anniversary has more behind it than appears at first sight. It has been stimulated greatly by the ritualistic agitation, which is bringing Cromwell forward as the great champion of Puritanism. Celebrations have taken place both in London and in Huntingdon, the 600 Nonconformist Free Church Councils participating. Cromwell's address to the high-church parson in Ely Cathedral is again ringing in people's ears: "Cease your fooling and come down, Sir." Dr. Clifford proclaims, in what we call a "ringing" pamphlet, that "Cromwell gave an impetus to liberty, to free speech, to democratic government, to civilization, to progress, and to religion felt to-day all over the Anglo-Saxon world." Another claim he will have on some of our people is, that he did a good deal of slaughtering of inferior races.

The testimony given by Col. Du Paty de Clam on Monday opens a new chapter in the Dreyfus case, and abundantly confirms the suspicion that this witness and his colleague Esterhazy were the real culprits. Paty de Clam testified that Gen. Gonse told him in 1898 that it was imperative to save Esterhazy at any price, in order to prevent his committal of irreparable acts of suicide or flight; also to avoid diplomatic difficulties, as war, owing to the lack of preparations, would then be disastrous. It does not follow that Gen. Gonse did what this witness testifies, but the witness has established his own character to the public satisfaction, for he acknowledges that he fell in with the suggestion to tell as many lies as were necessary in order to save Esterhazy. This chicanery and deception, he says, was approved also by Gen. Boisdeffre, the chief of the general staff. Very likely, but a new cross-examination of the latter would be a desirable addition to the *enquête* now proceeding.

THE NEGOTIATIONS AT MANILA.

The telegrams from Manila giving details of the negotiation between Gen. Otis and the Filipino agent, Arguelles, say that the latter persistently declared that the Filipinos must be permitted to retire with honor, but that Gen. Otis is not willing to concede this point, but insists that they shall surrender unconditionally, or without any other guarantee than that of amnesty. The hopeful part of the negotiation is that the Filipinos are ready to retire on some terms, and that peace is now possible. Under such circumstances it would be most deplorable if the war should break out again on a mere question whether the Filipino Congress should be recognized long enough to satisfy its own sense of dignity, and long enough to surrender with the ceremonies it considers due to its honor. A weighty responsibility has been incurred by President McKinley for blood poured out in attempts to subdue a people fighting for liberty, with arms that we had given them for that very purpose. If more blood is to be spilled on a mere point of etiquette, that responsibility will be much heavier than before, and the indignation excited among those who still believe in the principles of the Declaration of Independence will be correspondingly heightened.

Why should we not concede something to the sense of honor of the Filipinos? If they are to be our subjects in permanency (which Heaven forbid), is it not desirable that they should have a sense of honor? If they are to be our subjects for only a few years, and are then to be independent, should not their sense of honor be fostered and encouraged? Will they not be better subjects now, and better friends afterwards, if we recognize their sense of honor and yield to its demands, instead of trampling on it because we are the stronger party? The case before us recalls an incident at the beginning of the Revolutionary war, when Lord Howe refused to recognize the American rebels as belligerents, and accordingly addressed their commander as "George Washington, Esquire." The communication was promptly returned, and the impertinence was not repeated.

There are doubtless those who scout the idea that the Filipinos have, or can have, any sense of honor corresponding to what we understand by that term. Honor, according to this conception, belongs only to people who have reached a certain stage of civilization and education; but this is a grave mistake. It is contradicted by history. Very many instances can be shown where a keener sense and appreciation of honor have been exhibited by savage than by civilized men. Honor does not necessarily grow out of or increase by reason of civilization. It is certain that the sense of honor in the Roman republic was far greater

in its infancy than in its maturity and its old age, and that the half-civilized Turks and Arabs in the Middle Ages were often governed by a higher sense of honor than their Christian antagonists. If we have shown any higher sense of honor in the present war than the Filipinos themselves, that fact has not been disclosed by the letters lately published from our soldiers in the field or in any other way.

What the Filipino agent demands in his negotiation with Gen. Otis is that his self-respect and that of his associates shall be preserved, and that the terms of peace shall be such as they can look back to without shame. It would certainly be magnanimous to grant this request. It is something which we can well afford. Every life lost, every drop of blood shed on either side after refusing it, would be wanton sacrifice and waste. We cannot believe that hostilities are to be renewed on so small a margin of difference between the contending forces, especially since the terms of peace cannot be affected in the least to our detriment by the concession demanded. Whatever conditions Gen. Otis can require of Arguelles or of Aguinaldo as individuals, he can require of the Filipino Congress. So he loses nothing material by granting the request. Nor can it be thought that the United States sacrifices any dignity by making the concession. The difference in size and resources between the contending parties is too great. As a full-grown man can afford to concede something to a wayward child, so can we yield to the Filipinos a point which is to us non-essential, but which may make all the difference between peace and the renewal of a war considered by many Americans as unjust and by all as inglorious.

Among the items telegraphed from Manila is a reported interview between President Schurman and Arguelles, in which the latter declared that unconditional surrender would be humiliation. The reply of Mr. Schurman, according to the report, was that

"There would be no humiliation in Gen. Otis treating our brother Filipinos as Gen. Grant treated our brother Americans at Appomattox."

Very likely this gives an imperfect report of what President Schurman did say, but we cannot avoid pointing out the differences between the two cases brought into comparison. The first discrepancy is that our brother Americans at Appomattox were surrounded, and were destitute of provisions, and had no alternative but to surrender or be killed. The next is that they were really our brother Americans, who had rebelled against a government common to both and to which they owed allegiance. The Filipinos never owed allegiance to us. We encouraged them to rebel against Spain and put arms in their hands for that purpose, and then we bought them from Spain on a bargain-counter, where

they were not represented. Did this make them our brothers? Not in the least, nor have we given them any sign or intimation that we intend to treat them as brothers hereafter. We have said to them that we would govern them according to their best interests as we understood them. That is exactly what George III. and his advisers said they would do for us in 1774 and thereabout. But George III. had a better right to say so than we have to repeat his words to the Filipinos. He did not buy the American colonies from a foreign Power after having encouraged them to rebel. They had descended to him by inheritance, and, according to the public law prevailing at that time, he had a right to hold them if he could. In no way have we commended ourselves to the Filipinos in the character of brothers. In no way have we earned the right to address them as such.

SECRETARY LONG'S DEFENCE.

Secretary Long delivered a speech on Monday evening in Boston in which he made an elaborate apology for President McKinley. It was, we think, the very first apology we have had for him from any official source; nearly all other accounts of him given to the public by his subordinates or supporters have been high-flown eulogies of the most extravagant kind, the temper of which has been well caught by Mr. Dooley. That is to say, nearly everybody who made one, owed to him place or favors of some kind, and naturally, for his own sake, put his creator in the very highest rank as a statesman. This, until now, has made the McKinley literature and oratory read like the poems which Oriental poets used in the great days of Mohammedanism to address to the chief of their state, or, to come lower down, like the flattery addressed to Louis XIV. by his courtiers. In civilized states the praise of eminent statesmen has to be what the French call "raisonné"—that is, either comment on well-known facts, like the greatness of Washington or of Pitt, or else an analytical demonstration that a new light has appeared in politics, as has been shown by "the following facts." Greatness is a thing which does not bear simple announcement. The world has to have warning that a new light is about to appear on the horizon. The difficulty in Mr. McKinley's case was that he was not an unknown man. For twenty-five years his countrymen had been painfully taking his measure, and had been able to award him no element of greatness except what flowed from a childlike faith in tariffs. The task of showing that he had suddenly developed capacity beyond the usual measure of middle-aged men in country villages, was a task of no ordinary difficulty, and unhappily until now no one has undertaken it whom the public treated seriously. We have

therefore, read Mr. Long's speech with care and interest.

We are sorry that the Secretary sees fit to open his speech with a denial that "there is any purpose anywhere to subjugate or reduce these Philippine islands to vassalage, or make their people slaves, or deprive them of any rights which are enjoyed by the inhabitants of our own Territories at home." We cannot help doubting whether Mr. Long uses language here in the same sense that we do. President McKinley's proclamation of December 21 was one of the plainest proclamations of an intention to "subjugate" we have ever read, and it was accompanied with an invitation to come in and be subjugated. The Century Dictionary's definition of "subjugate" is "to subdue, conquer, compel to submit to the dominion of or control of another." President McKinley announced the "conquest of the islands"; warned all persons who refused to submit to his "lawful rule" that they would be brought within it by "firmness." Over and over again, the resisting inhabitants have been treated as and called "rebels," which implies a design to "subjugate," although they never owed us allegiance. When President McKinley issued this proclamation he had no more right to the islands, no more title to them in law or usage, than he had to Mr. Long's farm in Massachusetts. This fact, which nobody dare deny, ought to be seared into every American brain. Moreover, Gen. Otis has more than once refused to treat with the Filipinos, which no modern general has ever done except with people whom he considered rebels, or meant to conquer and punish for fighting. What was his object, we do not know. And what "inhabitants of our own Territories at home" have ever been compelled to submit by force of arms to a government they were opposed to, except after a deliberate attempt to break up a government under which they had long lived? Who are they, Mr. Long?

In answer to the charge of "cruelty and brutality" as alleged by many eye-witnesses, Mr. Long has nothing better to answer than that President Seth Low and Dr. Lyman Abbott do not believe it. This is the most extraordinary bit of proof, we think, that ever came from any lawyer but a French one, and from him only in the Dreyfus case. Neither President Low nor Dr. Lyman Abbott knows anything about the matter, or professes to do so, more than the first man you meet in the street. The only particle of excuse for calling them as witnesses is that they believe, like the followers of Mahomet, in "holy wars," and dislike to admit that this one has been stained by cruelty or excess. The failure of English writers, whom Mr. Long cites, to comment on these things proves, not that they never occurred, but that the English do not wish to offend us, and want us to keep

on conquering, to which they have no objection, and do not see ours.

In fact, Mr. Long has not a word to say in defence of our conduct in the Philippines which would bear five minutes' examination in any court-room, church, or hall. He offers us a string of evasions, irrelevancies, and confessions. One story is worth the whole of it. A Kansas soldier, named Brenner, wrote home a month ago that prisoners were, to his knowledge, shot by order. His letter was published by the *Evening Post* three weeks ago. This the Administration professed to take seriously, and ordered, or said it ordered, an investigation. Three weeks have elapsed, and nothing has come. Now to a commanding officer the investigation of a statement made by a soldier whose name, company, and regiment are known, unless he is on duty at a long distance from headquarters, can hardly last more than two days. Are you Brenner? Did you write this letter? Was it true? Did you see prisoners shot by order? Where was it? Are you aware that President Seth Low and Dr. Lyman Abbott do not believe you? Why is this? Surely two days on the spot would suffice to answer these questions one way or another. Why do we hear no more about it? Why is it drifting away into the *Ewigkeit*? Ah, gentlemen conquerors, don't fancy God has forgotten you. Your case is set down for a hearing, and all your piety and wit won't lure the Moving Finger back to cancel half a line of it; and when the day comes, you will find that it will be bad pleading to cite either the English, or Seth Low, or Lyman Abbott.

QUAY AND THE CONSTITUTION.

The Pennsylvania boss continues to claim a large share of public attention, and is sure to retain this position of prominence until the Senate shall have passed upon his right to a seat in that body, under the temporary appointment of Gov. Stone, pending an election by the Legislature to be chosen in 1900. The question now is as to how the Constitution shall be interpreted in the case of Quay.

In order to prevent any lapse in the representation of a State in the upper branch of Congress, the framers of the Constitution provided that, "if any vacancies happen, by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies." Can it be said that a vacancy "happens" during the recess of the Legislature when a term expired while that body was in session, and it has failed to elect anybody for the new term before its adjournment? Can the Governor, upon such adjournment, make a temporary appointment which should be recognized as valid?

These questions have been discussed over and over again, and settled alternately one way and the other. For over a third of a century after the Government was established in 1789, the practice was to admit a claimant who came with a Governor's certificate given under such conditions. Then, for over half a century from 1825, the opposite rule was pursued, and nobody appointed by an Executive when the Legislature had failed to elect was recognized. In 1879 the Senate went back to the position which had been maintained from 1789 to 1825, but in 1893 it reversed itself again, and in a test case from Montana, involving also similar appointments from Washington and Wyoming, refused to admit a claimant. Last year this position was reasserted so emphatically that everybody supposed the question had been finally settled, fifty Senators voting that the Governor of Oregon had not the right to appoint when the Legislature, having a chance, had not elected, and only nineteen voting to sustain the Executive's action.

But Quay and his friends insist that this precedent will be reversed, and many good judges regard their confidence as not unjustifiable. The question last year was Corbett vs. the Constitution; next winter it will be Quay vs. the Constitution—and it scarcely need be said that these are two very different issues. Quay has this advantage on his side at the start, that two of the best authorities in the Senate on the interpretation of the Constitution, Mr. Hoar of Massachusetts and Mr. Spooner of Wisconsin, maintain the executive right of appointment under such circumstances. Allison of Iowa, Frye of Maine, Hawley of Connecticut, and Lodge of Massachusetts are other prominent Senators committed to the same side in the Corbett case, and able to make a strong defence of their position. A large number of new members will sit in the Senate next winter, and they can find a good excuse for following such able interpreters of the Constitution. Probably not a few of those who voted on the other side last year will be ready to confess that they have seen new light in the interval. One such change is assured at the start in Penrose of Pennsylvania, for it is an amusing circumstance that both Quay and his creature voted against admitting Corbett in 1898.

In the short list on Corbett's side last year, however, was the name of one Senator who represents a class which will be far more potent in deciding the same question next winter than all the Constitutional lawyers. That is Hanna of Ohio. There are plenty of men in the body who, like him, will waste little time over what they consider "hair-splitting," but will vote according to their ideas of party, factional, or personal advantage. Platt of New York is one of this class, and there is nothing in the slightest de-

gree improbable in the story that the New York boss will do his best to seat Quay on condition that Quay will order the Representatives whom he owns to support Platt's candidate for Speaker of the House. Equally easy of credence is the report that the influence of the McKinley Administration will be favorable rather than adverse to Quay, as the controller of a machine which will send the largest delegation but one in the whole country to the Republican national convention in 1900.

Another body of recruits for the Quay side is to be expected from the Democratic membership of the Senate. No other Republican in that body has so many warm friends among the Opposition—as was shown a few weeks ago, when even a Senator of such high character as Mr. Gray advised Democratic members of the Pennsylvania Legislature to give Quay the preference over any other Republican. Quay's strength with the Opposition is due to two facts—that he has put many of his Democratic colleagues under personal obligations, and that he has repeatedly voted with the Democrats on important party questions, notably to defeat the Force bill and to help the free-coinage movement, some years ago. There is no place in the country where the maxim, "One good turn deserves another," counts for more than in the United States Senate.

A general in the United States army, who returned from the Philippines a few months ago an earnest advocate of annexing those islands, met an objection on constitutional grounds with the declaration that "we have outgrown the Constitution." But it is not necessary to abolish or amend the Constitution in order to change our policy. The Senate of one Congress may vote more than two to one that a clause in the instrument means one thing, and yet a majority of the Senate in the next Congress may decide that it means the exact opposite. Quay and his friends believe that this will happen, and there is little in the recent history of the body to discourage their belief that the present Quay interpretation of the Constitution will be accepted.

PROGRESS IN EGYPT.

The recent annual report of Lord Cromer brings up afresh the subject of progress in Egypt—not the progress of arms in the Sudan, but the material and industrial gains of the ancient land of the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies, of the Arabs and the Mamelukes. The country is described in the guide-books as being, in point of area, two-thirds the size of Russia in Europe, but in tillable land no larger than little Belgium. This area of tillable land consists of a triangular piece called the Delta, composed of Nile mud, and of a narrow strip or ribbon of similar material on either bank of that stream, varying from ten miles to

ten inches in width, plus a few oases of no great size in the Libyan Desert. All else is an undulating expanse of sand and broken stone, as useless for human purposes as the nebula of Orion.

Yet this small strip of nourishing soil has held a great place in the annals of mankind, its most remarkable feature being the vitality of its population under the successive visitations of war, tyranny, oppression, ignorance, and Mohammedanism, which have not infrequently huddled upon its back all at once. It is only a few years since the taxes of the peasantry were an arbitrary sum, collected by the *bastinado*. Nobody knew how much he had to pay or when he must pay it; nor did he know after he had paid it that he might not be required to pay it again the same year, in labor if not in cash. The *corvée* was in force at the will of the Government. Any man might be ordered from his own proper work to that of the Khedive on the promise of some small pittance per day, which was never paid. Bad as the Egyptian fellah's lot was in his own mud hut, it was worse when he was called to serve in the army. Once enrolled, he was given up by his family, his friends, and himself for dead. His natural expectation was to fall a victim to the incompetency of his own officers, either in peace or in war, and in this he was seldom disappointed.

The kind of justice he received in camp, or in his own village, was of the common Oriental type. Lepsius, the Prussian Egyptologist, gives us an example which occurred incidentally during his travels there. While at work near the Pyramids, he employed the Sheikh of the village of Sakkara to furnish a guard for his camp, notwithstanding which the camp was raided and plundered, the guards running away at the first sign of danger. He reported his loss to the authorities at Cairo, who sent a mudir and a troop of soldiers to investigate. They became pretty well satisfied that the robbery had been committed by a party from another village not far from Sakkara, but could not identify the robbers. So, in order that no guilty man should escape, the mudir ordered that every male adult of this village, including the Sheikh, should be subjected to the *bastinado*. This was done, against the strong remonstrance of Lepsius himself. Then the mudir ordered that all the male adults of Sakkara, including the Sheikh, should be *bastinadoed* because the hired guards had run away, and this was done, against the entreaties of Lepsius. Most of the victims of the punishment fainted under it, and some of them were unable to stand on their feet for weeks afterward. After all the whipping had been finished, the mudir levied a fine on the two villages equal to the value of the property lost, and this was collected under penalty of renewed application of the

kurbash. This illustrates the kind of law which prevailed in Egypt, and which continued unchanged until England took charge of the country. We have instanced this case because it occurs in the writings of a well-known and unimpeachable witness.

In spite of arbitrary taxation, in spite of the *corvée*, the conscription, and the *kurbash*, the Egyptian fellah of the past lived on, and his posterity are now beginning to save some money and find enjoyment in the world. Taxation is now a fixed sum, the *corvée* no longer exists, the conscription has been robbed of its terrors, soldiers actually come back to their villages after their term of service expires, and the *bastinado* is never applied. For the first time in the history of Egypt, which is the oldest history known to men, each person is allowed to have what he earns. The conditions of life are becoming easier in other ways, and public works are going forward which will in a few years add new land to the tillable parts of the Nile valley and make the cultivation of the older parts less laborious. Education is beginning to make its influence felt in the regions adjacent to Assiut, Luxor, and Assuan, as well as in the cities of Cairo and Alexandria. The English language is taught in many of the schools, and in this way the door is opened to the admission of modern science. In this particular the American Presbyterian mission at Assiut, with its branches, had cleared a great deal of ground before the English came in. Its work has been extremely beneficial, and the perseverance of the men and women who have had charge of it cannot be too highly praised.

The question is sometimes asked whether the Egyptians are grateful for what England has done for them, whether they know the source of their betterment, whether they would vote to have English rule continued if they were allowed to decide that question for themselves. It is very doubtful whether the mass of the people, the cultivators of the soil, know that their improved condition is due to a foreign Power, or whether they have intelligence enough to form an opinion on the subject. As Lord Cromer says, there are less than one hundred English officials in the whole country north of the Sudan. The fellaheen have no means of knowing what their government consists of except as they see it and feel it. If they are better off now than they were before, they have no evidence that it is not due to the Khedive, whose nominal authority is still visible to them. All proclamations and decrees and legal instruments run in his name, and it is right that they should. So long as he does not interrupt the work which is binding up the wounds and healing the sores of the ancient land of the Pharaohs, his place as figurehead should not

be disturbed. He is doing no harm. What he might do if he had more opportunity, it is needless to inquire. He is now a gentleman farmer on a large scale, and he seeks to improve the breed of cattle and to introduce scientific agriculture among the people. This is a useful occupation, and, as long as he adheres to it, he is deserving of praise. The real benefactor of Egypt, however, is Lord Cromer, or rather the country which sent him there and which supplies him with moral and material backing.

THE IRISH LOCAL-GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS.

DUBLIN, April 18, 1899.

The elections under the local-government act have taken place, and the management of county and district affairs, so far as in Ireland conceded by Parliament, has passed from the hands of the classes into those of the masses. The peaceful manner in which this great change has been effected is in the highest degree creditable and encouraging. There was little wirepulling, and, except in Connaught, no general popular organization. Those elected are the choice of the people. The elections to the urban councils took place some weeks ago. They did not very materially alter the constitution of those bodies, which had been, even under the old restricted franchise, mainly in the hands of the people. The elections now decided are those (1) for district councils, principally for the management of poor-relief, and (2) the important ones, those for the government of the counties. Roughly speaking, there are 2,400 urban and district councillors. Some 2,000 of these belong to the Popular party. For the county councils there have been 670 contests—of these, so far as statements have come to hand, 536 have gone Popular and 113 Conservative:

Leinster	222 Popular	22 Conservative
Ulster	86 Popular	80 Conservative
Connaught	81 Popular	2 Conservative
Munster	137 Popular	9 Conservative
	536 Popular	113 Conservative

The proportions as to differences of policy heretofore shown in Ireland are preserved and continued. 80 per cent. of the parliamentary representation has been Popular; 82 per cent. of the urban and district councillors are now Popular. 77 per cent. of the county councillors, and majorities of these last, have been elected by districts representing 70 per cent. of the population and 66 per cent. of the ratable valuation of the country. Every county has returned a Popular representative. In but four (Derry, Antrim, Down, and Armagh) are the Conservatives in a majority. In two (Fermanagh and Tyrone) there is equality between the parties. In the other twenty-six the Popular party is in an overwhelming majority. In no voting district, so far as I can learn, in which the Conservative voters are in a majority has a Popular representative been returned. In many in which the Popular party is in a majority, Conservatives have been returned. In a considerable number of the councils in which the Popular party is in a large majority, and where, naturally, a Popular chairman has been elected, the vice-chair has been given to a Conservative. In some of the northern councils in which the Conservatives held a majority of but one, they have

exercised their power in appointing Conservatives to both chairs.

These facts may be considered from different points of view—either that the Popular party is more tolerant, or that it holds more loosely to its supposed main principle, or that it is more amenable to personal considerations, or that in its personnel there is not such a large proportion of men to hold the esteem of the opposite party as there is among the Conservatives. There have been, in districts overwhelmingly Popular, several remarkable Conservative successes, showing rapidly growing forgetfulness of the land agitation: Lord Castlerosse in Kerry; McMurrough Kavanagh in Carlow, Lord Frederick Fitzgerald in Kildare, Lords Emly, Monteagle, and Dunraven in Limerick, the O'Connor Don in the West. Upon the other hand, there have been defeats such as never could take place in England, where the nobility to such a considerable degree have identified themselves with the people. Col. Tottenham, who for twenty years was on the Wicklow Grand Jury, was defeated by a tenant farmer; so was Lord Rosse in King's County, who received but 29 votes to his opponent's 191. The Right Hon. Henry Bruen, a Carlow magnate, was defeated by a tenant farmer. In Meath, Lord Longford received but 66 votes to his opponent's 251; and in Tipperary, Lord Dunally but 4 to his opponent's 195.

Ireland has now, as often before, found herself, in relation to British sentiment, in the position of the Lamb to the Wolf in the fable. She was told that by electing political opponents to representative positions on the new councils, she would show her moderation and conciliate British feeling. She well knew that the adoption of such a course would inevitably be taken as proof that she was indifferent as to her main desires. Upon the whole, the people have acted upon their own opinion and initiative, and have not been unduly influenced by their clergy; but I regret to say it has not been so in every district. In some Catholic constituencies of reputed high intelligence, a tried Home-Ruler or a popular employer of liberal principles, who received ready promises of majorities of votes, and who would undoubtedly have been elected had the people been left to themselves, has been, through the exertions of the clergy, if not by altar denunciation, defeated upon the ground of being Protestant. Cases such as this will throw some hitherto Home-Rule Protestants back into the ranks of the Conservatives, forgetful of the course hitherto pursued by Conservatives when in power, and of what has now been done where they are still in the majority. Were there not now a single Protestant elected to place or appointed to office in all Ireland, it would be a fairer state of things than that which has prevailed. There is, however, no danger whatever of such a deplorable reversion to bigotry. Upon the Council of the South Dublin Union, where the Popular party is in a majority of 48 to 10, a Protestant Conservative vice-chairman has just been elected. Dublin is four-fifths Catholic, 90 per cent. of the 3,500 sick and poor inmates of the Union are Catholic; yet the new Council finds the institution, without a single Catholic doctor, apothecary, collector, relieving officer, or other principal official. It is well to remember that these denominational divisions with which Ireland is so cursed are divisions not so much dog-

matic as they are the product of the social and family divisions brought about by dogma. Persons of the several persuasions are educated separately, brought up separately, marry separately, mix in separate social circles. They are best acquainted with the qualifications and dispositions of their associates, and naturally prefer them for places of trust and emolument. The attempt in other countries, where religious differences have not as yet developed such baneful results as in Ireland, to induce homogeneity through united education is natural and laudable.

As to the conduct of business by these new councils, allowance must be made for the degree to which the country has hitherto been unpractised in the arts of responsible self-government. We need, however, have little fear as to the results. Expenditure is more likely to be unwisely limited than extravagant. It is satisfactory that a considerable number of women have been elected on the district councils.

The result of the elections has been hailed as an overwhelming proof of the strength of Home-Rule feeling in Ireland. I cannot altogether take the same favorable view of the situation. The majority professing Home Rule profess also every other popular shibboleth. Many opponents of Home Rule have been elected by Popular constituencies. I am not aware that one opponent of a Catholic University, or the erection of cheap cottages at the public expense, has been so returned. Judging by the tests ordinarily applied in such cases, we cannot say much for the strength or solidity of Home-Rule principles. Direct organization with that object in view is for the present at an end. Popular papers, once full of the subject, now unceasingly devote their space to "sport" and ecclesiastical affairs. There is no public opinion to compel an effective attendance or united action of the Nationalist members in Parliament. There appears none to keep straight so-called representatives of Nationality at home. A few days ago the Parnellite Lord Mayor of Dublin did what none of his predecessors has attempted for twenty years—he lunched at the Castle with the Lord Lieutenant; and no protest has been heard. Accounts recently published show that Ireland at home and abroad within the last year contributed but £1,818 to keep the cause going in Parliament—much less than is often contributed in a few days for some special ecclesiastical purpose. It may be that Ireland is so settled in her convictions, so conscious of painful sacrifices made in the past and of the difficulties before her, that she purposes for the future pursuing her aim by easy paths alone; waiting rather for the apple to fall into her lap than risking time and energy in reaching after it. If the desire for Home Rule subsists to the same extent as formerly, some such reasons as this can alone explain the present position of the movement.

In any case a fatal blow has been struck at the old ascendancy. Protestants, once the masters, will, unless they come to throw themselves into the general national life of the country, fall into the position we are told they largely occupy in the Province of Quebec, where they carry on much of the trade of the country, are entirely respected, but are largely shut out from patronage and pay—their ambitious youth finding careers in Great Britain, India, and the colonies. Protestants have now lost most of what they

might have lost under Home Rule. They may yet come to realize that in a Local Assembly for Irish affairs containing a certain nucleus of Protestant members from Ulster, and feeling themselves Irish, they would really have more hold upon the country than through the collective management of local affairs by the Imperial Parliament. D. B.

TURNER AT THE GUILDHALL.

LONDON, April 14, 1899.

It is the fashion in London to find fault with the City. To the County Council, no doubt, it is a convenience to have another municipal body to distract criticism from its own performances; and so a great deal is heard of the iniquities of the Corporation of London, and very little of its virtues. And yet it has its virtues, and many of them, as it would be easy to point out, were I not to-day concerned especially with one alone, the very recent virtue—dating back but to 1890—of giving excellent picture exhibitions in the Guildhall. These, to be sure, have not been beyond reproach—that would be asking too much of any corporation whose attentions to art spring solely from a sense of duty; but they have always been interesting, and sometimes important; never more so than this year, when the Guildhall gallery has been filled with, unquestionably, the largest and most complete collection of Turners ever yet seen outside the National Gallery. Some of these very pictures have been hung in the Academy's shows of Old Masters; many similar water-colors, if not the same, have found a place in the yearly exhibition at Messrs. Agnew's Bond Street gallery; but never, to my knowledge—except in Turner's own collection—have such a number been got together, and never, anywhere, have they been so well arranged. For the chronological order one felt would add so much to the Rembrandts at the Academy and in Amsterdam, has here been observed. Pictures and drawings are grouped according to dates and periods—an enormous aid in the study of Turner; and Mr. A. G. Temple, Director of the Guildhall Library and Gallery, has compiled a most thorough catalogue, giving all possible information and every appropriate quotation from Ruskin.

In saying this I have explained, what everybody knows perfectly well nowadays, that Turner cannot be mentioned, or his work considered, without an immediate reference to Ruskin. In fact, it is very much a question whether most people, when they look at a Turner, do not see, not what really is in it, but rather all that Ruskin's eloquence has made them believe ought to be in it. I do not want to be misunderstood: I have no intention of belittling Turner. He was a great artist, and neither excessive praise nor prejudiced abuse can alter this indisputable fact. But I do think there is danger of the real Turner being lost sight of in the widespread worship of Ruskin's Turner. A superstition has grown up about the very name of Turner; it has become a fetish among English artists, even more so among English art critics—a name to conjure with. Never has there been—probably never will there be again—such an instance of a man being "boomed" into a sort of a demigod. The term very likely is vulgar, but it fits; it was Ruskin's incessant "booming," joined to Turner's ingenious "booming" of himself, that induced

a public, naturally indifferent to art, to bow down before Turner and accept him as the one genius of all time. The Guildhall show is of more than usual importance, because it will force Turner's admirers to look at his pictures, and, moreover, at many of them hung together, when the merits and defects of his work reveal themselves more unmistakably than in one or two seen separately. It may be suggested that there has always been as admirable an opportunity at the National Gallery, which is true; only the public that cares for Turner has long had the collection there by heart. But the Guildhall collection is not known as familiarly, and it seems to me impossible that any one could examine attentively each painting or drawing in turn, and, face to face with it, refer to the catalogue for Ruskin's pronouncement, without forming for himself a more dispassionate judgment than ever before. The conclusion of this study will not be, I am afraid, altogether in accord with the old pleasant superstition.

The arrangement being chronological, it is easy to follow the stages of development through which Turner passed. There is no use in adhering scrupulously to the Five Periods under which his biographers have grouped his work; a classification almost too elaborate for the present purpose. But, as you go into the Guildhall Gallery, a glance shows you that on the left-hand wall are the pictures belonging to the days when he still conformed to the old conventions, infusing into them new life by the strength of his own genius; that in front are the canvases painted when he had not yet thrown over the old formula, though he was already seeking a new one; while to the right are the brilliant, almost blazing experiments in which the final step had been taken and he was grappling with problems that hitherto had not appealed to the painter (and I need not add that it is these last his worshippers have usually ranked as his masterpieces). There is not space, even if it were necessary, to describe the thirty-eight pictures separately and in detail. One or two in each group can be taken as fairly typical.

To begin with, there is a most beautiful example of his early manner in the "Kilgarran Castle," painted in 1797, of which there are two versions, the finer being the property of Lord Armstrong. The River Teifi forces its way between the steep hills that rise on either side the canvas. On the top of one, towering above the deep chasm, are the ruins of the Castle. The light is cool and gray; the hills are dark and shadowy. The whole composition has the serenity, the breadth, and gives you the sense of completeness, of some of the landscapes of the French Romanticists. As you look, the detail gradually grows out of the shadows; you see the little village on the lower heights beyond, you see the bathers in the sombre river; but never do these things obtrude themselves—they belong as absolutely to the harmony as do the nymphs or peasants in Corot's glades and on his hillside. The color, I should imagine, has lost nothing; the conventions may be old, but the painter has made them something new, even as the poet does when he sings an ancient, threadbare theme; and the picture, you feel instinctively, will always remain one of the world's masterpieces, solemn, dignified, impressive. Within the next nine or ten years

he had painted the seas that hang on the same wall, none more wonderful than the large "Boats Carrying out Anchors and Cables to Dutch Men-of-War in 1665," with a great wave rolling mountain high across the canvas, and the little boat wallowing in its depths, the men in it pulling, with every muscle strained, towards the marvellously drawn ships, while above, like a mighty curtain rent asunder, the black cloud-masses break to show the clear sky behind. The truths Ruskin insists upon your finding in Turner—though the absence of a Ruskin quotation in the Catalogue suggests that this is not one of the canvases to which he would have sent you in search of them—are all here: truth of drawing, truth of action, truth of sea and sky, of light and atmosphere. But they never disturb the unity, the ensemble, as the French term it, of the picture. And it is the same with the other seas, with the other landscapes of his early years. They have the completeness and the perfect serenity that always distinguish the really great work of art. They are dark canvases, almost tragic in their solemnity, but always full of grandeur, dignity, repose.

Later came the pictures represented by a little group hung together at the end of the gallery, in which you must be struck by the signs of the coming change. They mark the transition stage. Color is less conventional, there is a more realistic study of light. The painter has not yet dared the fantastic experiments that were soon to absorb him, but he is less influenced by Claude and the masters to whom, at first, he gave his allegiance. Perhaps there could be no more typical example than the "Barnes Terrace" and "Mortlake," well known by reputation, and both here. They are beautiful renderings of the Thames seen from a riverside garden. There is the same tranquillity, the same repose, but the light is warmer, more glowing; and in the "Barnes," at least, with that famous black-paper dog still stuck on the parapet where it was put in order to throw back the distance, we have the beginning of the wholesale sacrifice of more durable qualities to the immediate obtaining of his effect that was to be the ruin of Turner's later work. The "Barnes" and "Mortlake" are more in sympathy with the "Kilgarran Castles" and the majestic seas. But still the light that floods them prepares us for the brilliant, dazzling, bewildering illumination of the "Ehrenbreitstein," the "Gloucester," the "Marriage of the Adriatic," from which, at the Guildhall, only a narrow stairway separates them. In time there is an interval of ten or twelve years between.

And now you find yourself in front of the pictures supposed to characterize the full and perfect development of Turner's genius; pictures in which you are expected to see the real Turner, finally freed from the traditions and conventions of the schools. Because, in them, for the first time his individuality had full play, they have been accepted by the authorities as his most perfect work. Let me be candid. To confront the few that have been brought together at the Guildhall is to experience a moment of entire disillusionment. Crude color offends the eye; garish, glaring light hurts it; and everywhere are the endless, tedious, and irrelevant details that confuse and tire it. And there are still more serious defects. In the "Ehrenbreitstein,"

half-a-dozen pictures are crowded into one composition; and, lovely as are the different parts, the little blue, hazy town floating, dream-like, on the blue river, the castle perched on the great rose-flushed cliffs—they are quite disconnected, almost conflicting. The foreground of the "Marriage of the Adriatic" is crowded with carefully worked-out little figures, and full of enough incident and story to keep the British patron of anecdote busy for a year, while the perspective of the palaces lining the long stretch of canal is simply childish. In the "Mercury and Argus," in which Ruskin was for ever, according to his temper at the time, discovering new series of truths, are trees that would disgrace an Academician; water of a cold, hard blue wholly out of relation to the color scheme, and such a spotting and dotting of the grassy slope with cattle that all feeling of rest is gone. One of the best of these late pictures, "The Wreck Buoy," a lovely arrangement of ships and sails and a double rainbow, has in the foreground two buoys lit from within in some inexplicable fashion, with legible lettering on each, that positively will not let you see the picture as a whole. You look at that other wonderful sea that faces it, its simplicity undisturbed by such an unworthy catering to an inartistic public, and you cannot but question whether Turner did not lose, rather than gain, by giving the reins to his individuality.

This is the result of a first glance, and perhaps I ought to explain that there is nothing here that can quite compare with the "Fighting Temeraire" and the "Rain, Steam, and Speed" in the National Gallery. But, as I heard an artist say the other day, there is no believing the painter of the "Kilgarran Castle" could degenerate into a mere "rotter"—there must have been an artistic intention in these pictures, though to many of us now they have become incomprehensible. And, indeed, after the first shock of disappointment, you examine them more closely, and you begin to understand that much of the original color has vanished, faded, or changed hopelessly, and that it may have been as splendid as Ruskin thought it, though now it is a matter of speculation, not of fact. Then you walk to the opposite side of the room, and the details disappear in the beauty of line and composition; the perspective somehow becomes right, and the restless and elaborated canvases resolve themselves into the beautiful impressions Turner doubtless intended to record. But, if he did, why overload them with cheap and irritating detail? you wonder. And when Ruskin spoke of the truth contained in them, what did he mean—the truth of the detail or the truth of the impression? And if the latter, must it not have occurred even to him that in this case the detail was superfluous? However, if we forget Ruskin, if we forget the place apart long since appointed to Turner, the reason of his failure dawns upon us—a more fundamental reason than his mistaken use of fugitive colors. Engrossed as he was with the problems of light which the modern student of sunshine thinks so essentially his own, Turner could not altogether emancipate himself from the old classical formula of composition, nor could he, the thrifty son of a miserly father, remain indifferent to popular taste. The modern *plein-airiste*, or whatever he may call himself, wants to show the effect of light; the objects in the landscape upon which it happens to shine are of minor

importance—a haystack answers as well as a cathedral. But Turner attempted to combine the same study with a stately classical design and the detailed telling of a story which is what the honest Briton has always prized above all else in a picture. Confusion was bound to ensue from his venture to reconcile the irreconcilable. It was only now and then, when he was carried away by the problem he had set himself, when he fell under the spell of lovely light and color, until every side issue was subordinated, that he succeeded triumphantly, as in "The Rape of Europa," now at the Guildhall; a dream of soft, golden, flame-tinged mist, through which the sea slowly discloses itself, a wide stretch of vague blue, with a dimly seen figure moving across it. Fine experiments many of the later pictures are, but, if I except this one and a very few others that I have seen, it is only the experiment, and not Ruskin's absolute truth, you discover in them. They have not the calm, the dignity, the supreme distinction of the "Kilgarran Castle" or the "Mortlake."

And so it is with the water-colors. The most satisfactory in the collection are two charming sketches on gray paper of Bonnevillie, dated 1800-10, but by no means the "insuperable" examples of Turner's "grandest manner" that Ruskin calls them; nor can you agree with him that "mountains, properly speaking, never had been drawn before at all, and will probably never be drawn so well again." In the later notes and impressions, as in the later paintings, the exaggeration of detail offends. But, though the "Splügen Pass," which Ruskin says he saw in a moment was the noblest Alpine drawing Turner ever made, and the "Red Righi," which he thought such a piece of color as had never come in his way before, are included, there are no such perfect, such suggestive studies and sketches as those little drawings in the cellar of the National Gallery which are nothing more than simple, broad washes of color. Many of the *Libra* prints are also shown; for the collection, as I have already said, is delightfully complete and representative.

Its chief interest, however, must be found in the help it gives in an unprejudiced study of an artist who has been overpraised and overestimated. If we can only shut our ears for awhile to the music of Ruskin's eloquence, and our eyes to the glamour of the Turner room at the National Gallery, of Turner's ambitious pitting of his own landscapes against Claude's in that other room, of the Turner bequests at the Royal Academy, and of all Turner's honestly meant glorification of himself; if we can shake off the Turner tradition and not be frightened by the Turner fetish, we may begin to see the real Turner—a great, a very great painter, but no greater than, if as great as, Claude and Constable and Corot; a brilliant experimentalist whose vagaries and fantastic flights would have led to destruction in a lesser man; a master of line and composition, one of the most accomplished water-colorists that have ever lived.

Correspondence.

BURKE ON THE PHILIPPINE WAR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I enclose extracts from Burke's noble letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol, 1777. I

have seen no comment on this present situation in the Philippines which covers actual conditions more closely than this actual analysis.—Faithfully yours, VAGO.

SAN FRANCISCO, April 21, 1899.

"If there be one fact in the world perfectly clear, it is this, 'That the disposition of the people of America is wholly averse to any other than a free government'; and this is indication enough, to any honest statesman, how he ought to adapt whatever power he finds in his hands to their case. If any ask me what a free government is, I answer that, for any practical purpose, it is what the people think so; and that they, and not I, are the natural, lawful, and competent judges of this matter.

"But whether liberty be advantageous or not (for I know it is a fashion to decry the very principle), none will dispute that peace is a blessing; and peace must, in the course of human affairs, be frequently bought by some indulgence and toleration at least to liberty.

"Liberty is in danger of being made unpopular to Englishmen. Contending for an imaginary power, we begin to acquire the spirit of domination, and to lose the relish of honest equality.

"If we should be expelled from America, the delusion of the partisans of military government might still continue. They might still feed their imaginations with the possible good consequences which might have attended success. Nobody could prove the contrary by facts. But in case the sword should do all that the sword can do, the success of their arms and the defeat of their policy will be one and the same thing. You will never see any revenue from America. Some increase of the means of corruption, without ease of the public burdens, is the very best that can happen. Is it for this that we are at war; and in such a war?

"But America is not subdued. Not one unattacked village which was originally adverse throughout that vast continent, has yet submitted from love or terror. You have the ground you encamp on; and you have no more. The cantonments of your troops and your dominions are exactly of the same extent. You spread devastation, but you do not enlarge the sphere of authority.

"A conscientious man would be cautious how he dealt in blood. He would feel some apprehension at being called to a tremendous account for engaging in so deep a play, without any sort of knowledge of the game. It is no excuse for presumptuous ignorance that it is directed by insolent passion. The poorest being that crawls on earth, contending to save itself from injustice and oppression, is an object respectable in the eyes of God and man. But I cannot conceive any existence under heaven (which, in the depths of its wisdom, tolerates all sorts of things) that is more truly disgusting than an impotent, helpless creature, without civil wisdom or military skill, without a consciousness of any other qualification for power but his servility to it, bloated with pride and arrogance, calling for battles which he is not to fight, contending for a violent dominion which he can never exercise, and satisfied to be himself mean and miserable in order to render others contemptible and wretched.

"I know it is said that your kindness is only alienated on account of their resistance; and therefore if the colonies surrender at discretion, all sort of regard, and even much indulgence, is meant towards them in future. But can those who are partisans for continuing a war to enforce such a surrender, be responsible (after all that has passed) for such a future use of a power that is bound by no compacts and restrained by no terror? Will they tell us what they call indulgences? Do they not at this instant call the present war and all its horrors a lenient and merciful proceeding?

"No conqueror that I ever heard of has professed to make a cruel, harsh, and insolent use

of his conquest. No! The man of the most declared pride scarcely dares to trust his own heart with this dreadful secret of ambition. But it will appear in its time; and no man who professes to reduce another to the insolent mercy of a foreign arm ever had any sort of good will towards him. The profession of kindness with that sword in his hand, and that demand of surrender, is one of the most provoking acts of his hostility."

THE WASHINGTON-BRODHURST CONNECTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have found another item of interest in the Washington ancestry, in the form of two letters from a descendant of the first marriage of Anne Pope, the wife of John Washington the immigrant.

Of this (Brodhurst) connection, little is known. The Virginia land records show a grant of 500 acres in Northumberland County to Walter Brodhurst, in 1650, probably the year of his arrival. Another grant, of 300 acres, was made in December, 1662, to his son Walter, and on the same date, 500 acres, "near the land of Nath'l Pope," were given to Gerrard, who was another son, as these letters show. The first Walter married Pope's daughter, Anne, and died between 1656 and 1658. His will was proved in England in 1658. A Walter Brodhurst, in May, 1658, witnessed the will of Henry Peyton, of Aquia, Westmoreland County, and Hugh Brodhurst was associated with him. The witness to Peyton's will cannot have been the son of Walter and Anne, who is said to have left America at a later period only nine years of age. In May, 1659, Anne, as Mrs. Washington, received a gift of land from her father, Nathaniel Pope; and in September of the same year was concerned in a lawsuit, as Anne Brodhurst, the "relict and administratrix of Walter Brodhurst." If Walter was living in May, 1658, and his widow was Mrs. Washington in May, 1659, no time was lost in unnecessary grief for the dead. It may be noted that John Washington was preparing for the baptism of his young son in September, 1659. Anne Brodhurst is described as a "young widow," which is doubtless true, as her husband was about thirty-six years of age in 1655. The interest in these letters lies in the history of the children of Walter and Anne; they fully establish the fact that Walter and Gerrard were brothers, and so stepsons of John Washington. Col. Chester found at Lichfield a record, dated April 12, 1678, of letters granted to Walter Brodhurst, to "administer on the goods of Anne Washington, alias Brodhurst, late of Washington Parish, in y^e County of Westm'land, in y^e countrey of Virginia."

A note may be added on the marriages of John Washington, the immigrant. He had married in England, and his wife and two children accompanied him to Virginia, where they died. The tradition is that he came to America in 1657. If he married Anne (Pope) Brodhurst in 1659, his wife and two children had died in the meantime. This second wife is believed to have died in 1675 or 1676. She was certainly living when her husband made his will in September, 1675; and her son, Walter Brodhurst, could obtain testamentary letters in England in 1678. The record cited by Lyon G. Tyler points to the earlier year as that of her death, for he found a marriage contract between Col. John Washington and Frances

Appleton, dated May 10, 1676. The curious feature is that Frances was taking a husband for the third time, just as Washington was taking his third wife. She was the daughter of Dr. Thomas Gerrard, and had married in 1660 Valentine Peyton. On his death, in 1665, she had appointed her "trusty and well beloved friend, Major John Washington," her attorney. In 1670 she became the wife of Capt. John Appleton, a witness to John Washington's will, who died between the making and the proving of that will, certainly after September, 1675. Yet, in May, 1676, she is about to make her third venture in matrimony, and her husband that is to be will take her as his third venture. Truly, these much-married colonists are very confusing and confused persons.

WORTHINGTON C. FORD.

Boston, April 25, 1899.

ADDENBROOKE TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SIR I have been informed by my Mother and by some papers in my custody find that my Grandfathers Mother a young Widdow her name Broadhurst, married a Gentleman called Colonnell Washinton of Virginia, one of your Ancestors, if so I have the Honour of being a relation to you, which makes me take the Liberty to Trouble you with an Enquiry after an Estate which belonged to my Grandfather, and an Estate left my Mother and her sisters by their Uncle Gerrard Broadhurst. After the Death of my Grandfather the Daughters sent one Pension to Virginia to manage their Affairs, and imprudently trusted him with their Writeings. He for some years made them regular remittances Afterwards took no Notice of their Affairs, by what I can learn kept possession as his Own, as the Estate I believe Joyns to yours shall take it as the Greatest favour you would inform me of the Situation of the Estate and Pensons heirs, and if you think the Estate is recoverable I am the only representative of the Family of Broadhurst, my Grandfather, left Virginia at the age of 9 years to take Possession of some Effects left him by an Uncle in Shropshire in England. As I am unacquainted with any body in Virginia, beg you will excuse the Trouble I give you in this Affair. the favor of an Answer to this will be gratefully acknowledged by Sir your most obedient Humble Serv^t to Com^d

THOS. ADDENBROOKE.

At Coalbrookdale near Shiffnall in Shropshire, England, 16 December, 1771.

ADDENBROOKE TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SIR In December 1771 I took the liberty to write to you requesting the Favour of you to Enquire after an Estate in Virginia that I had a right to. Not being favour'd with your Answer makes me imagine my letter miscarried.

By some papers in my Custody I find my Great Grandfather (by my mothers side) Walter Broadhurst left a Widdow who married Mr John Washington of Westmoreland County. I suppose an Ancestor of yours by which I have the Honour of being related to you. My Grandfather came to England very young left a brother whose name was Gerrard Broadhurst, at Virginia, who died after a short illness at the House of Mr Lawrence Washington in Christmas 1677, and left all his real and personal Estates to my Grandfathers children of whom I am the only descendant. His plantations were situated at Nemanie [Nomony?] in the County of Westmoreland. He left Mr Nicholas Spencer and Mr. Washington Trustees for my Grandfathers Children. Upon the Death of my Grandfather my Mother and her sisters sent one Pension to manage the Plantation and very imprudently trusted him with their papers. Pension made remittances for some time, but for a great many years past took no Notice of them but possessed himself of the Estate and as I am informd his son now enjoys it.—I shall

think myself greatly obliged if you will favour me with a line, if you think the Estate is recoverable or not, what may be the Value, and if it would answer for me to come over. I am told that According to your Laws no time takes away my right. I hope you will excuse the Freedom I take in giving you this trouble, but presuming that you are a relation occasioned me taking this freedom, and I hope you will favour me with an answer as soon as convenient. Directed to Sir your very Humble Serv^t to Com^d

THOS. ADDENBROOKE.

26 July, 1773.

Notes.

Mr. T. W. Higginson's books (school-books excepted) have been acquired of Messrs. Longman by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., who are preparing a definitive edition. In advance of this will appear a new volume, uniform with 'Cheerful Yesterdays,' entitled 'Contemporaries,' and consisting of personal sketches of distinguished Americans written for various periodicals.

Frederick Warne & Co. will shortly publish 'The Romance of Wild Flowers,' by Edward Step, with profuse illustrations, first of a series entitled 'The Library of Natural History Romance'; and a popular reissue of Anne Pratt's 'Flowering Plants, Ferns, Sedges, and Grasses of Great Britain,' edited by Mr. Step.

R. H. Russell has nearly ready 'Eden vs. Whistler: The Baronet and the Butterfly,' by J. McNeill Whistler; and an English version of Hauptmann's 'Die Versunkene Glocke,' by Charles Henry Meltzer, in rhyme and blank verse.

A volume of interesting descriptions of Rhode Island, Providence, and Newport, from 1636 to 1836, has been compiled by Miss Gertrude Selwyn Kimball, and, if sufficient encouragement be given, will be published by Preston & Rounds Co., Providence, at \$2.50, in a limited edition.

With 'Reprinted Pieces' the "Gadshill Edition" of Dickens comes to an end (London: Chapman & Hall; New York: Scribners), and Mr. Andrew Lang makes his editorial bow in a General Essay on the Works of Charles Dickens. The judgment will, we believe, stand, and it is sufficiently critical to warrant the editor in wondering how he ever came to get the job. His various prefaces have furnished ground for such wonderment in his readers. He has, he says, "played the Devil's Advocate . . . *contre cœur*, and from an odd sense of duty which seemed [in view of our general debt to Dickens] half undutiful." And so ends a liberally, almost elegantly, printed edition, rather too bulky, whose excuse for being turns out to be an apology.

No apology is needed for the "Centenary Edition" of Carlyle marketed by the same American firm, and as cheap as it is beautiful in appearance. It is now extended by two volumes of the 'Wilhelm Meister' translation. Two volumes also are given to 'Shirley' in Downey & Co.'s reissue of the novels of the Brontë sisters (Scribners), handsome and bold of letter, if again, like the Dickens, somewhat too plump for perfect beauty or handiness.

The Dent-Macmillan "Temple Edition" of Scott's novels pursues its charming and companionable way with 'Redgauntlet' and 'St. Ronan's Well,' each in two dainty volumes.

Reasons for anonymity are an author's "private business," in the Croker slang of

the day, but it is curious that the editorship of Houghton, Mifflin & Co.'s 'Bachel Guide for the Vacation Tourist in Europe' should have been concealed for twenty-seven years by Dr. W. J. Rolfe, the Shaksperian scholar and editor. His name now first appears in the issue for 1899.

It was inevitable that Lady Burton's monument to her husband, 'The Life of Sir Richard F. Burton,' should, if attempted in a popular edition, be razed. This has now been done by the competent hand of Mrs. W. H. Wilkins, the biographer in turn of Lady Burton. Omission of the appendices and other irrelevant matter reduces the work to a single presentable octavo volume of 648 pages, with illustrations. Mrs. Wilkins tells, in her interesting preface, of Burton's intention to publish, from his candid diaries, a 'Confessions,' which we may suppose would have rivalled Rousseau's in frankness. Lady Burton took care that nobody else should construct it out of his literary remains.

Five years ago we briefly noticed Mr. Samuel H. Church's conscientious but hardly inspired 'Oliver Cromwell' (Putnams). That the work has supplied a want would appear to be evidenced by its having passed to a third edition, in the preface to which the author notices the unsuccessful introduction of a monument bill in Parliament immediately consequent upon the publication of his reproach to England that it had no official monument to the Protector. Now he issues a rather sumptuous 'Commemoration Edition' in celebration of the fact of the acceptance by Lord Salisbury's Government, and the placing "in one of the corridors of the Palace of Westminster," of Bernini's bust from life of Cromwell. A plate showing this interesting effigy is one of the several which go to make up the adornment of the present issue (limited, by the way, to 600 numbered and signed copies), and include the likeness of Mr. Church himself.

The beautiful quarto volume numbered fourteen in the series of Filson Club Publications (Louisville, Ky.: John P. Morton & Co.) deals in two parts with 'The Clay Family.' The respective authors are the Hon. Zachary F. Smith for 'The Mother of Henry Clay' (Elizabeth Hudson), and Mrs. Mary Rogers Clay for the general genealogy. Not much has been achieved in elucidating the English connection, but a great body of individual biographies has been brought together, and the effort was certainly worth while. At the same time, it is to be regretted that Mrs. Clay, who edits the *Courier-Journal's* genealogical column, was not more familiar with the best mode of exhibiting pedigrees in print. There is not even a chart for Henry Clay. It is disquieting, too, to find a lax method as exemplified in No. 97, whose birth-date is given on first mention (under issue), p. 106, but not with the separate sketch, p. 153; or, vice versa (a very common negligence), in the case of No. 159. More serious are fatal inconsistencies like these: p. 105, John Clay was born February 13, 1800, but p. 148, February 15, 1800; p. 116, Green Clay Smith was born July 10, 1837, but p. 168, July 2, 1832. The catholic treatment of the Clay family is noticeable; the pseudo-abolitionism of Henry Clay, the eccentric but genuine abolitionism of Cassius M. Clay, gallant Federals and gallant Confederates, all come in for praise; and (shades of Henry Clay and Elizabeth Hudson!) Miss Laura Clay, daughter of Cassius

M. Clay, is eulogized as the leader of woman suffragists in Kentucky. The volume contains numerous valuable portraits, including one (thought to be unpublished) of Henry Clay.

Charles Battell Loomis's 'Just Rhymes' (R. H. Russell) has been gathered up in a thin volume from the numerous periodicals in which the original verse and the parody have already fulfilled a cheerful mission. The best are very good, but not better than the "Dedication to the Author" in laughable prose. Miss Cory's illustrations, also in many veins, are level with the text in humor, and now and again (as in the vignette to "Lullaby à la mode") noticeably graceful and decorative.

Kelly's Directory of the Merchants, Manufacturers, and Shippers of the United Kingdom, and Guide to the Export and Import Shipping and Manufacturing Industries of the World' (London; and New York, 5 Beekman Street) reaches its thirteenth edition in a portly volume of nearly 3,500 pages. The obvious functions displayed in the title it discharges generously, but it also contains, for the respective countries, ports, and cities of the earth, condensed commercial statistics, including tariffs. It is significant of the contrast between a country that seeks the world's trade and one that has hitherto affixed odium to international exchange, that while Great Britain's tariff fills only one page in large type, that of the United States fills fourteen in fine type. A Foreign Office circular touching the regulations to which foreign commercial travellers are subjected in European countries (p. ix) shows that no restrictions prevail in Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, France, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Russia, and Turkey. The Scandinavian countries, on the other hand, are very stringent and exacting. The editor notices that the rubber supply keeps pace with the demands of wheelmen and tire-makers, and that the West Coast of Africa, with a capacity for unlimited production, increased its export from £671 in 1893 to £252,065 in 1897. A subsidiary use of this valuable Directory is in its geographical index as a gazetteer, and its bilingual indexes of trades and professions for convenience in translation.

'A Manual of English Pronunciation and Grammar for the Use of Dutch Students,' by J. H. A. Günther (Groningen), is in manner and matter an altogether excellent book. As its title indicates, it is written in English, and it presupposes on the part of its user at the outset a good knowledge of the language. The first part, on pronunciation, is based on Sweet and other recent material, all most clearly and intelligently presented, with an abundance of illustrative symbols that make too many phonetic works not only caviare to the general, but a weariness of flesh even to the special. The values here are English and do not, accordingly, along well-known lines, always correspond with American usage. The second part of the book, containing forms and syntax, is, like the first part, a model of its kind. The author's purpose, as he states it in his preface, is to write a grammar of the language of to-day. His syntax is thus a record of what actually is and not at all of what ideally should be. The illustrations in the majority of cases are drawn from the most recent writers: Anthony Hope, Marion Crawford, Stanley Weyman, Andrew Lang, Robert Louis Stevenson, Augustine Birrell,

Conan Doyle, Rider Haggard, John Oliver Hobbes, and many more of their day and generation, with not an Ollendorffian dummym among them. The hundreds of exemplifications of literary usage in this part of the book give a picture of the language as it is written at the end of the century that is not surpassed by any late work of the kind in England or America. The book, in point of fact, would be a valuable one in the hands of any student of English at home or abroad, since, aside from the few citations of Dutch values in phonology and syntax for the purpose of elucidation, there is nothing in it except the sub-title to indicate that it is not intended generally for English-speaking people. From beginning to end, finally, the manual breathes the whole fresh spirit of modern language-study which so conclusively shows the permanent passing of the *Sprachmeister*.

A rather remarkable educational experiment came to an untimely end in Brussels recently. The democratic university founded in that city some years ago is no more. About half a decade ago, when the free University of Brussels, which is controlled by the Moderate Liberals, refused to elect the Paris geographer Elisée Reclus as a member of the faculty on account of his anarchistic propensities, the radical and socialistic element among the students arose in protest against this attack on the freedom of scientific research. The agitation ended in the establishment of a radical university in Brussels, which was especially favored by a certain coterie of younger scholars. Wealthy men of radical and socialistic tendencies furnished the financial wherewithal, and the new university called men to its chairs from many lands, without any reference to political or religious views. The moderate liberals and the clericals fought it from the outset, and the political authorities practically did the same. The Government denied to the "Université Nouvelle" the right to grant academic degrees, and the commission intrusted with the duty of conducting the state examinations refused to respect its diplomas. Accordingly, no Belgian subject could attend the new university. Soon the necessary funds (60,000 francs per year) were lacking, and a few weeks ago the Academic Council, notwithstanding the protests of the professors and the students, decided to close the institution. The rector was Dr. de Greef.

Much credit is due to the members of the Künstlerinnen-Verein of Munich for the energy with which they have carried forward the laudable enterprise of providing first-class opportunities for art study for women. Since the 1st of April the Association has been occupying its own newly erected building in a pleasant garden near the Pinakothek, in the very heart of the city. Some hundreds of young women are enjoying, under the auspices of the Verein, the best instruction obtainable in a city which has long been one of the foremost art centres in Europe.

The trade and industry of Italy formed the subject of an interesting and encouraging address made recently in London by the Italian Ambassador to Great Britain. He did not assert that his country was rich, only that "she is on the way to become so." The revenue is equal to the expenditures, and within the past ten years a considerable amount of the national indebtedness has been paid off. The bank deposits,

including the savings-banks, amount to \$600,000,000. Since 1871 the number of mechanics has doubled, mineral exports and the production of silk have trebled, and, among other things, Italy manufactures the rolling-stock of her railways, the whole material of her navy, and 80 milliards of matches annually ("enough to set all Europe in a blaze"). Referring to her lack of coal, the speaker said that "possibly it is to electricity that Italy must look for her mechanical reorganization and emancipation, when she shall have learned to utilize the million horse-power contained in the waterfalls that course down the slopes of the Apennines."

An English expedition was organized in 1897 under Major (now Colonel) Macdonald to trace the upper course of the river which was to constitute the eastern boundary of British East Africa, according to the Anglo-Italian agreements of 1891 and 1894. Another object was to take effective possession of the eastern Nile valley, and thus forestall French and Abyssinian enterprises in that quarter. A mutiny of the Sudanese composing the expedition prevented for a time its departure from Uganda. Information has been received recently in London that a part of it, as reorganized, has succeeded in reaching a point some three hundred miles north of the Victoria Nyanza; and that Col. Macdonald has made treaties with the chiefs in a large section of country to the east of the Nile, and has apparently opened communication with Lado on that river. Another column has explored the region lying to the west of Lake Rudolf. Both columns have returned to Uganda, and preparations are being made to carry out the original plans, and, probably, to co-operate with the Anglo-Egyptian advance from Fashoda up the Sobat.

To complete a record of bills of credit issued by the colony of Massachusetts from 1690 to 1750, Mr. Andrew McF. Davis wishes to know where any may be found. His address is 10 Appleton Street, Cambridge, Mass.

—It was a happy thought for the Colonial Dames to print the early letters addressed to Washington, and the first volume has now appeared, edited by Mr. S. M. Hamilton (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.). This earliest portion of the correspondence is disjointed, and is marked by many omissions due to loss and gift of manuscripts, or by the retention of family letters by the Washington family. It is noteworthy that in this volume, with letters extending from 1752 to 1756, only two family papers appear. The manuscripts in the Department of State have been depended upon for material, and no attempt has been made by the editor to go outside of them. In some respects this is unfortunate, as such an edition as is proposed should aim at finality, and there is hardly a collection of papers, state or private, that could not have made its contribution. The material used turns largely upon Washington's military duties while connected with the Virginia regiment, and is occupied with details of army discipline and equipment. Of greatest interest are the letters on the affair of Fort Mifflin, on the question of rank, and on the charges made in 1756 by an anonymous writer against the regiment. Personal details are not wanting, the scribbles of Washington's secretary, Kirkpatrick, being particularly rich. The volume fully justifies its existence, and promises richer material as the work progresses. The notes

are not very judicious. Thus, half a page is devoted to Gist, but only two lines to Croghan, and nothing to Woelper or Bland, who deserved more than Gist.

—Admitting the importance of this compilation, it is with regret that we find the volume so carelessly prepared as to throw doubt upon the accuracy of the readings. There is a great and unnecessary affectation of minute care in the printing, and very unusual and confusing expedients are employed. Only a photograph could reproduce the peculiarities of the MS. Yet Mr. Hamilton has attempted the same results in rigid type. An inserted word or letter is given a whole line, a caret marking the place of insertion. Where the writer uses a flourish under his name, a long stiff dash is printed under the signature. A curve marking an abbreviation becomes a line over the type, sometimes dropping down and striking out necessary letters, as on p. 344. While the exact number of words in each line of the body of the letter is disregarded, the postscript is split into lines of unequal length. Arbitrary signs are used, as on page 121, where "Fred =," a meaningless mark, occurs. What is intended on page 39, where "Cliprian Dame. [+M's Nel]" is printed? Such vagaries could have been overlooked did they show a scrupulous adherence to the text, united with an intelligent exercise of an editor's judgment. A doubtful point calls for an explanation. The following are given as a few of many violations of good editing we have noticed: (p. 13) Penoney, though the note on the same page gives properly Peyronney; (p. 34) aquaint, for acquaint; (p. 101) *mercely* savages for *merciless*; (p. 183) a meaningless mention of "32 thoud to" of beef, though the proper statement is given on p. 151, where occurs another slip of *lbs.* for *lbs.* Dots, usually showing omissions, are here used without meaning (p. 341) and the bracket is employed freely for the parenthesis. We trust that greater care will be shown in the subsequent volumes, as they are too well printed to merit such defect.

—The "Beardsley craze" may not be dead, as Mr. H. C. Marillier, in the prefatory note to 'The Early Work of Aubrey Beardsley' assures us it is not, but the policy pursued in the compilation of such books as this and 'A Second Book of Fifty Drawings by Aubrey Beardsley' (both published by John Lane) cannot fail to damage Mr. Beardsley's reputation. The first 'Book of Fifty Drawings' was published in the artist's lifetime, and he himself was responsible for the selection. In the second there are "many things which would not have appeared had Mr. Beardsley been living," and at least one drawing the publication of which the artist had "vehemently prohibited." In the other and larger volume the same policy has been pursued, and immature scribbles and utter failures are mingled with the better work of the man in whose honor the book is published. In the case of a great artist there is something to be said for such a policy; it is interesting if not important to the world that every scrap from the hand of a Rembrandt should be treasured; but Mr. Beardsley was not a great artist—only a man of striking talent within a very limited range. In spite of the morbidity of his fancy and the debased nature of his types, his best work shows marked ability in the disposal of pure black and white spaces and the decorative arrange-

ment of lines. One might still have believed that his bad drawing and lack of light and shade were voluntary mannerisms if these volumes had not proved to us that he was quite incapable of doing anything else than what he did best. The quite terrible badness—the absolute ineptitude—of his productions when he attempted work in the ordinary methods, would be incredible if it were not proved to us here by many examples. Perhaps the best things in either volume are a number of designs for book-covers, consisting of pure ornament. In these his qualities of space and line composition have full play, while his horrible conception of humanity and his utter lack of pictorial power do not affect the result.

—The disposal of black and white spaces and the arrangement of lines are the subject of Mr. Arthur W. Dow's book on 'Composition' (Boston: J. M. Bowles). Mr. Dow is ambitious, and thinks he has discovered "a new system of art education," beginning with composition where the ordinary system leaves off, and introducing nature-study only as the young artist needs it for the development of his previously planned composition. That arrangement is the essence of art is undoubtedly true, but it may still be doubted how a system would work in practice which begins by getting something out of the student before he has put anything into himself. Certainly, heretofore, the apprenticeship of every great artist has been a struggle for the mastery of representation, after which has come the period of production. Taken in itself, however, not as a substitute for other art training, but as an addition to it, Mr. Dow's book and its method may prove useful. We regret that so many of the author's examples and even terms should be taken from the Japanese. The Japanese examples are good, but there is as much good to be found in classic and Renaissance work, and such work is our own by descent and tradition, not a foreign graft.

—By the nature of his profession, a portrait-painter comes into contact with many people, and often with very distinguished people. When such a painter is the son of a well-known musician and the godson of a great one, he has a personal and hereditary as well as a professional entrée into distinguished circles. It only needed, therefore, that Mr. Felix Moscheles should be able to write tolerably to make his 'Fragments of an Autobiography' (Harpers) very good reading, and he writes much more than tolerably, with a pleasant, gossip, sentimental manner, beginning each of his eleven chapters with an "I well remember," so that the only initial letter needed by the compositor is what Thackeray called "that up-right and independent vowel." Besides moralizing and reminiscences of school-days and early love affairs, we have glimpses of Moscheles the elder and Mendelssohn, Rossini and Meyerbeer, Mazzini and Browning, all of which are interesting if not very important. Mr. Moscheles was one of the first of the now long line of itinerant portrait-painters who have learned what a foreign name is worth in America, and so we have also a chapter on Grover Cleveland, and another giving the unusually pleasant impressions of a cultivated Englishman, not without "a certain condescension" to the society which received him with open arms and pocket-books. The book is illustrated with excellent reproductions of ~~illustrations~~

portraits of Mazzini, Browning, and the artist's mother. Altogether the sense is left that one has been meeting an agreeable person if by no means a great artist.

—Mr. Louis Dyer recently gave the first of three lectures on Machiavelli at the Royal Institution in London. "The Prince" and "Caesar Borgia" was his topic. The course, he said, was planned on the strength of the interest awakened in England and America by Mr. Morley's Romanes lecture of 1897. Machiavelli was a comparatively obscure personage in his day. Insulating himself in his own insignificance, he stood keenly observing the hurly-burly of the world as if in a camera obscura. "The Prince" could be accepted as the political programme of the Renaissance only if we insisted upon its specifically Italian coloring, gathered from Machiavelli's personal experience. The whole treatise occupied, in the printing, rather less than three times the space of Macaulay's famous essay on Machiavelli. Caesar Borgia was the first man of intense power with whom Machiavelli came into intimacy. As a family, the Borgias were Spaniards in whom a touch of the Blackamoors from Morocco and a strain of the Bedouin from Asia had been strangely mixed with Iberian brutality; and in the case of Caesar and Lucretia there had been added to all this a dash of vulgar Italian sensuality. More in oburgation of the Borgias the lecturer dared not say in that place, which was within the diocese of the Lord Bishop of London, the apologist, as against Ranke, of the Borgias. "It is not improbable that Alexander VI., the Right Reverend Historian of the Popes had written, 'used poison in the same way as his contemporaries, but I do not think that many of their attempts succeeded.'" Machiavelli, though decidedly at sea in judging personal character, had the painter's instinctive need of seeing ideas impersonated before he could think clearly. To him Italy said, in the words lent by Euripides to Queen Hecuba in her apostrophe of Agamemnon: "Stand off, I say, as painters do; scan me and peruse my worth in woe." In his 'Life of Castruccio Castracani,' Machiavelli personified his own view of the infantry tactics of the future, as in 'The Prince' he personified his own forecast of the government of the future and of the union of Italy. These personal demonstrations wrote themselves, but it was not so with his longer and impersonal presentations of those same topics. 'The Art of War,' Machiavelli's abstract discussion, among other things, of infantry tactics, dragged on through seven books; his 'Discourses on Livy,' containing his impersonal discussion on government, was never finished. Mr. Pater's account of the science of the Renaissance as "clairvoyance . . . seeking in an instant of vision to concentrate a thousand experiences," applied most aptly to 'The Prince.' Machiavelli conceived of the terrible political problem of the Renaissance—the fusing of disjointed atoms into one state—as a political readjuster, not as a readjustment; as a person, not as a process. Caesar Borgia interested him only while he saw him at work, atrociously but remorselessly, delivering the Romagna people from anarchy. This Romagna segment of Borgia's life he isolated, and on this foundation built up 'The Prince,' who was an utterly impossible human being; his impossibility resulting from Machiavelli's making him up out of the requirements of the de-

bauched and corrupted commons of Italy. Thus the needs of the Italian people, rather than the character of Caesar Borgia, gave the law of life and duty to Machiavelli's 'Prince.'

BRADFORD'S LESSON OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT.—I.

The Lesson of Popular Government. By Gammell Bradford. The Macmillan Co. 2 vols., pp. 520, 590.

For more than thirty years Mr. Bradford has been an earnest student of our democratic institutions, both in themselves and in comparison with other examples of popular government. Seeing clearly the shortcomings and abuses incident to freedom, he has not lost faith in the people, but has found his conviction ripening that a republic is, after all, the form of government which has secured the greatest average happiness for a community. He believes that public opinion in civilized nations is more nearly right than the opinions of any narrow ruling class, and that we shall have good government in proportion to our success in giving guidance to political action by public opinion, when this is enlightened by searching discussion and stimulated by appeals to noble motives. The thesis of this important work is, he says,

"that so far as popular government has failed, the main cause has been in defective machinery, so that public opinion is brought to bear either not at all, or so imperfectly that what is assumed to be the will of the people is, in fact, only that of a comparatively small number of political managers, more or less dishonest, who avail themselves of the forms of government to carry out their private schemes and purposes, by virtue of a nominal expression of the popular will" (I, 38).

Looking into the defects of the machinery, he finds the chief in the absorption of governmental power by the Legislature, concluding that, in the inevitable battle between Legislature and executive for power, "if the executive wins, government is possible, though it may be bad; if the Legislature wins, government becomes, in the long run, impossible" (I, 45). Following out the reasoning, Mr. Bradford concludes that "the ideal constitution of the executive is a single head, surrounded by a staff of his own selection, appointed and removed at his pleasure, one man being at the head of each department" (I, 46). In this way the proper responsibility of the head of the state is secured, and this responsibility is enforced by his election directly by the people, who thus approve or condemn his acts. But as the executive is best informed as to the working of the governmental machine, he should be best fitted to plan its future course and progress, and "must have the power to say what he wants and why he wants it"; and "that the executive shall be able thus to state and advocate his plans, it is necessary that his representatives should be in contact with the Legislature, and have at least the same right of speech as the members of that body" (I, 50). In the sharp criticisms of the Opposition in face-to-face debate, our author sees not only a continuous and salutary check upon the executive, but also such enlightened instruction of public opinion, under circumstances favorable to arresting popular attention, that the judgments registered at the elections of members of the Legislature and of the executive will grow more and more trustworthy as positive exercises of the ultimate sovereignty of the people.

Applying these doctrines to our Federal Government, the practical step Mr. Bradford advocates is, as the readers of the *Nation* well know, to allow the members of the cabinet to occupy seats on the floor in the houses of Congress, with the right to participate in debate on matters relating to the business of their respective departments, and with the duty of attending, upon notice, to give information asked by resolution or in reply to questions propounded under proper rules. By his earnest and able advocacy of his views, Mr. Bradford induced Senator Pendleton of Ohio to prepare a bill with the provisions just stated, which was referred to a select committee, and reported to the Senate in February, 1881, with a recommendation that it pass. This was the high-water mark in the history of the proposed measure, for the author very naturally says that it seems strange that it "should never since have received the slightest attention from either house of Congress or from the executive" (II, 327). He explains the untoward result by the instinctive conviction of legislators that the measure tended to increase the power and influence of the executive, and by their natural tendency as legislators to oppose whatever would diminish the relative weight of their own body. In short, it was part of the inevitable evolutionary struggle between the two departments of government. The author hopes for the growth of a strong public opinion that will overrule this opposition and command Congress to yield its pride and subdue its natural impulse. He has so deep a sense of the perils there would be in meddling with the fundamental organization of the government that he deprecates the calling of a constitutional convention for general revision of the organic law, and, therefore, limits himself to what may consist with the Constitution as it is, though he does not conceal his opinion that his ideal would include executive initiative in all public legislation.

In the government of cities whose charters may be nearly anything a State Legislature chooses to make them, there is almost free course for experiment. A new State, organized under the impulse to put most advanced ideas into practice, might also be induced to try the effect of administering by a responsible Governor and cabinet, intrusted with the initiative in legislation, and so help to work out the interesting problem in statecraft to which Mr. Bradford has devoted most of a lifetime. He is looking to these smaller governmental corporations for the earlier and more hopeful tentative applications of his principles, and has devoted interesting chapters to schemes of State and city government in accordance with his doctrines.

The author's systematic presentation of his views occupies a comparatively small part of his work, and by far the larger part is devoted to sketches of the progress of popular government in different nations, especially in the relations between the executive and legislative departments of the state which have resulted from the internal agitation that has been the ever present factor in national development everywhere. As French history has been by turns the story of most radical revolution and most despotic reaction, Mr. Bradford has given more space to it than to any other, and his chapters on the phases of French progress from the revolt against the tyranny of the old régime to the downfall of the Second Empire and the storms which have attended the Third Republic,

make a most valuable and instructive treatise upon the development of the republican idea in that nation. Considerably more than two hundred pages are given to it, with copious translations from authorities with which we need to be more familiar. The period of the siege of Paris, the negotiation with the Germans, and the struggle of moderate republicanism with communism is peculiarly interesting, and American readers will be especially thankful for the free use made of the books by Jules Favre, Jules Simon, Etienne Lamy, and others. The synopsis of the varying degrees of power and of initiative given to the cabinets of Europe by existing constitutions, from the dominance of monarchy in Germany to the complete obedience of the executive to the Legislature in Switzerland, is an excellent and useful piece of work.

If Mr. Bradford's method is suggestive of the annotations made in years of reading in many authors, brought together with the passages which have suggested his comments and discussions, it has also the advantage of very frank and adequate presentation of the views which he controverts or reinforces. He does not blink or disguise the criticisms of those who have opposed his views, and Prof. Snow, Mr. A. L. Lowell, and Mr. Speaker Reed are allowed to speak for themselves with a fulness which adds interest to the discussion. The vices which have grown up in our own politics are not ignored, and the culmination of party politics in the development of the new tyranny of "bossism" is exposed in its character and its methods of despotic rule with a realism which ought to startle every lover of his country. From every point of view, therefore, whether we wholly follow Mr. Bradford's reasoning or not, we must bear witness that he has given us a most valuable book, inspired by a noble faith in the capacity of man for self-government, and by a pure and disinterested patriotism devoting a lifetime of laborious investigation to the task of smoothing our pathway towards a pure and successful republicanism.

The writer of this review was one of those who gave public adhesion to the general plan of admitting cabinet officers to the debates in Congress, more than five-and-twenty years ago; but he has been led to doubt whether that change alone would make any material modification in the character of our government, or whether, if made, it would survive a single session of Congress. Reflection has tended to produce the conviction that the choice is between maintaining our present system of the restriction of the executive departments to administration proper, and the English system of a cabinet which is essentially a committee of the House of Commons. For the latter, a radical change in our Federal Constitution would be necessary; and, agreeing with Mr. Bradford that we must work out our governmental reforms under our Constitution as it is, the English system seems to be excluded from consideration.

THE ENGLISH HOUSE.

The Evolution of the English House. By Sidney Oldall Addy, M.A. With forty-two illustrations. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: Macmillan Co. 1898. \$1.50.

The author of this book begins by giving the greatest possible amount of credit to Ger-

man scholars who "describe still existing houses in northern Germany which are built, like basilicas or churches, in the form of nave and aisles; with dwelling-rooms . . . at one end," and who have shown the connection between those "remarkable survivals" and far more ancient buildings described in earlier writers. Roman imperial writers, Norwegian, Irish, French, Old English, and modern English authors are cited, and often quoted at length, continually throughout the book. A hasty observer, as one who might take up the book in a book-store with a view to purchasing it, might be prejudiced against it as if a mere compilation. Nothing, however, can be further from the fact. The English facts are mainly of our author's own determining; and his consulted authorities of so many ages and so many peoples are called upon merely to show the extraordinary minuteness of correspondence between the old English house, which is the principal subject, and the dwellings of the country people throughout Europe and western Asia, in the lapse of at least fifteen centuries. The illustrations are declared to be mainly "from photographs and measurements taken and made by the author," and they are mostly of English subjects, as it was their business to be. The plans leave nothing to be desired; in many of them, indeed, there are no scales given, but their approximate dimensions are always stated in the text, and the subject does not call for that accuracy of measurement which the monograph of an important building requires. The not very brilliant half-tone cuts, such as are familiar to us in recent English books, are made intelligible as to dimensions of buildings by a man standing erect beside the principal doorway or the like; though in one case, at least, we suspect the author of having picked out the tallest man in the neighborhood as his standard. Where this simple device is not resorted to, as in the curious instances of the "crucks of a demolished house," on page 30, the curious roof and mantelpiece at North Meols, page 51, the interesting "House Place" at Upper Midhope, page 55, and others, the scale is sufficiently obvious; and yet one does desire some facts about the height of the story depicted in the photograph on page 57, where a stair is shown of only eight risers from floor to floor, and where these seem quite unreasonably high. The views of Padley Hall, pages 138 and 139, need no scale, for what kind of building it is is sufficiently visible; and the "outshot" at North Meols, on page 43, is obviously enough a low-browed, low-timbered lean-to, which may be four or five feet high at the eaves without its dimensions concerning the reader much. The sections as well as the plans serve their purpose well, and the little pictures, which are stated to be forty-two in number, seem even more numerous, and constitute a very adequate outfit of illustration.

If any one is concerned with singularly old terms for buildings, for parts of buildings, for building materials, for processes, and for legend of every sort, he will find a supply ready made to his hand in this book. The "room in the chimney" is not primarily a "priest's hiding-hole." It is but something which came of itself, independently and inevitably, from one of the old-fashioned ways of building a chimney. The "loophole" has for its not surprising meaning that of 'lowp-hole,' 'leap-hole,' or 'aperture through which light or air could enter or through which smoke could escape.' There used to be two

bells in church towers on the Scottish border, one of them called the "Common-Bell" and the other the "Reever's Bell," because it was used to inform thieves and cattle-stealers that now, at the time of the annual (or other) fair or market, they were permitted to enter the towns and no questions asked. This is an astonishing statement, but we have learned by this time to trust our author far. The "fork" is the pair of timbers (or perhaps one of the pair of timbers) set up to determine the width and height of a building and to retain its walls and steep roof. "Crucks" these forks are called—"gavelforks" also, and "couples of syles" as well, although there is a difference between "syles" and "gavelforks," for which see page 18. This information seems dull enough until one finds the true application of it in the first chapter, but it is not uninteresting to meet with the positive and reiterated assertion of the original meaning of bay in the same chapter. The bay in modern architectural talk is, indeed, the whole space from pier to pier, from buttress to buttress, in any long building of somewhat uniform character from end to end; and the nave of a church is said to be so many bays in length. But here the word is used as representing a peremptory thing from which there is no escape, namely, a positive and essential division of the long barn or house into sections of about sixteen feet; that being everywhere the distance from each pair of crucks to the next. The old English house was sold and bought, hired and rented, by its bays; and a man could rent one bay without renting the rest of the house. The owner might leave one bay to one child and another bay to another; and a bay might be sold by itself, much as in a modern apartment-house it sometimes happens that there is a divided ownership, and each person is, in a sense, owner of his own set of rooms.

In this minute way early chapters deal with the house in its humblest type, and with that very curious form of habitation in which the horses, the oxen, the pigs, the man-servants and the maid-servants, and the proprietor's family lived under one roof without friction or without unnecessary discomfort—comfort being reckoned by the ancient standard. In the middle of the great house, between the rows of stalls, was the barn floor upon which the wagon could be dragged by the horses, but from which those horses must back the wagon out again, because at the upper end of the great nave was the chimney, and beyond it, and on either side of it, the rooms of the family. And the master of the house could "superintend the whole management of the household from the hearth, and from his bedstead hear every sound"; and, moreover, the smoke of the great fire would of necessity permeate the whole building and keep out insects and counteract the stench of the cattle. So that it appears that the need of the rooms behind the chimney was made manifest only in later and more luxurious times. "People are still living who remember how farmers' men in England used to sleep on the hay in a gallery or hayloft over the cows."

So the subject begins at this oldest and latest point of departure, and with great good judgment and great self-control is not carried beyond the early times and the simple conditions. It leads, indeed, to the castle, to the church with its defensible tower, and to the crypt; but these are all the simplest and rudest castles, churches, and crypts, and, moreover, it is their simplest and most

pular uses which are considered. The defensible character of the castle keep is not much insisted on except as the necessity of the flat roof surrounded by a parapet is made clear. The ecclesiastical arrangement of the church is not a subject taken up by the author—only the connection of the crypt with the church as a place of special sanctity; but all these subjects are treated according to the tangible and certain traditions of early times, and as expressing the needs of the people as clearly as house or barn itself. Nowhere is the small border fortress of the twelfth century brought in treatment so near to the modern student; and nowhere is the absence of the big and stately municipal building from English architectural history so simply and easily explained as here.

It is fair to say that Mr. Addy seems to be less of a builder and less of an artist in his studies than an historian and a sociologist. That is a bad slip which is made on page 29, in boldly ascribing the origin of the Gothic arch to something which certainly did not suggest it. No other such blunder has attracted our attention, but the tone of the book is generally that of a man unpractised and unlearned in the mechanical work of building. As a student of social life, he is the more fitted to write apparently the first of what will be a most valuable series, "The Social English Series," edited by Kenneth D. Cotes. There is an editorial preface at the beginning of the volume which is very readable indeed, and seems to set the pace for all the books which are to follow this one. The names of four of them already issued, and of eight more "in preparation," are given opposite the false title. If those of *The King's Peace*, *The English Manor*, and the rest are at all as well written as the one now in hand, our town libraries will be richer by a set of books giving much needed information in the simplest and yet the most trustworthy form.

Memoirs of the Duc de Saint-Simon. Translated and abridged by Katharine Prescott Wormeley. In 4 volumes. Boston: Hardy, Pratt & Co. 1899.

The first comprehensive attempt at an English translation of the *Mémoires* of Saint-Simon cuts out, condenses, redistributes matter where "it has seemed best," and offers, in four superb volumes, "the outline of Saint-Simon's career; a selection of such portraits as may be read with interest by the general reader; several of the great historical scenes; and something of the mere court gossip and intrigue." There are various ways of dealing with an historically classic text; this is one of them. Its principal recommendation, particularly to the general reader, is the comparative simplicity and coherence to which it reduces a narrative originally long and at times sadly confusing. The almost complete disappearance of a great historical framework composed of interminable campaigns, tedious questions of state, quarrels for precedence, diplomatic intrigues and manoeuvres, and other trivialities of like nature, is a small matter if the flavor of personality and gossip that gives piquancy to such memoirs as these is but preserved. In similar fashion, Saint-Simon presents himself as a high-minded noble of honor and integrity, and much more free from arrogance and captiousness than ill-disposed critics would heretofore have had us believe—may,

more so than he appeared to his own king. And, further, it must be borne in mind that a translation for English readers cannot be expected to reproduce faithfully the too masculine frankness of the Duke's stories and portraits of his contemporaries, characteristic though they are of the man and the time. Such passages as the picture of Mme. Panache, the peculiarities and misadventures of the Marquise de Saint-Hérem or of the Princesse d'Harcourt, the cynicism of Vendôme, the practical joke played on Luxembourg, and so many more, clamor for suppression. "The most luxuriant and aromatic growth of French literature in the age," as the late Henry Reeve described it, must be pruned and deodorized. Thus (vol. iv., p. 334), when Saint-Simon, on the termination of his mission to Spain, takes leave of the Princess of the Asturias, the farewell of her Royal Highness, unmindful of Don Quixote's instructions to Sancho on social decorum, is modified by the translator. The scene, comic to a gross sense of humor, becomes silly; but propriety is saved. And again (vol. iii., p. 266), the regimen prescribed by Fagon for the declining years of Louis XIV. becomes comprehensible from a clause of the original, suppressed in translation, though suggestible enough in half-a-dozen euphemisms. If, in the words of the prospectus of this "Versailles Edition," Saint-Simon is suitable for young men, it must be added that in his present well-brushed dress he is still more eminently presentable to young women.

Considered merely as a translation, the work (in so far as it coincides with the original) is for the most part careful and accurate. In the case of so markedly personal a style as that of Saint-Simon, literal fidelity, while giving an undeniably foreign aspect to the translation, renders it impossible to destroy the color, glow, and dramatic life of his unique, incomparable pages. From the rendering of the death-scene of Monseigneur (vol. ii, ch. 9), the portraits of Fénelon (vol. iii, ch. 7) and Mme. de Maintenon (vol. iii, ch. 11), and the narrative of the *lit de justice* (vol. iv, chs. 6 and 7), readers can obtain some impression of the spirit and unchecked exuberance of the original. Less superficial examination, however, reveals occasional discrepancies between this version and Chéruel's revised text on which it professes to be based; we offer no explanation of their presence. Saint-Simon, relating the trick put upon the Bishop of Noyon at an academic reception, describes the prelate's speech in the words: "dont la confusion et le langage remplirent l'attente de l'auditoire," for the listeners knew his fondness for bombast. In the English account, we find (vol. i, p. 89): "the verbosity of its language holding the attention of his auditors." Of his brother-in-law (Lausun), the Duke tells us that he was "méchant et malin par nature, encore plus par jalousie et par ambition," but the translation, presumably better informed, represents him (vol. i, p. 101) as "malicious and malignant by nature, even more than from jealousy and ambition." We understand what Saint-Simon means by calling Grammont "un homme de beaucoup d'esprit"; but we are convinced that, knowing the Count as he did, he did not mean to credit him with being "a man of much mind" (vol. i, p. 325). When Louis XIV., after exhibiting his selfishness to his courtiers by the carp-tank at Versailles, sought to relieve the tension of the situation

produced by their silence, he turned to a group of "gens des bâtiments qui ne soutinrent pas la conversation à l'ordinaire"; even these humble folk were embarrassed and shocked. But the English translation has it that "he spoke . . . to the builders who, as a usual thing, had no conversation with him" (vol. ii, p. 51). Boudin, chief physician to Monseigneur, was "si naïvement plaisant, que personne n'était plus continuellement divertissant, sans jamais vouloir l'être"; but we now discover (vol. ii, p. 229) that he was "so naively jocose that people were continually diverted by him, without liking to be so." In the charmingly life-like portrait of the Duchess of Burgundy, the "grosses lèvres mordantes" have become "thick, cracking lips" (vol. iii, p. 39). Her husband, while Dauphin, strove to preserve "la bienéance d'un rang destiné à régner, et à tenir en attendant une cour"; he is here represented as attentive to "the social decorums of a rank that was destined to reign, and was called upon meantime to hold its proper court" (vol. iii, p. 53). The Regent, say the *Memoirs*, was "fort haut en couleur, le poil noir et la perruque de même"; in his English dress, we find him "high colored on a dark skin, encased in a black wig" (vol. iii, p. 217). Speaking of the wasteful expenditure on Versailles, Saint-Simon states that the abundance of supply renders the waters "vertes, épaisses, bourbeuses," the aptness of these adjectives being clear to any one who remembers the scummy fish-ponds and mimic lakes of the palace; from the translation it would appear that "the volumes of water . . . make these gardens verdant, rank, and milky" (vol. iii, p. 305). At the *petits soupers* held by the Regent and his dissolute crew, "Rien ni personne n'était épargné, M. d'Orléans y tenait son coin comme les autres"; that is, the Duke came in for his share, but, as Saint-Simon goes on to say, the most reckless license of speech, even at his own expense, failed to produce any impression on that cynical nature. "No person and nothing was spared. The Duc d'Orléans held up his corner with the rest" (vol. iv, p. 53). In order to emphasize the excitement over the degradation of the bastards, the original tells us that an insignificant Abbé Pucelle, "bien que conseiller clerc, était dans les bancs vis-à-vis"—manifestly out of his place; the translation reads, "Abbé Pucelle, who, being a counsellor-clerk, was on the benches opposite" (vol. iv, p. 318). Dangeau, it is said, possessed "peu d'esprit, mais celui du grand monde et de savoir être toujours dans la bonne compagnie"; and for this we are offered the equivalent of "little wit, but what he had of the great world, the result of being always in good society" (vol. iv, p. 295). We had always supposed that Saint-Simon had some object in describing Cardinal Dubois's appearance in the contrasting words of "son extérieur de *furci*, mais de *cuistre*"; we had yet to learn that, in his day, *cuistre* meant *blackguard* (vol. iv, p. 362). These examples serve to enhance the value of Sainte-Beuve's words given in the introduction, but too often neglected in the work itself: "Respectons le texte des grands écrivains."

What constitutes a great writer is too admittedly Saint-Simon's possession to be safely denied him by any one; but the translator's prefatory note (p. 26) opens a challenge in another and totally unexpected quarter: "With all its great narrative merits, that style has no literary quality, and none has

been, or could be, foisted upon it in the translation." To this declaration, the only reply lies in a cordial assurance of thankfulness that no such attempt was made. Of "literary quality," in the narrowest academic sense of the word, Saint-Simon has indeed none whatever; and it is precisely the absence of such quality that singles out his work in his artificial age, and places it permanently among the great books of all time. In short, the *Mémoires de Saint-Simon* may be taken as the most brilliant verification of the paradox, "*La perfection du style c'est de n'en point avoir.*"

My Inner Life. By John Beattie Crozier. Longmans. 1898. 8vo, pp. 562.

What paralysis of speech prevented Mr. Crozier from affixing to his book the most attractive of all labels, that of Autobiography—when that is just what it is, neither more nor less—instead of a title both unappealing and inaccurate, we cannot tell. He withholds nothing of his outward life about which the reader could feel any curiosity, but only his love affairs, his struggles for moral improvement, his temptations. Much of the volume is non-autobiographical, consisting of reflections upon Carlyle, Emerson, Lord Randolph Churchill, Herbert Spencer, Macaulay, Kant, Washington Irving, Hegel, and many other prosaists. These comments are not sensationally novel; and Mr. Crozier's appraisals of literature are more sure than his appraisals of philosophy. When he speaks of metaphysicians, he is apt to be sketchy, not to say superficial. Still, what he says is in the main judicious and ably expressed. His pen is flexible and adapts itself to more than one style, which is always lively, fresh, musical, and as lucid as his thought allows. It is capable of rising to genuine eloquence. His genius is that of philosophical prose poets; but he lacks the earnestness required to rival Emerson, Carlyle, Ruskin, or Henry James the elder, each of whom was in the clutch of a great idea and struck with its superhuman force. He has only his own power of thought, which may be rated as superior, but not as great nor even profound. Both at once and at different periods of his life we find him laying stress upon an assortment of ideas that have no intimate bond of union, and are not all very thoroughly worked out into the light. The Upper Canadian estimations of his youth, his half-course at Toronto, his phrenological beginning, continue to show their tint through all the reading that has overlaid them. Perhaps that reading has been too large and weighty for its foundations.

None of the book is dull; some of it is richly amusing; every part of it is instructive either for its reflections or as a "human document"; while the reader is swept forward as in a novel upon his sympathy with the hero. The book has some faint perfume of 'David Copperfield,' without being, by many leagues, as good or as bad. More than in any writing where thorough acquaintance with the matter can be attained only with great labor, in autobiography the prime need is intense interest on the author's part in his subject; and that interest the autobiographer is pretty sure to be possessed of, or he would not have undertaken an exhibition from which another would shrink. The native delicacy that literature generally demands must in him have been largely obliterated before he could bring himself to

make public in their minutiae, as he will have to do if he aims at greatness in this line, the varying states of his spiritual and intellectual being and bowels. Our author, however, we are glad to find, does not aspire to pose "in the altogether" nor aim at an anatomical demonstration, whatever his ungraceful title might suggest.

Every book is supposed to do the reader some service. There are, of course, celebrated autobiographies that really do little more than entertain us; but the pretence always is to illustrate the conduct of life either by the author's extraordinary successes or, much more usefully, by mistakes which the result makes manifest enough and which the reader is virtually invited to study. Perhaps one of those of this autobiographer has been that he has led too isolated a life. He would seem never to have entirely corrected the faulty appreciations of a semi-education by constant intercourse on many sides with the world's splendid men, so as to study their methods. He has never been drawn into one of those useful and respectable associations which, when they were bearing their best fruit, received (in 1837) the nickname of mutual-admiration societies. Yet he has not burned to lay his comfort and consideration upon the altar of any idea. A writer who is equally indisposed to the one and the other of these courses would certainly seem to have one of the qualifications of an autobiographer.

Our author, in that first happy stage of development when man swims about freely and can look out for a snug hole in which to ensconce himself for life, chose to make himself a local medical practitioner in a growing quarter of London, which answered the purpose of giving him time for that great work on Development, with too typical a title, which he has always been writing. But modern methods of business, so fatal to the small and isolated, invaded his profession, and have hurried him into making friends with the public by the present publication, being already known to them by his 'Civilization and Progress.' A friend he will find in every reader.

Messiaints in Music. By James Huneker. Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. 318.

Mr. James Huneker has long been known as a brilliant writer for the press on musical topics, but he never took the trouble to gather his articles into book form. At last his friends induced him to make an effort in this direction, and the result is one of the most readable and at the same time most useful books on music ever issued in this country. Mr. Huneker is an indefatigable reader of musical literature, yet his book reflects chiefly his own experience, in studio and concert-hall, and his marvellous command of language and wide general knowledge enable him to present even technical matters in a way to interest the general reader. His book includes chapters on Brahms, Tchaikovsky, Richard Strauss and Nietzsche, Chopin, Liszt, and Wagner, and an elaborate disquisition on *études* for the pianoforte.

The opening chapter is, somewhat unfortunately, headed "The Music of the Future." Fancying that it must be about Wagner, the Brahmsites will be likely to ignore it scornfully; while the Wagnerites, finding that it is about Brahms, will be apt to pass on to the next chapter in their resentment at such an abuse of language. The impulse to do so should,

however, be resisted. Mr. Huneker is a sincere admirer of the Hamburg composer, and he speaks from a fulness of knowledge which few writers on music possess. He has all of Brahms's works in his memory, and his description and characterization of them are of value even if one cannot agree with the high estimate he places on them. It may be cheerfully conceded that Brahms is "the greatest variationist of his times," but it may be permitted to add that variation is an indication of the infancy of art—a kind of *Spielelei*, comparable to the effort, in literature, to express the same idea in as many different ways as possible. No poet has ever condescended to such trifling, yet musicians do it constantly. But when Mr. Huneker says that Brahms "has appropriated the Magyar spirit with infinitely more success than Liszt," he—well, it is impossible to think that he believes this himself. Liszt, born a Magyar, reared among gypsies, has introduced their fitful ornaments, together with the capricious Hungarian rhythms and tempi, into his music, in a way which absolutely reflects the lawless Magyar spirit; whereas Brahms is the very antipode of that spirit—a typical Teuton, heavy, lumbering, symmetrical, regular, pedantic, angular, ungraceful. It is true that Brahms first won fame through his Hungarian dances; but those were mere arrangements, not inventions; and even as arrangements they lack the exotic fragrance of Liszt's rhapsodies. These rhapsodies have been vulgarized and subjected to atrocious manipulations at the hands of conservatory pianists, but, when Paderewski plays them, we realize what wonderful groups of poetic folk-songs they are—musical epics that will be played long after Brahms is forgotten.

Mr. Huneker is not always consistent. On the first page he says that Brahms is "one whom Bülow justly ranked with Bach and Beethoven," yet on page 11 he declares that "Brahms is not knee-high to Bach or Beethoven." Indeed, when one gathers together all the concessions he makes about Brahms, one wonders that he has the courage to speak of his works as "the music of the future." While convinced that many of Chopin's compositions are immortal, he says, "I am not so sure that I could predict the same of the piano-music of Brahms." He admits the "muddiness and heaviness of the doubled basses of the piano music"; declares that "Brahms is not a great original melodist," that in his techniques are included "the most trite patterns," that "the music of Brahms is often better than it sounds," and that the writer is "not a reckless Brahms worshipper." But his title is reckless.

Under the head of "A Modern Music Lord," Mr. Huneker gives a most interesting sketch of the life and works of Tchaikovsky, with fresh details garnered from foreign sources. The great Russian's courtship was certainly one of the most extraordinary on record—as eccentric and original as anything in his music. Our author fully appreciates the strong individuality of Tchaikovsky, his successful efforts to keep his skirts clear of Germany, and he justly remarks that, "despite his Western affiliation, there is always some Asiatic lurking in Tchaikovsky's scores." He dwells on this composer's predilection for the flute—Mr. Huneker calls it a weakness, but that is surely a wrong term. The flute is stupid as a solo instrument, but not in the orchestra, especially in groups, as, for instance, in the delightful "Nutcracker Suite." Tchaikovsky's piano music is orchestral, and does not pay sufficient at-

ference to the demands of players, who therefore avoid it; but Mr. Joseffy has lately discovered the beauties of the sonata opus 37, and perhaps others will follow. In a footnote to this sonata, "the composer humbly suggests the correct use of the pedal, knowing that color, atmosphere, perspective are the very essentials of his piano music." Mr. Huneker notes that Tchaikovsky disliked Brahms's music cordially, and that the feeling was as cordially reciprocated.

A brief chapter is concerned chiefly with idle speculations as to whether Wagner was of Jewish parentage—one of those paradoxes dear to Mr. Huneker. In another short chapter his great command of language enables him to give an intelligible idea of Richard Strauss's efforts to make music philosophical. "A Liest Étude" calls attention to some of the beautiful neglected music of Liszt, and "The Royal Road to Parnassus" is a chapter on *études* of exceeding value to all students of the pianoforte; it reveals amazing erudition, and could never have been written except by one who, besides being a critic, has for years been a virtuoso and a teacher. But the most valuable chapter in the book is the one entitled "The Greater Chopin." It is an attempt to show that concert-goers do not yet know how great Chopin is; that his most profound and original works are practically unknown to the public, and that their day is dawning. There is much in this chapter to open the eyes of pianists, and the only thing to be regretted is that the author, in his enthusiasm over the undiscovered Chopin, should think it necessary to sneer at the familiar Chopin. It is true that the nocturnes and the waltzes have been sentimentalized, and tortured, and done to death by pianists, domestic and public; but that is not the fault of the pieces themselves. The most hackneyed of them, if played by Paderewski, still glow with a genius that is not to be found in the newest pieces of Brahms. Mr. Huneker properly insists on the masculine side of Chopin: "more masculine, heroic music . . . than the F sharp minor polonaises, some of the ballades, preludes, and *études*, has yet to be written." It is very much to be wished that every pianist would read and take to heart the remarks on pp. 123-4 anent the prevalent vice of playing Chopin too fast. The Chopin tempi should be moderated, as Theodore Kullak has so often insisted.

Heart of Man. By George Edward Woodberry. Macmillan Co. 1899.

It is only a very general unity that Mr. Woodberry claims for his four essays, and so much may cheerfully be conceded them. "The intention of the author was to illustrate how poetry, politics, and religion are the flowering of the same human spirit, and have their feeding roots in a common soil, 'deep in the general heart of men.'" This explanation, however, does not so evidently cover the first essay as it does the other three. The first, "Taormina," is a poetic meditation on the old Sicilian Taormenium, which, founded in the fourth century B. C., has had a long and checkered history; Greeks, Romans, Saracens, Normans, Germans, Spaniards, English—each later horde trampling the earlier down. The story is too long for Mr. Woodberry to tell it all or half. He treats it in an allusive manner, his last touch reminding us that

it was from the beach which is always in the foreground of his picture that Garibaldi set out for Italy in the campaign of Aspromonte, and that hither the wounded hero was brought back. Naturally, the suggestions of the idylls of Theocritus are those on which Mr. Woodberry lingers most tenderly. He quotes the lovely passage in which Theocritus describes two old fishermen, and he goes down to the shore and finds them "still at their toil, the same implements, the same poverty, the same sentiment for the heart." Etna plays a distinguished part in the drama, and her devastation is compared with that wrought by the volcanic eruption from the heart of man: "O Etna, it is not thou that man should fear! He should fear his brother-man."

Beautiful as is the Taormina essay, it is unimportant as compared with the next, "A New Defence of Poetry," a daring venture into fields so sacred to the memory of Sidney and Shelley that to replough them seems almost a sacrilege. Yet Mr. Woodberry justifies his daring by the wisdom and the penetration of his thought and its felicitous expression. Whereas, in the first essay, we are somehow made conscious of the writer's effort to be superfluous, the hard writing in this case not making easy reading, in his "Defence of Poetry" Mr. Woodberry's whole energy seems bent on giving the most exact and satisfactory expression possible to his subtle and elusive thought. Such it appears to us, and yet he says, "What is here presented is neither speculative, technical, nor abstruse; it is practical in matter, universal in interest, and touches upon things which most should heed. I fear rather to incur the reproach of uttering truisms than paradoxes." The danger on either side seems fanciful, and his avoidance of it is complete. His first step is to show that the method of idealism is "that of all thought; that, in its intellectual process, the art of the poet, so far from being a sort of incantation, is the same as belongs to the logician, the chemist, the statesman." There is, however, a difference in the form of statement: "Science and also philosophy formulate truth and end in the formula; literature, as the saying is, clothes truth in a tale," the imagination and reason working in unison to produce the concrete effect. There are two main branches of human life as represented in literature, character and action. The former is generalized by type, the latter by plot. The study of type is carefully worked out, and the differences between different arts in representing it are clearly marked, the limitations of the plastic arts as compared with literature getting due emphasis. The essay makes the general purpose of the book plainest where it says, speaking of the type: "Its whole meaning and virtue lie in what it contains of our common humanity, in the clearness and brilliancy with which it interprets the man in us, in the force with which it identifies us with human nature." Coming to action, the second great branch of life, we are shown how it is generalized by plot, which is "analogous to an illustrative experiment in science; it is a concrete example of law." As with the type, so with the plot; the appeal to a common humanity is the chief end. "The greatest actor is he who makes the spectator play the part. So far is the drama from the scene that it goes on in our own bosoms; there is the stage without any

illusion whatsoever; the play is vital for the moment in ourselves."

It must not be supposed that Mr. Woodberry conceives the artist as working consciously on the lines of the critical analysis here laid down:

"The poet is rather directly interested in certain characters and events that appeal to him; his sympathies are aroused, and he proceeds to show forth, to interpret, to create; and in proportion as the characters he sets in motion and the circumstances in which they are placed have moulding force, they will develop traits and express themselves in influences that he did not foresee."

In this connection there is good criticism of the didactic as a deduction from the purity of art, which teaches best where it aims least at teaching, most at representing life in its practical reality. The criticism of realism is also excellent; those who hold to it in its extreme-form being compared to scientists who content themselves with mere observation. There are very attractive pages which set forth beauty, truth, and goodness as different forms of the same spiritual reality.

The essay on Democracy is a loftily ideal presentation of a matter which just now, as often heretofore, is fearfully concrete in its impact on our experience. But it is good to have a poet so enamoured of our polity and unabashed by the particular illustrations. The thought of the essay is expanded under the heads of liberty, equality, and fraternity; equality being treated as the central term in fact as in the classic trinity. The limitations of equality by education, property, and birth are fully considered, the emphasis being on education; and here it is interesting to find the practical utility of culture depreciated by one markedly possessed of it. Here and there the optimism is unconscious irony, as where, among our national characteristics, are set down "a rooted repugnance to use force; an aversion to war; a commiseration for all unfortunate peoples and warm sympathy with them in their struggles." Alas, for the inverted illustration which the passing weeks are furnishing!

The concluding essay, "The Ride," is a study of Religion, amiable enough in its ultimate analysis, but hardly satisfactory in its plea for the surrender of individual conviction on the altar of religious conformity. The study has for its setting a ride in the Far West so unique that Mr. Woodberry might have done better than to spend his time in reading his notes on religion to his young friend, to the neglect of the natural scene.

Lectures on the Fourteenth Article of Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. By William D. Guthrie. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1898. Pp. xxviii, 265.

Only two of the five lectures embraced in this volume deal directly with the Fourteenth Amendment. The first lecture, nominally on the history of the amendment, is of no historical importance, and, in its praise of the Supreme Court and its remarks on the responsibility of the bar, suggests the popular address rather than the serious discussion. The second, on construction and interpretation, is a somewhat loose summary of the familiar principles on that subject. Lectures III. and IV., on the other hand,

treat specifically of the amendment, under the heads of "Due Process of Law" and "The Equal Protection of the Laws." While the views of the author are not new, they are clearly and forcibly put, and are, on the whole, worth reading. Especially well done is the examination and criticism of the decisions upon the police power of the States as affected by the Fourteenth Amendment, by which the Supreme Court has at length reached the conclusion that the federal courts "will intervene and set aside a regulation of charges which is unreasonable, and that the reasonableness of the regulation is a judicial question" (p. 82). The last lecture, on rules of practice, is one of the most useful in the volume, though having, again, no indispensable connection with the main subject.

In general, however, Mr. Guthrie's book contains little for the practising lawyer, and not much for the non-professional student of constitutional law; while its occasional abandonment of exposition for admonition, as in its remarks on the dangers of unequal taxation and the tendency to subject corporations to unfair discrimination, raises a doubt as to the particular purpose the author has had in mind. We should like to know, further, how much use is ever made of the annotated text of the Constitution, such as fills twenty-seven of Mr. Guthrie's pages. With the array of digests, text-books, and collections of cases now at command, we cannot imagine a busy lawyer doing anything with the seventy-five titles cited on laws impairing the obligation of contracts, or the one hundred and twenty citations on the regulation of interstate and foreign commerce. The index to the Constitution, too, is rather meagre; but there is a good index to the volume.

History of Greece. For High Schools and Academies. By George Willis Botsford. Macmillan.

Dr. Botsford's *History* is an admirable specimen of the best type of modern school-book. The author is already favorably known to scholars by his "Development of the Athenian Constitution," and his familiarity with the ancient sources and modern authorities enables him to do the work of compilation and résumé with sounder judgment and juster sense of proportion than are usually employed on such tasks. His aim, as the preface hints, is to picture the development of the social, political, and artistic life of the Greeks rather than to summarize the unprofitable detail of their often meaningless wars. He omits as far as possible the minor mythological and historical proper names with which the pages of the old-fashioned school history bristle. No description is given of the battle of Plataea. The sea-fight of Salamis is represented only by a map and the fine description in the "Persæ" of Æschylus. The general results only of the Messenian wars are given, and the name of Aristomenes is not mentioned. The campaigns and battles of the Pentekontaetia and of the Peloponnesian war are abridged to the smallest compass. On the other hand, an effort is made throughout the book to reproduce, in very simple form of course, the views of the latest authorities on the development of institutions, the underlying real interests and aims that determined policies, and the characteristic features of the art, philosophy, and literature of successive epochs. Apt quotations from the literature,

often of considerable length, are everywhere skilfully interwoven with the text, so that as far as possible the Greeks are made to tell their own story. Abundant maps, reproductions of photographs, marginal references to authorities, suggestions for further studies, a table of dates, and a good index complete the equipment of a model text-book.

But will the model text-book yield better results than the old-fashioned story-telling compilation? Is it possible by any simplification or precision of phrase to give children really just ideas in the fields of the historical and moral sciences? Is it better to teach beginners (after Beloch) that the Spartans were simply wealthy farmers who moved into town, bought heavy armor, and subdued their neighbors, than it would be to relate in detail the legend of the Dorian migration which all Greece believed and all modern scholars have not outgrown? Is it wise to omit from a secondary text-book the names and details with which it would be unwise to burden the student's memory? Will not the secondary text-book for large classes of the population remain virtually the only book of reference in after years?

These questions, however, are for the new pedagogy rather than for Dr. Botsford, who has done excellently what he attempted. A cursory examination of the book reveals few points on which a reviewer may cavil. Is Dr. Botsford sure that the Greeks came into Greece in two-wheeled ox-carts? It is hardly true (p. 16) that "the religion of the [Homeric] time commanded forgiveness of injuries." Anaxagoras (p. 187) did not teach that Intelligence "was the power which ordained beforehand how all things in the universe should be arranged." In the map, p. 179, Olympium should be Olympieum, as on page 75. On page 216, Thucydides ii-vii should be vi-vii. "The earliest civilization of the world was, as Herodotus says, 'the gift of the Nile,'" does not say quite what Dr. Botsford means. "For of old fate went against the Persians by the decrees of heaven," etc., is hardly a correct version of Æschylus, "Persæ," 102. The statement (p. 159) that Myron "was the artist of the moment" will probably puzzle the readers for whom the book is intended. It is only half true that Plato brought the term "idea" into philosophy. Isocrates's influence on Cicero determined, not "the course of development of European literature to this day," but at the most some forms of the periodic prose style.

In the Klondyke, including an Account of a Winter's Journey to Dawson. By Frederick Palmer. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1899. xii, 218 pp. 8vo, illustrated.

As the travelling correspondent of sundry periodicals, the author arrived at Dyea with the intention of accompanying the War Department expedition to relieve the alleged starvation on the Klondyke in 1897. The fact that there was no starvation there leaked out before the party got away from the coast, and consequently the expedition was given up, after having caused the United States Government a wholly unnecessary expenditure of about one hundred thousand dollars. Mr. Palmer decided to make the trip to Dawson with dogs and sledges rather than wait with the horde of gold-seekers until the break-up of the ice. Late in March (no dates are given) he started, with two companions and seven dogs. After a digression to examine some reported diggings at Walsh Creek, and arrival at White Horse Cañon,

he came down with the measles, which caused a delay of two weeks. Making a new start, he reached Dawson in safety four days before the ice went out (some time near the end of May?). The early summer was spent in exploring the mining camps of the vicinity, and on the first steamer for St. Michael the author departed, reaching Seattle July 19, after touching for coal at Unalaksha.

Mr. Palmer has made a sensible and interesting book. His pictures of life on the trail, at Dawson, and in the diggings are obviously true to reality and infused with local color. His story indicates the possession of the sense of humor, patience, and persistence, which go far towards the making of a good comrade and successful traveller on any trail. Among the many publications on the same subject which have fallen under our notice, none has given more real satisfaction on perusal.

The disheartened feeling which experience of corrupt or incompetent American officials in Alaska or on our frontiers has often produced, finds some alleviation in Mr. Palmer's account of the Canadian officials and their ways, at Dawson. Rascality is of no country or race. Honorable exceptions stand out brightly here and there. In the seething ferment of a mining camp, the innate greed and moral weakness of the average individual naturally come to the top. People have a good deal of human nature in them on either side of the boundary line, and the value to morals of the pressure of public opinion is never distinctly realized until we have seen that pressure removed, and individual passions left free to follow the line of least resistance.

The book is not a manual for gold-seekers, and, if it were, the changes which have taken place since the author's visit would have made it obsolete. But any intending Yukoner may get from it a valuable glimpse of local conditions which do not greatly change, while the general reader will, we think, be indebted to it for a lively and truthful picture of life on the Klondyke.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

- Ashton, John. *The History of Gambling in England*. Chicago: H. S. Stone & Co.
 Bates, Arlo. *Under the Beech-Trees*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.50.
 Bridge, Norman. *The Penalties of Taste, and Other Essays*. Chicago: H. S. Stone & Co.
 Brown, Charlotte. *Shirley*. 2 vols. London: Downey & Co.; New York: Scribner, \$4.
 Brooks, E. S. *Stories of the Old Bay State*. American Book Co.
 Burton, Isabel. *The Life of Captain Sir Richard F. Burton*. Scribner, \$3.
 Calkins, F. W. *The Cougar-Tamer, and Other Stories of Adventure*. Chicago: H. S. Stone & Co.
 Cantwell, Fredericka S. *The High Commission. A Romance of the Spanish-American War*. F. T. Neely.
 Church, S. H. *Oliver Cromwell. Commemorative Edition*. Panama, \$6.
 D'Avenant, Vicomte G. *Payans et Ouvriers depuis Sept Cents Ans*. Paris: Collin & Cie.
 Dickens, Charles. *Reprinted Fictions*. [Godehill Edition.] London: Chapman & Hall; New York: Scribner, \$1.50.
 Foster, Prof. F. H. *The Fundamental Ideas of the Roman Catholic Church*. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.
 Fraser, Prof. A. O. *Philosophy of Theism*. 2d ed., amended. London: William Blackwood & Sons.
 Froebel, F. *Education by Development*. Appleton.
 Gale, Sarah H. *The Grail Brothers*. F. T. Neely.
 Goetz, Gen. Colmar von der. *The Conduct of War*. [Weisley Series.] London: Kegan Paul; New York: Scribner, \$3.50.
 Goldsmith, Oliver. *The Vicar of Wakefield*. Macmillan, 25c.
 Hall, Tom. *Tales*. F. A. Stokes Co. \$1.25.
 Herrick, Robert. *Love's Dilemma*. Chicago: H. S. Stone & Co.
 Hogarty, J. J. *A Fight for the Queen and Gold*. F. T. Neely.
 Hollander, J. H. *The Financial History of Baltimore*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.
 James, Fred. William. *Talks on Psychology and Life's Ideals*. Henry Holt & Co. \$1.50.
 Kearton, R. *Wild Life at Home. How to Study and Photograph It*. Cassell, \$1.50.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 11, 1899.

The Week.

Mr. Edward Atkinson's pamphlets, which have caused such a tremendous pother in the cabinet at Washington, and have been excluded from the mails going to the Philippine Islands, are three in number, the first and second being stitched together, so that they appear to be only one. The first is far from being an exciting or incendiary publication. It is entitled 'The Cost of a National Crime,' and it consists of statistical information, very useful, indeed, but of the driest possible sort, showing what the revenue and expenditures of the government were before the war with Spain, what they were during the war, from what sources the war revenue is derived, together with some argument on the question whether the new taxes will be sufficient to meet the future expenses of the government. This pamphlet was written before the war in the Philippines began. Its conclusions are that the present tax laws will not afford sufficient revenue to meet the ordinary expenses of the government, and that it is for Congress to consider whether "the holding of tropical islands by armed forces is to cease at an early day, or is to be continued under the necessity of adding by direct taxation a large sum to our present burden, coupled with a heavy increase in the future burden," etc. Nothing can be conceived of less likely to excite mutiny or discontent among soldiers than these tables of statistics, with their percentages and per capita and deficits and averages and so forth. The second pamphlet, which is stitched together with the first, has the rather exciting headline, 'The Hell of War and its Penalties,' but it is not in the least likely to cause mutiny among soldiers. It relates to a class of contagious diseases common in camp life, but of a kind which any soldier can avoid if he chooses. This is largely statistical also, the facts being derived from the experience of the British army in India.

Mr. Atkinson's pamphlet No. 3 is evidently the one which has stirred the cabinet so profoundly, and led to the issue of the order of the Postmaster-General excluding it from the mails to Manila. It is entitled 'Criminal Aggression: by Whom Committed.' It is dated February 2, with an appendix dated March 8, 1899. It begins with an allusion to the phrase "criminal aggression" used hypothetically by President McKinley to describe forcible annexation of Cuba. It then reviews President McKinley's speech at the Home-Market Club in Boston in a temperate manner,

but showing up his inconsistencies and his frequent changes of policy and of phraseology in dealing with the Filipinos. After commenting on Mr. McKinley's frequent "flops," Mr. Atkinson publishes two letters written by Consul-General Pratt of Singapore and Consul Wildman of Hong Kong concerning their interviews with Aguinaldo; also the testimony of the Rev. Clay MacCauley, a missionary, as to the character and capabilities of the Filipinos. Mr. MacCauley says, among other things, that the most intelligent and thoughtful soldiers and sailors in the American army now in the Philippines "are increasingly opposed to the proposition to incorporate the Philippine people into the American body politic." The remainder of the pamphlet is plain argument controverting Mr. McKinley's speech at the Home-Market Club, and a few extracts from the speeches of Congressmen Henry U. Johnson and Rice A. Pierce in the House of Representatives. We find in it nothing calculated to cause mutiny among soldiers. It is undoubtedly very aggravating to have one's inconsistencies set down in black and white, as Mr. McKinley's are in this third pamphlet, but it was an enormous political mistake to draw attention to it by excluding it from the mails going to Manila. Only six thousand copies of this pamphlet had been sent out, and only six copies to the Philippines, but with the advertisement that the Postmaster-General has given it, the demand for it will be increased a hundred fold. The price of the pamphlet is two dollars per hundred copies, and Mr. Atkinson asks for pecuniary help to pay for printing and mailing. Address: Edward Atkinson, Box 112, Boston, Mass. The pamphlet has not yet been excluded from the mails of this country, and Mr. Atkinson has not been arrested by any United States Marshal on a charge of high treason.

Amos Kendall was Postmaster-General in 1835 when the mob broke open the Charleston post-office and burnt anti-slavery tracts and papers found in the mails. A committee was then appointed to inspect "incendiary matter," with the postmaster's connivance. When appealed to by this official to lay down a policy, Mr. Kendall said that, upon a careful examination of the law, he was satisfied that the Postmaster-General had no legal authority to exclude publications from the mail, or prohibit their carriage or delivery, "on account of their character or tendency, real or supposed"; and he expressed the opinion that "probably it was not thought safe to confer on the head of an executive department a power over the press which might be perverted or abused." He proceeded, however, to

justify the action of the Charleston postmaster, as follows:

"But I am not prepared to direct you to forward or deliver the papers of which you speak. The Post-Office Department was created to serve the people of each and all of the *United States*, and not to be used as the instrument of their *destruction*. None of the papers detained have been forwarded to me, and I cannot judge for myself of their character and tendency; but you inform me that they are, in character, 'the most inflammatory and incendiary—and insurrectionary in the highest degree.' By no act or direction of mine, official or private, could I be induced to aid, knowingly, in giving circulation to papers of this description, directly or indirectly. We owe an obligation to the laws, but a higher one to the communities in which we live, and if the former be perverted to destroy the latter, it is patriotism to disregard them. Entertaining these views, I cannot sanction, and will not condemn, the step you have taken. Your justification must be looked for in the character of the papers detained and the circumstances by which you are surrounded."

Charles Emory Smith goes a step further in the service of imperialism than Amos Kendall in the service of slavery. He considers it entirely proper for the head of an executive department to decide what sort of matter may be circulated through the mails, and orders a subordinate to prevent the transmission of matter which he disapproves.

One of the most painful features of the expansion craze has been the readiness of many of even our foremost men to turn demagogue to please either the war inebriates or the McKinley Administration, to abandon the political principles of their lifetime, and degrade the sacred name of "patriotism." The latest illustration is, we regret to say, General Merritt's pilgrimage to Detroit in order to whitewash Secretary Alger. Four commanding officers in succession recommended Alger's dismissal from the army for apparent cowardice during the civil war; we say "apparent" or technical cowardice, consisting in absence from the front and from his post at critical moments. He was thus absent several times in succession, showing it was not due to accident, but to policy. Gen. Merritt was one of these commanding officers. Sheridan was another. Alger resigned to avoid dismissal. A fair inference was that he preferred politics or noising and lobbying around Washington to service in the field, and that he was therefore unfit for military service or military administration. We venture to assert that in any army in the world, except McKinley's army, this inference would have been drawn. We venture to assert that the English, whom Secretary Long cites as approving of the President as a conqueror, would be shocked if they knew and believed that the great man's Secretary of War was a person of this description. Alger got the place partly, no doubt, because he was an active and rich Michigan politician; partly, common

rumor says, because he advanced money to secure Mr. McKinley's nomination. The main features of his administration of the office are known to tens of thousands by results; they are known to many hundreds by personal contact with him. There is not a single incident of the late war better or more widely known than that Alger has conducted it as a politician's war. We have heard him pronounced "unspeakably base and corrupt" by a man of the very highest character, who was in close contact with him during the whole Cuban flurry.

In other words, his conduct of the War Department has been exactly what any one would have expected it to be at the hands of a man who had had to leave the army for misconduct, and had passed the last thirty years in active politics. One of the first revelations of his quality in popular estimation was his failure to give Gen. Merritt a high command. Everybody knew or guessed why, doubtless Gen. Merritt himself, among others. Gen. Merritt, when Alger's superior, with judgment unfettered, expressed that judgment by recommending his dismissal from the service. When Alger became Gen. Merritt's superior, he would not have been a good politician if he did not "get even" with Merritt. The general opinion was that he had "got even" with him. The general opinion now is that Gen. Merritt came to terms with him somehow, and was accordingly sent to Manila on an important mission. There was a general disposition to overlook this, to commend Alger for having experienced sufficient repentance to give the country the services of a soldier of the first quality. But we could not have loved Gen. Merritt so much, "loved we not honor more." It is because we rated him so highly that we are astounded at seeing him go down and unnecessarily give the Secretary a first-class politician's whitewashing, in terms so extravagant that it is hard to believe it came from a soldier.

Eagan has been expelled from the District of Columbia Commandery of the Loyal Legion by a two-thirds vote, a proceeding which is likely to be viewed with much disfavor at the White House. A great effort was made to save him, his champions in the Legion, according to the *Tribune's* account of the meeting, contending "that his punishment was severe and humiliating enough as it is at present, and that it would not be proper, considering his past services in the army, to drop him from the rolls." What is his present "severe punishment"? He was found guilty by court-martial of conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, and he has been convicted before the country, together with Alger, of feeding the army with putrid beef, but he has not been pun-

ished for it. The President, instead of dismissing him from the army, as the court-martial recommended, gave him a six years' vacation at full pay, and he is at present on his way to Hawaii for an indefinite period of rest and recreation. This is not "severe punishment," and it is a credit to the Washington members of the Loyal Legion that they declined to consider it as such.

Senator Hanna has kindly announced that Mr. McKinley is already as good as renominated and reelected. It will be a waste of time and money for any one else to make a canvass for either nomination or election. Hanna himself has said it, and he knows. He is unanimous for McKinley, and that means that the country is. By thus identifying the workings of his own mind with a vast popular movement, he is able to dismiss with a smile any little troubles that would disturb a less serene and self-confident nature. There is, for example, a cloud much bigger than a man's hand right at home in Ohio. Those inveterate and implacable factions which have made Ohio Republicanism a synonym for petty quarrelsomeness and greed, are flying at each other's throats again. Mayor McKisson of Cleveland is openly calling Hanna a "traitor" for having opposed his reelection, and we know what the fate of traitors is. Gov. Bushnell and Chairman Kurtz are ostentatiously whetting their knives in public, and loudly calling upon Foraker to join them in the great work of disembowelling Hanna, or else find out what it is to have an exploratory operation, as the surgeons say, in his own viscera. Foraker is dreadfully embarrassed by the riches of faction and party treachery thus laid before him, and knows not which friend to betray or to which foe to sell himself. To crown all, there is the Republico-Socialist Mayor of Toledo, who has just triumphed over both party machines, and is now intimating broadly that he is the very man to be the next Republican Governor of Ohio. All these cares, however, do not flick the mirror in which Hanna reads the future. He has got the McKinley renomination going on such broad and national lines, and has his Southern delegates so securely bought, that he is able to face turmoil and even defeat in Ohio as a mere "local affair."

Dr. Lyman Abbott's letter to the Chicago Imperialist meeting on Sunday was thrown into the form of a series of propositions, the second of which reads: "By the destruction of the Spanish fleet the power of that Government [the Spanish in the Philippines] to protect persons and property in the archipelago was destroyed." If he had said "impaired," it might pass, but he needed "destroyed" for his argument, and so he said it. But what are the facts? Even with Dewey

still in the bay, even with an insurgent army of 30,000 men in the field, the Spaniards held Manila in perfect security for four months and a half; they held Iloilo and Cebu against all assaults. Who can doubt that, if Dewey had sailed away, as Senator Sewell besought the President to order him to do, the Spaniards would have sent on supplies and reinforcements, and asserted their sovereignty throughout the islands much more successfully than we have as yet been able to do? This may be crying over spilled milk; but what Dr. Abbott does is to go back and assert that the milk simply had to be spilled.

There is choice in courts of inquiry. The one which has just reported on the conduct of the Seventy-first Regiment, New York Volunteers, at Santiago, evidently took the strange view of its duty that it was to make a thorough inquiry, without fear or favor. It found and placed the blame with refreshing frankness. Only one of the sadly inculpated officers is now within the State's military jurisdiction, and he has been promptly ordered by the Governor to appear before a board of examination "into his moral character, capacity, and general fitness for service in the National Guard." Gov. Roosevelt, moreover, shows his difference from a certain other commander-in-chief, whom it is treason to mention by name, in not desiring everything to be hushed up; but has expressed his opinion and made his recommendations with military precision and plainness. The net result is to clear the good name of the rank and file of the regiment, while for ever disgracing its three senior officers.

According to the best information obtainable, the caucus committee on the currency who have been holding sessions at Atlantic City, have agreed upon three points in the bill which they are preparing for the Republican members of Congress. These are (1) that the currency functions of the Treasury shall be separated from its other functions, and that a fund of \$100,000,000 shall be set apart for the redemption of the Government's legal-tender notes, and for no other purpose; (2) that legal-tender notes once redeemed in gold shall not be paid out again except in exchange for gold; (3) that the Secretary shall have power to replenish his stock of gold by the issue of bonds when necessary. The last of these provisions is in the law as it now stands, and was made use of by Secretary Carlisle for the purpose of maintaining the gold reserve. We presume that the proposed new law will give the Secretary power to sell bonds on the best terms possible as to rate of interest and time of payment—the present law, which was passed a quarter of a century ago, fixing the rate of in-

terest at 4, 4½, and 5 per cent., and the time ten, fifteen, and thirty years respectively. This antique system caused the Government to incur serious loss in the several loans which Secretary Carlisle was obliged to negotiate, yet Congress refused to change the law, lest it should thereby give its assent to the effort which the Secretary was making to continue gold payments. If the committee at Atlantic City are now ready to bind the Republican party to the principle that the Secretary may sell bonds when necessary to maintain gold payments, that fact alone betokens a great advance in public sentiment since 1895.

Within the past fortnight a mob of several hundred men in Idaho made a raid on a mining town where some non-union men were working. They drove the latter from the works where they were employed, killed some of them as they were fleeing, and accidentally shot one of their own leaders, who died almost immediately. They burned and blew up with dynamite the buildings and machinery of the works where the non-union men had been employed, destroying property valued at \$300,000 to \$500,000. Then they marched back to the places where they belonged, with all the air and complacency of conquerors. The local authorities either stood mute or encouraged the rioters in their lawless proceedings. Two companies of the Fourth Cavalry, United States Army, were ordered to the place where the outrages occurred, to protect the State officials in arresting the perpetrators. The latter made a break for the mountains with all possible expedition, and the woods are now full of them. Some of them are footing it to Montana, while others are hiding in the brush. One hundred and twenty-eight arrests have been made, however, and probably others will follow. The spirit of the mob has been extinguished and their organization crushed. The non-union men are back at their work, while the rioters have lost their places and dare not show themselves anywhere in Idaho. The suddenness with which law and order were restored when the troops arrived, reminds one of the suppression of the Debs riots in Chicago. In the present case the Governor of the State called on the President of the United States for assistance. There were only two regiments of State militia within reach, and one of these, if not both, was composed in large part of the same kind of material as the rioters. So it was deemed not expedient to call them out. In the case of the Debs riot there was plenty of good State troops, but the Governor was of the same kind of material as the rioters. That was the notable difference between the two cases.

The details of the agreement between

Great Britain and Russia respecting China, as published, are commendably brief, yet comprehensive. Great Britain engages not to seek for herself, or in behalf of others, railway concessions north of the Great Wall, and not to obstruct Russian applications for concessions there. Russia enters into a similar engagement towards Great Britain relative to the basin of the Yang-tse River, and both are to communicate this agreement to the Chinese Government, with a view to the avoidance of all complications between the two Powers, to the preservation of peace, and the promotion of the best interests of China herself. Although the agreement provides only for abstention on the part of each Power from certain acts with reference to the other, the phrase "sphere of influence" is already applied to the territory designated, and this means usually something more than non-interference with each other's sphere. It comes, in the course of time, to mean something like control. Although not operative against third parties, it is apt to grow into control. It looks, too, as though space had been purposely left for a German sphere of influence in the valley of the Hoang Ho, or Yellow River, which lies between the Great Wall and the valley of the Yang-tse. Included in this space is Kiao-Chau Bay, which Germany now holds. Already we find stirrings in the German press, implying that it is time for Germany to define her sphere of influence in the vast empire between the Yellow Sea and the Tibetan Mountains. If we assume that these spheres of influence are likely to ripen into control, then Great Britain has secured the best part of the bargain. The Yang-tse River is three thousand miles in length, two thousand of which are navigable. It has also numerous navigable affluents. Its watershed embraces the province of Yunnan, which borders on British Burmah, affording entrance at some future time by rail to western China. Tin, lead, copper, and coal are among the resources of this vast region. The climate is said to be good for white men and the soil fertile.

It is generally understood that the Czar was led to make his famous disarmament proposals by the arguments of his Minister of Finance, M. Witte. That gentleman showed to demonstration how increasing armaments meant financial ruin. Be that as it may, the same official has lately taken his place among enlightened publicists by a report which he has made on the rights of foreigners in Russia, and especially on the need of foreign capital to develop Russian resources. Proposals had been made to the Russian Government to restrict the right of foreigners to hold land in the Transcaucasus, and this led Minister Witte to discuss the whole subject of the dependence of Russia upon

foreign capital. His conclusion was that "to refuse the coöperation of foreign capitalists in the exploitation of the natural riches of Russia would be tantamount to voluntary acquiescence in industrial stagnation." In the same document were frank expressions relating to the duty of Russia to cultivate the good will and confidence of England. The English market, said the Russian Minister, with a cruel disregard of the feelings of Paris, is "a much larger one than that of France," and good relations with it depended much more upon political than upon economical reasons, since public opinion in England led capitalists to back their sympathies with their cash.

From the most recent Dreyfus testimony the case would seem to have sunk into a bitter quarrel between the War Office and the Foreign Office. The latest man, Capt. Cuignet, put up by the General Staff to defend the theory of Dreyfus's guilt, threw over one after another of the former theories and tools relied on by the War Office, and came out strong on a certain dispatch by a foreign attaché intercepted by the Foreign Office. This closed with the words, as the translators of the cipher made them out, "our emissary is forewarned"—the emissary being, of course, Dreyfus. But at the very time this dispatch was turned over to the General Staff, it was with a warning that the translators were very uncertain about the version of the last sentence; later on, they sent a new and verified rendering, with nothing whatever in it about any emissary. But the Staff, in spite of this, stuck to the first version, and convicted Dreyfus partly on the strength of it. Capt. Cuignet had the effrontery to declare that he still believed the first translation the correct one, and intimated that the Foreign Office had falsified the telegram. The Foreign Minister, M. Delcassé, could not stand this, and at once sent one of his experts before the Court of Cassation, who not only completely demolished Capt. Cuignet on the particular point, but went further and demonstrated that other documents in the secret dossier, professing to have come from the Foreign Office, were not only garbled, but actually forged. Thus does every new weapon which the desperate General Staff catches up to use against Dreyfus break in its hands. The *Figaro* revelations are having a tremendous effect in preparing public opinion for a complete reversal of the popular judgment, whatever the decision of the Court may be. It is now rumored that the *Figaro* secured the documents from the daughter of one of the Ministers, who wished, by giving them to the light, to "put an end to the dangerous mystery and to attempts to mislead." This hypothetical "veiled lady" is the best one that has yet appeared in the whole case.

"INCENDIARY LITERATURE."

We have been waiting for some time for the appearance of "incendiary literature." We have been as sure it was coming as that the sun would rise this morning. "Incendiary literature" is one of the invariable properties or accompaniments of imperialism. As soon as you get people under your rule who dislike it and wish to throw it off, "incendiary literature" turns up. It was one of the most marked phenomena of American politics during the whole of the anti-slavery agitation. Nearly all Northern literature was "incendiary" at the South, and each postmaster was allowed to pass on its character and exclude it from the mails. Russia and Germany both have their incendiary literature, whose circulation has to be forbidden and whose authors have to be punished. British India has the same thing, and so has President Krüger. For our foreign possessions, incendiary literature is as necessary as soldiers and guns. You cannot rule any men against their will, or inflict on them any treatment which they consider unjust, without treating their favorite literature as "incendiary," without, in short, superintending their reading, and seeing to it that they read nothing which presents you to them in an unfavorable light. The censor is as needful to you as the drummer. No conqueror can bear free speech, or has ever borne it. Therefore, we were not surprised that Gen. Otis had to veil his great battles with a rigid censorship, that the free talk of American citizens "on the soil," to use Wendell Phillips's language, "consecrated by the prayers of the Puritans and the blood of patriots," had to be kept from the knowledge not only of the "niggers" whom he was slaughtering, but of the American whites who were doing the slaughtering. The language of freemen and the sound of conquerors' guns go ill together.

While acknowledging freely, however, the imperialist's right, if he has any rights, to gag and smother as a necessary incident in his odious trade, we must remind our "glory-crowned" Americans once more that their position is peculiar; that nice as it would be to become a great nation and to prove Washington an old fool, all at once, they have to contend with special difficulties which other imperialists know nothing of, and which are destined to plague them, just as an humble home and poor relations plague an adventurer who has been palming himself off in foreign parts as a marquis of ancient lineage.

An American conqueror, as we have more than once had the honor to point out to him, is the only conqueror who holds his authority to conquer for only four years. At the expiration of that term, as even President Low and Dr. Lyman Abbott must acknowledge, he has to step down and out, and lay all

his doings before the base multitude, explain them and justify them, and run the risk, if he does not satisfy it by open, ungagged discussion, of being dismissed from office. This is dreadfully humiliating for a conqueror. It is enough to make his patriotic sword fly from its scabbard and hit the "traitors" over the head. But so it is. Every American conqueror has to be elected every four years by the vote of people whose opinions are, both in fact and by law and constitution, formed and clarified by free discussion. This makes all censorships on American soil, all attempts to silence anything any man wishes to say, or to prevent any voter from seeing it and reading in security and at his leisure, treason of the worst kind, and any conqueror or President who orders it or sanctions it, worthy of impeachment. This is American law and polity, and has been so for one hundred and ten years. Even McKinley and his syndicate must govern themselves accordingly. We cannot be easily argued into slavery.

There is one other point to which we must call the attention of the great minds at Washington. The American conqueror is the only conqueror who has to let the army vote on his own conduct. In Russia or Germany or British India, the proposal to allow the soldiers to pass at the polls upon the object or causes or manner of conducting the campaign would excite shouts of laughter; but to this humiliation the great McKinley has to submit next year. The army in the Philippines and in Cuba and in Porto Rico will have the right to say what it thinks of him, not only as President of the United States, but as a slaughterer of foreigners who have never injured him and owe him no allegiance. In making up their minds about him, the soldiers are entitled to see not only what Dr. Lyman Abbott and President Seth Low say about him, but what Edward Atkinson, William James, Senator Hoar, J. Laurence Laughlin, and Edwin Burritt Smith say about him. What they say is not complimentary; it is humiliating for a first-class conqueror to have to listen to it, but it is the law, revered McKinley. If you do not like this sort of thing, you should not have taken the place. You knew its conditions, and you knew how the American Government was framed. You knew it was not adapted to the conquering business, and you should, therefore, never have gone into the conquering business. You should have led a quiet, sober, and peaceable life, suited to your capacity and to the laws of your country. But you are now engaged not only in slaughtering men for not allowing you to rob them peacefully, but in preventing your own electors from seeing any accounts of your conduct or comments on it, except such as you yourself have concocted or edited; and yet you call yourself an American,

and so do the members of your syndicate!

THE TRUE POINT.

The lingering among us of what we have called the "war drunkenness," or that temporary suspension of the reasoning faculty and sense of legality which always and everywhere accompanies war, is producing an almost comic outbreak of absurdity about the Atkinson pamphlets. The shouts of "treason" and "sedition" they have called forth, show how completely even a "war of humanity" drowns knowledge of our own history and Constitution. Many of these crazy shouters are apparently not aware that treason in the United States is defined by the Constitution thus: "Treason against the United States shall consist *only* in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, by giving them aid or comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court." Now, why was this definition made? Because, as Story explains in his book on the Constitution, "Free governments as well as despotic governments have been ready to convict, upon the most slender proof, some of their most distinguished and virtuous statesmen, as well as persons of inferior character. They have inflamed into the criminality of treason acts of just resistance to tyranny, and tortured a manly freedom of opinion into designs subversive of the government." Story here evidently had England in his eye, but though the attacks of the English Government on liberty have been more heinous than any recorded of ours, they were none of them so comic as the utterances and acts of our thoughtful Postmaster-General or of our revered President.

To commit treason under the law, Atkinson would have to render direct aid to the Filipinos, or openly adhere to their cause by "overt acts" proved, not by the thoughtful Postmaster-General, but by two witnesses. An overt act, these people must remember, is an act that can be seen and described, not an act which can only be inferred by the revered McKinley or the thoughtful Smith from language about them which they do not like. It cannot be extracted from a "manly freedom of opinion." There is no such thing in America as "constructive treason," or any longer in England, so that all that has been said about Atkinson's "treason" is pure "blatherskite."

The illustrious men composing our cabinet have apparently forgotten also that there is no such thing as "sedition" in America, any more than "treason." If, instead of inveighing against "this man Atkinson" for questioning their wisdom, they had devoted a little of their precious time to the study of American history, they would have learn-

ed that an act creating what was called "sedition"—that is, unpleasant criticism of the McKinleys and Smiths of that day—was passed by the Federalists in 1798, and there were numerous prosecutions under it. But it excited such popular indignation that when it expired by limitation in 1801, an attempt to extend it failed, after it had already ruined the Federal party beyond redemption. Free speech may, therefore, now well say to our present great men, as Cicero said to Mark Antony: "I have despised the swords of Catiline; I am not going to be afraid of yours." To face Adams and Hamilton and run from McKinley and Smith, would inflict indelible disgrace on any cause.

Do these worthies know or do they not know that the volunteers in the Philippines are voters, and will next year pass on McKinley and his war at the polls, and that, therefore, to question their right to hear, to know, and to argue freely over his fitness for his place, is a crime for which in calmer times these worthies would be impeached? Do they know that in 1864, when the Republic was in danger of which it now knows nothing, the following resolution was passed by the Democratic National Convention at Chicago?

"Resolved, That this convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretence of a military necessity or war-power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired, justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that, at the earliest practicable moment, peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States."

Do they know, or do they not, that this resolution was voted on by the soldiers in the field, without let or hindrance, under Lincoln, and that the copperhead newspapers circulated freely in the camps? If they do not know, ought they not, in common decency, to get back to their villages and acknowledge that the job is too much for them?

Gov. Thomas of Colorado, in announcing his intention to exhaust all his resources in forcing the Administration to send home the troops of the State who are perishing by inches in McKinley's war, is doing exactly what the Republicans did in 1799. When dealing with a man or a party that is, in your opinion, overthrowing the Constitution and destroying the public liberties under pretence of being superhumanly wise and virtuous, you must use such means as public opinion warrants. We ought not tamely to submit to the conversion of the Republic into an Empire by simple slaughter and plunder. Reason and law and justice are the only weapons we should ever suffer to make American revolutions.

SAVAGERY AS A CIVILIZER.

Since the Georgia Lynching, one of the most shocking and discouraging spectacles of modern times, there has been apparently a slight recrudescence of Southern interest in the "negro problem." One of the best evidences of this that we have seen is a paper by the Rev. Robert Campbell, the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Asheville, N. C. We say this, not because we agree with him as to all his remedies, but because he shows real and rational concern about the evil. What we need to-day in America is not so much skill in concocting cures as concern about evils. Indifference about either public or private morals is the curse of our day and nation. We too readily flatter ourselves that as long as our young men are ready to shoulder a musket for \$13 a month, and attack somebody at the order of a politician, their neglect of all the diseases of the state is of minor consequence. We have been told by an orator who was of our way of thinking, that, having to address an audience of Ohio farmers in 1884 on the charges against Blaine, he told them in opening that he was not nearly as desirous of having them believe these charges, as having them *care* whether they were true or false. It is not given to us always to *know* what is right, but caring whether a thing is right or wrong is every man's duty.

The fact that a large body of professing Christians assembled in Georgia on a Sunday and ran excursion-trains to carry sight-seers of all ages to see an ignorant savage not only burnt at the stake, but hacked to pieces with Christian jackknives, put to death by slow torture, and his carcass divided into relics to be carried to Christian homes, was one of the most awful incidents of modern times, because it seemed to be the deliberate repudiation by a large community of both its religion and its civilization. It was worse than any occurrence of the Middle Ages. The mediævals, though having much less enlightenment and education, punished crime on the same principle as the Georgia mob, but with comparative decency, in secret dungeons. The Spaniards burnt thousands of persons because of their beliefs, but they thought that burning them publicly was rendering God's service. Our lynchings, which Dr. Campbell says have amounted to nearly 2,500 during the last fifty years, have been the result, not of any theory of crime or punishment, but of a simple desire for vengeance, such as the African or Indian savage feels when he goes on the war-path. The main horror of it all is, that these attacks have gone on increasing in numbers and atrocity for forty years, and that the last was the worst.

But the worst feature of the case is that, after thirty years of lynching and of the "negro problem," nothing has

been done or planned to solve the problem by the nation whose special work it is. We have deliberately, clergy, teachers, philosophers, editors, and all, engaged voluntarily in a war, ostensibly for the benefit of a race at the other end of the earth, of whose existence we were not cognizant until last year, and who have no claim on us in law or morals. Could there be a more ostentatious admission that we had no problem at home worthy of our care or attention? If a woman went to a ball when her child was dangerously ill, would it not be regarded as an open confession that she did not care for it? Considering, in fact, the condition of a large part of our own population, both white and black, is not this war almost a denial of God?

Looking at what Dr. Campbell offers by way of remedy or solution, we see that he relies mainly on the Presbyterian Church. "The Presbyterian Church can do more for the negro than any other," "The Presbyterian Church believes that it is peculiarly fitted to give the negro what he needs," and so on. Now we say, with all due respect, that it is the eternal iteration of this sort of talk which prevents any attempt at a real national solution of the negro problem. It must be solved, if it can be solved, by the united heartfelt effort of the whole community, such an effort as carried the war of the Revolution or the Civil War to a successful issue. Congressmen, and politicians generally, are only too ready to leave it to the Presbyterian Church, or any other church which cares to bother with it, or read papers about it, or relieve them of it. The churches have had it before them for nearly half a century, and how much progress have they made with it? How much have they helped the negro, or how far have they gone in convincing the whites that something needs to be done about him? Were not many of the Georgia mob professing Christians? And, last of all, how long is it since the Church ceased to make any effort to control or purify public opinion? Were not the clergy among the promoters of the present war? Is there any monstrosity which enlists the sympathies of large numbers which does not find many of the ministers tumbling over each other in trying to make it appear that it is just or true? Why has it already come to be considered good American doctrine that even American preachers of righteousness must not say anything to annoy "the people" when they are bent on any piece of folly or wickedness? Dr. Campbell may rest assured that if he has no better cure to offer, negro crimes will be punished fifty years hence as they are to-day.

THE BEEF VERDICT.

The two leading conclusions of the court of inquiry as to the quality of the

beef supplied to our troops during the war with Spain, are in accordance with the evidence and will be accepted as fairly just by the country. The court finds that so far as the canned roast beef was concerned, the charges which Gen. Miles made against it as an unsuitable ration are sustained, but that as regards the use of chemicals in the treatment of refrigerated beef his charges were not established. If instead of saying "not established," the court had said "not fully sustained," its verdict would have been above criticism on these two points. There was evidence of the use of chemicals, but it was not conclusive and was flatly contradicted. There is no doubt whatever that the use of the refrigerated beef was a blunder, but there was very little evidence to sustain a more serious charge than that against it.

But while the court has found justly on these points, it is difficult to read its report without feeling that its members did so reluctantly, and that, if left to follow their inclinations, they would have censured Gen. Miles and allowed everybody else concerned to go free. Gen. Miles is the one person involved whom they allow no extenuating circumstance to benefit in their report. At every opportunity they take the worst possible view of his conduct, while almost invariably taking the most lenient view possible of nearly everybody else. One feels as he reads the report that, in the minds of its members, the offence of Gen. Miles in calling public attention to the bad beef and in collecting evidence which established its badness, was far greater than that of Eagan in supplying it to the army. They censure him for not making formal complaints at an earlier date to the War Department about the quality of the beef, and say he made none till after hostilities had ceased. Did not many witnesses, officers and men, testify that they made no formal complaints because they knew it would do no good if they did? And was not the main question at issue before the court, "Was bad beef supplied to the army by the Commissary Department?" If it was, is not the question of formal complaint by any officer a minor one? Yet in this report it occupies very nearly the first place.

So far as the findings of the court apply to Eagan's conduct, they are condemnatory in general terms, but they do not seek to go behind him for the reasons of his conduct. They say that though canned roast beef was very little used as a ration previous to the war, Eagan bought 7,000,000 pounds within a very brief period, taking it wherever he could find it, even in England, and thus pass judgment upon him:

"Considering the little use that had been made of this beef in the regular army, the probability that the volunteers were entirely ignorant of it, that its use as a part of the field ration had never been sanctioned by the President or Secretary of War, the court

can but characterize the action of the Commissary-General of Subsistence as unwarranted and reckless, in that he ordered the purchase of such enormous quantities of a food that was practically untried and unknown, and the court so finds. The court also finds that there is no ground for any imputation whatever of any other actuating motive on the part of the Commissary-General than the earnest desire to procure the best possible food for the troops. The court pronounces this act of the Commissary-General of Subsistence a colossal error, for which there is no palliation."

That passage is a perfect sample of the tone of the report. The President and Secretary of War are exonerated carefully from all knowledge of the "colossal error," and Eagan himself, while charged with a "colossal error," for which "there is no palliation," is exonerated with the statement that he had no other motive than to procure the best possible food for the troops. No attention whatever is paid to the evidence of several reputable witnesses that Eagan had told them that he had to buy of certain contractors; none is paid, either, to the evidence of Eagan's subordinates that he himself so altered the refrigerated beef contracts that no one could say whether they called for preservation for seventy-two hours or twenty-four. Leniency of this kind is never shown toward Gen. Miles. Why did not the court seek to ascertain what the compulsion upon Eagan was that made him commit this colossal error which was without palliation? Why did they not go more thoroughly into the contracts and see what there was in them which might be of interest?

Then, too, why do the members of the same court who take so stern and unrelenting a view of everything Gen. Miles did, go out of their way to give a certificate of character to all the packers who supplied the beef? They cannot do this without ignoring the great bulk of the testimony that the officers and men who tried to eat the beef gave before them. These witnesses declared that even when not spoiled the beef was uneatable because of its quality, being merely fat and tendons—fag ends of good beef. The members of the court admit that a great deal of it was bought by Eagan without inspection, and say that they have no knowledge of any provision in the army regulations or any requirement for such inspection. That lets out everybody who is in any way responsible for sending the foul and uneatable stuff to the soldiers, but leaves Gen. Miles still censurable for calling attention to the fact that it was sent.

The most thoroughly McKinleyish and Algerish portion of the report is its conclusion:

"It has been developed in the course of the inquiry, as recited in this report, that in some instances certain individuals failed to perform the full measure of duty or to observe the proprieties which dignify high military command, but the court is of the opinion that the mere statement in the official report of the facts developed meets the ends of discipline, and that the interests of the service will be best subserved if further proceedings be not taken."

That is to say: Let the matter drop now. Let Alger remain in the War Department, and let Eagan enjoy his six years' vacation on full pay. If anybody presumes to say anything more about it, denounce him as no better than a traitor and advise him to leave the country.

CUSTOM-HOUSE TYRANNY.

Mr. W. F. Wakeman is at the same time the Appraiser of the Port and the Secretary of the Protective Tariff League, a private organization whose sole cause of being is to get high rates of duty on imports enacted by Congress, and then higher rates than Congress has enacted imposed upon the goods so imported. The object in both cases is to enable domestic producers of similar goods to gouge the public by charging higher prices than they could otherwise get, making the machinery of government a species of engine for private gain. The duty on embroideries of linen, cotton, or other vegetable fibres is 60 per cent. ad valorem, a rate sufficiently monstrous, one would think, to satisfy the cravings of the Protective Tariff League. But it seems not to satisfy them, since their Secretary, in his capacity of Appraiser of Merchandise for the Government, is trying in various ways to make the duties prohibitory—partly by raising the valuations of the imported goods, and partly by holding back the invoices and causing delay to the importers. Delay means loss of interest on the capital invested, and perhaps loss of the market besides. Our tariff laws and tariff administration are not merely relics of barbarism in this respect; they are a steadily advancing growth of barbarism, injustice, and tyranny, organized and systematized for the purpose of private greed. Wakeman is only one of the instruments of this scheme of rapacity, but the most brazen one. He holds a public position which requires him to act with impartiality in the administration of the tariff law, but he holds another position at the same time which prompts him to exercise his public functions in the interest of his private employers. It is a public scandal that he should hold the office of Appraiser at all, and he has made the scandal all the more glaring by his method of exercising his office.

Specific instances of oppression were published a few days ago, coming from Mr. W. Wickham Smith, the counsel of the importers who have been "held up" at the custom-house by Appraiser Wakeman, and subjected to loss by his arbitrary proceedings. It is charged that although the law requires that the ad valorem duty on imported goods shall be assessed on the market value of the goods in the country of their production, and that the duties shall be uniform on all goods of the particular class, Wakeman insisted that he had the right

to inquire into the value of the goods here, and to appraise the goods accordingly. At first the requests were complied with, but afterwards the importers decided to stand upon their rights, and refused to give this information. Thereupon Wakeman delayed action on the invoices for periods ranging from one month to a whole year. He also advanced the invoices of some houses, while others, embracing the same kind of goods, were not advanced at all. "Moreover," says Mr. Wickham Smith, "when he began advancing goods according to the American selling prices, he would advance the same goods to two or three different values, because he found two or three different selling prices in America." The advances, or additions, made by the Appraiser to the invoice values of Swiss embroideries ranged from 10 to 200 per cent. It is charged also that the Appraiser had claimed that he could not appraise the importations of a certain importer unless the latter would furnish him with American selling prices, while he was appraising other importers' goods of the same character without any such information, and that he continued to assume this attitude for a period of several months, until, the importer having flatly refused to furnish the selling prices, he returned the invoices.

These charges were referred to a commission of special agents of the Treasury for examination, who reported eventually that the invoices of embroideries should be advanced about 10 per cent. average under that clause of the law which provides that the custom-house valuation may be made upon either the invoice value or the foreign market value. It may happen at a particular time that the market value abroad is higher than the cost of production at which the invoice is made out in cases where the goods are consigned to this market for sale, or where they are manufactured by American houses having factories abroad. To cover such cases the American Consul at St. Gall had recommended that an advance of 15 per cent. be made on all invoices of staple embroideries, and the importers had themselves agreed to an advance of 5 to 8 per cent. The commission of special agents decided, in the cases brought before them, that an average of 10 per cent. would cover this discrepancy between invoice value and foreign market value. Wakeman had advanced the invoices from 10 to 200 per cent., and when the commission made an advance of 1 to 10 per cent. average, he claimed that he had won a victory, and had saved the Government a large sum of money.

A difference of 1 to 10 per cent. between the views of importers and those of the Government, as represented by the tribunal before whom this question finally came, is trivial, and it is not to be as-

sured that the Government was absolutely right. At all events, the margin of difference was within the limits of allowable error; and error on one side or the other must always be expected where duties are ad valorem. Where they are specific—that is, where they are so much per pound or per yard—there is no room for error, but where foreign value and foreign cost of production constitute the basis of the assessment, some error is almost certain to creep in, and it is quite as likely to be on the side of the Government as against it. Now these importers are American citizens. Their occupation supplies the Government to a large extent with the means of existence. If there were no imports, there would be no customs revenue. The public receipts would fall off nearly one-half. Yet the men whose trade supplies the Government more than \$200,000,000 per year are hounded and hampered and slandered systematically, as in the case under review, which is only one out of many. A republican government treats its own citizens—men who furnish it with the means of existence from day to day—as public enemies. It has done so more or less for a quarter of a century past. Wakeman has been only one of a number of agents of this kind of persecution—the most brazen, however, seeing that he is an officer of the Protective Tariff League. How long such a scandal can continue we do not know, but we feel sure that it is a part of a formidable indictment that the Republican party will have to face next year.

PROF. BRIGGS AND OTHERS.

One of our "oldest readers," devoted man! asks us to say what we think about Prof. Briggs's views of the Bible and their bearing on the threatened controversy over his admission to priest's orders in the Episcopal Church. We might refuse to answer at all, in obedience to the apostolic injunction to "avoid foolish questions." For that, in a word, is what we do think of the whole affair. It is to us an instance not so much of the *odium theologicum* as of that far commoner thing, *stultitia theologica*. The folly of it is what strikes us most, and it may be that the best answer to our correspondent would be simply to send him the couplet:

"Though men by knowledge wiser grow,
Yet here 'tis wisdom not to know."

But if he will have us, after the manner described by the Psalmist, give him his request but send leanness into his soul, we say in the first place that it is a great mistake to speak of Prof. Briggs's teachings about the Bible as if they were anything peculiar or at all personal to himself. He is simply a Biblical scholar. Being the real thing, and not a bat blinking in a cavern, he naturally associates himself with the labors of other masters of Biblical learn-

ing, living and dead. Biblical studies are now as well and definitely organized as studies in the department of Greek history or Roman law. In the one field, as in the others, there is a recognized body of authorities, with whom you agree, not because they are dignitaries of the church (some of them are) or professors in universities, but because their methods are sound and scientific and their results the best that are to be had. We never ask whether a man is "orthodox" in his views of the political constitution of Athens, or of the origin of the *patria potestas*; we only ask if he is abreast of the latest researches touching those subjects. Precisely that is the test which we should apply to the Biblical scholar, *qua* Biblical scholar. Is he in general agreement with the masters of them that know in his specialty? If he is not, he may be as orthodox as you please, but he is either belated or eccentric to the point of making his opinions of no weight.

How this new wine of Biblical learning can be contained in the old skins of a seventeenth-century creed, elaborated and rigid, we frankly confess that we do not know. But it is not for us to decide. What we do know is that honorable and godly men are in all the churches who receive and defend the new natural history of the Bible, as we may call it. That is their affair. But, as Dr. Huntington wrote in his rebuke of the opponents of Prof. Briggs, the fact that such Biblical scholars—Canon Driver and Prof. Cheyne, in some respects more radical in their views than Prof. Briggs—are already in the church, and that they are not only tolerated, but honored, marks the monstrous absurdity of trying to keep out a like-minded man. Moreover, whatever the legal tests of the Episcopal Church may be—and we believe there is good authority for saying that its priests are obliged only to declare their belief that the books of the Bible are "canonical"—it is certain that, in practice, the largest liberty has been allowed. In fact, Episcopalians have long boasted of their freedom in these questions. They have quite a literature of tracts and pamphlets intended for distribution among clergymen of other denominations, all arguing the superior "roominess" and tolerance of the Episcopal Church in these very matters. Nor is there a particle of doubt that some of its most influential clergy have been drawn to it from other communions precisely because it did not lay theological burdens on the back as other churches do, or are thought to do. We have heard ex-Presbyterian and ex-Methodist and ex-Baptist clergymen dilate upon their new-found theological liberty as Episcopalians.

The facts being so, why all this pother about Prof. Briggs? Again our answer is, theological folly. Sudden zeal for purity of doctrine is one of its most

acute forms. The psychology of it has not been written, but it is closely allied to the psychology of the crowd. A mania for being more orthodox than the Pope gets going in a denomination, and soon all the clergy take to looking severe and pining for a heretic to burn. The very men whom you have heard, in some relaxed and unguarded moment, confess and even boast of their own theological irregularity and independence, will unblushingly lead the pack when one of these cries is started. We venture to say that not one of the clergymen who have come out in protest against Prof. Briggs could stand a literal cross-examination on all the Articles. The simple truth is that, except for purposes of heresy hunting, the great theological creeds are never revived as a living whole. They are not now vital in the consciousness of those who are supposed to be bound by them. Any longer to apply their minute and wire-drawn tests to a clergyman is always an anachronism, and sometimes a cruelty.

It is not a question of laxity. It is a question of letting scholars live within the church. Let the burden of subscription be thrown on them. If they can conscientiously find a way of subscribing to the creeds, either by taking them in "the historic sense," or by aid of some "declaration," in Heaven's name let them do it. They do not need to be told of the moral perils of their situation; they know them better than any other can. If they see their way to surmount these, and to do good work for Christian scholarship and to proclaim pure religion by lip and life, who will put obstacles in their path? All this questioning of motive and exacerbation of controversies about words remind us of Lessing's cry. "Lass mich, gütiger Gott," he wrote in his controversy with a raging orthodox divine—"let me never be so orthodox if it means being so presumptuous!"

MICROMANIACS AND MEGALOMANIACS.

FLORENCE, April 20, 1899.

A lecture by Francesco Crispi on Sicily and her Revolutions drew the largest audience of the year to the Luca Giordano hall in the Palace of the Prefecture yesterday, and the cordial welcome accorded to the old statesman by the élite of the Tuscan capital must have been a balsam to his heart wrung by many sorrows, to his spirit wounded by many real or imaginary wrongs. That the last four years have aged him as twenty previous ones had failed to do, is undeniable. In 1895 you would have said that he looked young for a man of seventy, so alert was his bearing, so powerful his voice, so luminous the flashes of his dark, magnificent eyes. But now the bowed form, the tremulous, hesitating voice, the dull sadness of the eyes, bring home to you the fact that he will be eighty next October, that he is the last left of the old guard who, for better, for worse, have made Italy one.

The first part of the lecture, devoted to the ancient history of Sicily, was dull for all but

natives and lovers of the neglected Isle. Its purport was to show how "this Sicily of ours, broken off by a violent convulsion of nature from the European Continent, and distant a few paces from Africa," was adapted, by its singular conformation, its sea-girt position and past history, to a "superb autonomy." He showed how the islanders defended that autonomy for seven centuries, safeguarding their independence even when their rulers were afar, nor ever, in the haughtiest days of papal Rome, yielding to the Pope's supremacy when it threatened their royal house. Sicily, he said, and quite truly, was monarchical always, monarchical to the marrow of its bones; our very priests, friars, and monks were royalists, and not Pope's men; they fought with us for our liberty and independence, and loyal they remained until 1871—"let future statesmen note that date." Only a Bourbon could have worn out Sicilian patience. Twice the speaker dwelt bitterly on the suppression of the newspapers, the arrest of publishers and printers; and after a graphic description of 1848-9, "during which years the islanders clung to their autonomy," narrating the atrocities committed by the Bourbon authorities, police, and soldiery, he said significantly, "But shootings, and hangings, and arbitrary arrests, imprisonment, and torture could not stifle, nay, as is always the case, they fanned, the flame of revolutionary propaganda." "So, to the surprise of the world and especially of her torturers, Sicily, who would not bow to a King that reigned over Naples, who in '49 had stipulated that her King should be King of Sicily alone, now talked of nothing but 'Italian life,' of fusion with the whole of Italy."

The history of the final struggle was well and briefly told; never once did the speaker claim for himself the merit of having been one of the chief actors in the daily, hourly struggle; the once so prominent Ego seemed to have vanished from his memory, though not from that of his audience, who remembered that as conspirator, rebel, revolutionary chief, leader of the Opposition, and three times pilot in stormy waters, the narrator had valiantly, if not always wisely, borne his part. Had he closed his speech with the downfall of the temporal power and the proclamation of Rome as capital of a United Italy, he would have carried his immense audience (which the large hall could not contain, and which had in part to be accommodated on the landing and the stairs leading to it) with him thoroughly, to the last; but then he would not have been Francesco Crispi, the believer in Dante's supreme Empire, in Gioberti's Primato, and, in a very different sense, in Mazzini's theory of Italy's world-wide mission. That Crispi revealed himself in the peroration, when the old heat returned, the bent frame rose up erect, some of the old fire flashed from his eyes, and his hand crashed on the table as he said:

"Alas, the Unity of Italy is undermined by the micromaniacs who aim at shutting Italy in her shell, at isolating her from the great nations, forbidding her to share the active initiatives on whose development her glorious destinies depend—menaced also by anarchists and clericals, subversive both, both renegade to the fatherland. Unity is useless if it fail to assure our force and grandeur. At times I ask myself with a shudder of despair whether it was worth while to have moulded seven states into one, if we decline to place this nation, created so laboriously, in the lofty place which morally and materially belongs to her. My calumniators, truly a numerous stalwart phalanx,

call me megalomaniac, and their accusations reach my heart as sweetest praise. Only those who have wrought nothing for their country during the last sixty years of national life, who have suffered nothing for her, nothing sacrificed, can thus fling away the noble, holy ambitions which form the common patrimony of every Italian born. Watch, therefore; let all sincere patriots unite and toll to avert the dangers that threaten the unity of our country; let them warn the plebs against wily seductions and vile flatteries; let them set Italy on the path that leads to greatness, without which she has no *raison d'être*, without which she will cease to be."

As he sank exhausted in his chair, the audience gave him one warm, genuine round of applause. Many waited for him in the court, feeling possibly that this might be their last adieu to the man who, in deadly peril, had twice traversed Sicily to give the last touch to the organized revolution that was to secure a triumphal entry in the "city of the initiatives" for the Duce of the Thousand; to one of that Thousand who had held the island as the basis of operations for the passage to the Continent; to the republican who had sacrificed his preference because "monarchy could unite, a republic would divide, Italy"; to the statesman who, during his first ministry, had grasped the helm with firm and skilful hand, secured the peaceful election of the successor of Pio Nono, removed all difficulties from the path of Humbert the First (that number insisted on to show that Italy was not annexed to Piedmont, but that Piedmont was absorbed in United Italy). That genuine, heartfelt farewell was given also to the Crispi of the second ministry (1888-1891), who did carry out most of the reforms which were promised in the programme of the party of action in opposition, and who, but for a coalition of malignants, would have carried out all those beneficent measures which must yet be enacted before the moral unification of Italy can be completed. But in that courteous, cultured throng I doubt whether one-fifth felt sympathy with the megalomaniac ideals paraded before their eyes. That mirage faded at Abba Carimma; since then the nation has sat down to count its dead, to bemoan the 400 millions squandered in Africa, which signify unsupportable taxation, its next to impossible reduction, squalor, discontent, rebellion at home, the emigration of the sturdiest, ablest, and most needed citizens from a country that denies them work or bread.

This last year of the century—tranquil so far if we except the incessant, unanimous agitation for amnesty, the triumphant elections of Turati, De Andreis, and other political prisoners, in colleges where no competitors dare present themselves—shows a quite other Italy from that of 1895, when home politics were non-existent, when, if we except the republicans and socialists, the entire nation lived in expectancy of news from Africa, not a few anticipating the hour when King Humbert should be, by a second Beaconsfield, created "Emperor of Abyssinia." Now a change indeed has come over the spirit of their dream; the public, the press, with rare exceptions, ask impatiently, "Why are we still spending twelve millions and probably more annually, for the barren title of a desert colony?" It is clear, says a clever writer in the *Nuova Antologia*, that since, for the last ten years, England, France, and Italy have vied with each other in furnishing a Menelek with arms and ammunition, we shall become his target; really, we ought to combine and rescind the permits granted for

the transit of arms through our respective territories, and even then Russia will come to the rescue; so we had better leave Africa to the Africans and come out from among them. We took the chestnuts out of the fire for England at Kassala: why burn our fingers further? Naturally, the King and the Court are not of this opinion, and a few Jingoese clamor for *vendetta*; but the one hold which the present ministry has on the country, despite the military tribunals and their victims who fill the prisons still, and still populate the "enforced domiciles" by thousands, is the conviction that no new taxes will be imposed, that not a single unnecessary item of expenditure will be admitted to the budget; and that if a cent can be squeezed out of the treasury, it will be applied to the reduction of the tax on grain and of the abominable *octroi*, the tax on the necessities of life at the gates of towns and cities.

We wonder what may have been the thoughts of Sydney Sonnino as he listened attentively to his old chief's harangue; of Sonnino, who, *molens rolens*, furnished the funds for the African folly, and who now, in his gloomy "Financial Notes," affirms, and I fear proves, that the budget of the present financial minister is that of an optimist. He foresees a deficit of seven millions in the present, and twenty millions in 1899-1900; this without calculating the burdens which the proposed agrarian and commercial credit loans, the redemption of morasses and hitherto uncultivated lands, subventions to railroads, etc., will entail on the future. Nothing finds favor in his sight. The pensions to veterans, the succor of poor families whose able-bodied sons are carried off by conscription, the increase of the wretched salaries of schoolmasters and professors in the technical schools, the equalization of the land-tax, which will reduce its proceeds by ten millions; the protection of home-produced sugar from beetroot, costing another ten by diminishing the custom-house duties on imported sugar—are all "errors"; the proposed abolition of some taxes on food, of some reduction of the tax on minimum incomes, are more than errors, "folies." He dwells on the necessary increase in the army and naval budgets, for the transformation of the antiquated artillery, for new naval constructions, and asks where is the money to come from, and classifies loans to provinces, aids to industry, old-age pensions, etc., as "so many holes dug to hide debts."

This excess of pessimism is not shared by the majority, who affirm that the income tax, even if all the minimum incomes be exempted, would produce double if properly assessed, as at present it is not; professional men not paying in just proportion, while holders of *rente* can transmit it free to their heirs, who pay no succession tax at all. Giolitti and his followers in the House promise their support to the Government on condition of a progressive income tax. *Se no, no!* The budget was presented in November, and it is not yet known whether that or the political measures for the restriction of the rights of the press, of association and public meetings will take precedence in the chambers, which reopen next week, Easter holidays having been prolonged, as several ministers and a large number of Deputies have accompanied their Majesties in their very popular tour through the neglected loyal patriotic island of Sardinia. The bright spot on the horizon is the renewal of the commercial treaty with France,

which, expiring in 1893, had been denounced by Robilant, who knew that France would have done so with the intention of offering its renewal in exchange for the breaking off of the Triple Alliance, to which he was a devoted adherent. And in fact France did offer to Crispi a highly advantageous treaty and many commercial facilities if he would abandon all understanding with England anent Egypt and Morocco, and at least slow down the Triple Alliance. Crispi refused point blank; he never forgot or forgave the capture of Tunis, or the conduct of Republican France towards the Vatican. The rupture at once reduced the commerce between the two countries from 300 millions to less than half that sum, and the market for Sicilian grapes, wines, lemons, oil, etc., was suddenly closed. Now, after six years of patient negotiations, the French see that by cutting off Italy's nose they have spited their own face, and offer the "favored-nation tariff" for wine, etc. This is beneficial for the agriculturists, as the exports to Austria, Hungary, and Switzerland do not amount to the former exports to France. Poor Spain will be the loser, as she has served as a stopgap during the intervening years. The manufacturers grumble, but unreasonably, for they have never attained to the perfection of French production of articles of elegance and luxury, which have been obtained from England and Germany during the rupture, so the renewed treaty is a boon whose full benefits will be felt in the years to come more than immediately. On the whole, therefore, the outlook is not unhopeful, and before the megalomaniacs again get the upper hand of the micromaniacs many waters will have reached the ocean.

The question of the Bay of San Mun either is treated with indifference, or is deprecated. Competent writers demonstrate its uselessness from a commercial, political, and military point of view; the radicals ask, haven't you had enough of Abyssinia? "Not a man, nor a cent for foreign colonies, but as much as you can spare for the redemption of our bays and waste land," say the home reformers, and I see that all the papers report the advice said to have been given by the Duke of Connaught, who is very popular in Florence (full of foreigners to its heart's content this year). Said Duke is of opinion that only many years hence, and after the expenditure of many millions, can the bay be rendered of utility to foreigners, and that the Italians, if they take possession, would soon be assailed by the Chinese, and that thus discomfiture would redound to their discredit. Not a remarkable prophecy assuredly, nor can one see why the Minister for Foreign Affairs should so insist on the question. If Italy is to colonize, say the more moderate politicians, let her by all means assist her large Italian population in South America, protect their interests and rights, secure a real asylum for her surplus population, a solid market for her produce. A tame matter-of-fact state of mind, indeed; but such is the mental condition of Italy to-day, and, after all, is she not at last doing Garibaldi's behest, and trying to "cut her coat according to her cloth"?

J. W. M.

GERMANY AND THE ARMENIANS.

WEST BOURNEMOUTH, ENGLAND,
April 16, 1899.

The last item in "The Week" of the *Nation*

for April 6, on the German Emperor and his influence on Turkish affairs, leads me (as I happen to have been in a position to know the true inwardness of the Armenian question as well as the present condition of things in the Balkans, which is the subject of comment in that article) to think that a plain statement of the facts may not be unworthy putting on record in your pages.

When Lord Salisbury determined, in accordance with the public opinion of England, to put an end to the malfeasance of the Sultan, he called on Austria-Hungary and Italy, under the terms of a convention established in 1887, shortly after Crispi became Prime Minister of Italy, to join England in a demonstration before Constantinople, with the alternative of deposing the Sultan or compelling effectual and immediate reform in the government of the Asiatic provinces. Crispi inquired at Berlin, the Emperor being at the head of the Triple Alliance, if Italy should take up the rôle to which she was called, and the reply of the Emperor was, "Yes, and on my imperial word of honor, I will support you to the last man." Crispi replied with alacrity by sending the fleet to Smyrna, and mobilizing a corps d'armée for operations in Asia Minor. Austria-Hungary, reluctant but compelled, made her preparations to support England and Italy, unwilling to run the risk of war for the sake of the Armenians, and a little irritated that Salisbury should have taken the initiative in a matter which concerned Austria-Hungary much more closely than England, as being at her doors and remote from those of England. Nevertheless, the accord was made, and if action had been taken instantly, there would have been no difficulty or danger of war, for the Dardanelles were not in a condition to resist the immediate entry of the fleets, not a gun being in position to fire. At this moment the United States Government brought forward the Venezuela question, and the Jingoese in the States put on their light gloves for a fight.

The position of Lord Salisbury was one of the greatest difficulty. To suppose that the English Government feared a war with the United States from purely military reasons is not to know the country and its resources, or our own as the Spanish-American war developed them; but a war between England and America could be carried on only by devastating our coasts, destroying our commerce, and preventing our farmers from exporting their grain, at the same time strengthening the defences of Canada. The bombardment and destruction of our coast cities and suppression of our trade were, in fact, the only measures which the military position permitted, and they would have been, therefore, imperative. But there is a large and influential element of the English people resolutely opposed to the aggravation of difficulties between their country and ours, not from fear of the results, but because they consider the establishment of permanently amicable relations between the two countries necessary to the advance of civilization, and a war between them comparable to murder in the family. Lord Salisbury had these (who form an important part of his support) to consider; and though the Jingo element in England would probably have met the defiance in the manner the whole nation would meet a similar attitude on the part of any European Power, the horror of an internecine war and the revivification of the antipathies of the generations gone

by was heavier than the indignation at the childish and inconsistent provocations of the United States. The possibility, therefore, of a war with us, made probable by the fact that England might be in a moment engaged with one or more of the European Powers, compelled Lord Salisbury to settle our question before entering into any other. It was not the "baseness and heathenism" of the Emperor of Germany, but those of the President of the United States, which "dried up the fountain of European pity for the Armenians," and compelled England to desist from one of the most humanitarian efforts her foreign policy has ever proposed. I cannot, without a protest, permit this attempt to deprive our Jingoos of their greatest laurel to pass unnoticed.

Before Lord Salisbury had got the Venezuela difficulty arranged, the Dardanelles were in a state to offer effective resistance to the united fleets and make probable a loss in men and ships which would have been worse than the sufferings of the Armenians; and it must be remembered that the movement for the relief of Armenia was purely humanitarian, and would have given England no exclusive advantage or any profit to justify any loss of life or property. It was a project which did the highest honor to the hearts of Lord Salisbury and the English people, and the grief in England at its abortion was great.

But the position in which this failure placed the German Emperor was very difficult. His guarantee of immunity to the new Triple Alliance in their action at Constantinople put him practically in an attitude of hostility to Russia, which Power has the highest interest in neutralizing British influence at Constantinople. It was, in fact, forbidding Russia to support the Sultan by war, and paralyzed the Franco-Russian alliance for near Eastern matters, while allowing England to employ the entire military force of the Triple Alliance to carry out her plan. To reestablish himself in the confidence of the Czar was no easy matter for the Kaiser, and it was necessary to remain practically neutral in the questions arising in the Balkan provinces and in Greece, and allow Russia to arrange them to her satisfaction as long as the vital interests of Austria-Hungary in Turkey were not assailed, these being guaranteed by the terms of the Triple Alliance. The result was that a convention was made between Russia and Austria-Hungary, binding both Powers to abstain from assisting either of the provinces or countries in the Balkans, including Greece, in case they attempted to provoke a war of emancipation with Turkey, and to maintain, while the convention is in force, the present status. The policy of Austria-Hungary is to prevent the breaking out of any war between Turkey and the Balkan States, but to encourage their development by degrees to effective political independence, not only of Russia, but of Austria, forming in this way a buffer chain of little states between the two great empires, and preventing for the future the acquisition by either of them of any more territory in the Balkans, including Constantinople. The Bulgarians are now assured, as the Greeks were when their agitation began, that they will not be supported in any aggression or assisted in any war for which they make themselves responsible, and no doubt Russia will adhere to this convention till she is ready to move on Constantinople; the hope of Austria-Hungary being

that, before that moment arrives, the states which are now forming will understand their true policy, and be ready to defend the interests they have in common with the dual Empire against any aggression.

The defection of England from the understanding with Italy and Austria, supported as it was by Germany—i. e., from the Triple Alliance—naturally provoked great irritation in the mind of the Emperor, who, one will readily conceive, held her to account for the scarcely veiled defeat which Germany suffered, and for the more positive failure to establish a concert of action between England and the Triple Alliance which would have paralyzed the Dual Alliance and made a war in Europe impossible. England would have been the President of the Quadruple Alliance, and, Germany commanding the position by land and England by sea, there would have been no resisting this pacific combination. When Greece broke out in 1897, she had been fully and officially informed that she could count on no European Power for any intervention in any case, but that she must take the consequences of her initiative; but the fatuity of Deliyannis and the King in refusing to believe the assurances of diplomacy that they would be left to themselves to fight it out, and that the spread of the conflagration they counted on would be forcibly prevented, if necessary, forced the position and led to the disasters of the war. Germany was in neither the mood nor the situation to support the action or influence of England in the Greek question, owing to the retreat of Lord Salisbury, for which we must accept the responsibility, and not the "base and heathen" German Emperor. Our foolish stone on the English track has had the effect of throwing the entire European train off the line, with immeasurable loss to humanity.

The same conditions obtain for the Balkan principalities that held for Greece. It is impossible to permit a war to break out which will endanger the peace of Europe, for the parties are now so nearly equally divided that interference becomes most probable if fighting begins. It was possible to abstain in Greece, which is after a manner separated from the other states, but in Bulgaria it may be impossible, and a war could not be assured to benefit humanity unless England and Germany, i. e., the Triple Alliance, co-operated, as they would have done but for us in the Armenian question.

W. J. STILLMAN.

AMERICANS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS.

PARIS, April 20, 1899.

The *Nation* has already given information regarding the new Doctorate established last year by the University of Paris. Since that time, a further new provision has been made for recognizing the work done at the University by foreign students. As the number of Americans pursuing literary and scientific studies in Paris is increasing, and as the attention paid to the study of modern languages in America is equally on the increase, it may not be amiss to give anew some facts regarding the opportunities for advanced study offered by the University of Paris.

The name "University of Paris" includes six of the institutions especially charged with higher education—namely, the five "Faculties" (Protestant Theology, Law, Medicine, Science, Letters), and the *École Su-*

périeure de Pharmacie. Closely akin are a number of other institutions of learning which are attached to the Ministry of Public Instruction: the Collège de France, the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, the *École des Hautes Études*, the *École des Beaux-Arts*, the *École des Chartes*, the *École du Louvre*, the *École des Langues Orientales*, the *École des Sciences Politiques*, and certain others. All these, under various conditions, are open to foreigners, to whom degrees and certificates of various sorts are granted under the same conditions as to natives. Each, as a rule, has its separate special library, and, if need be, laboratory.

Without discussing the obvious necessity of a sojourn in France for the student or intending teacher of the French language, literature, or history, and without discussing the point, sometimes disputed, of the superiority of Paris over other French cities as a place for acquiring a practical command of modern French, the subject will here be limited to the nature and amount of actual academic instruction offered in some of these various faculties and schools. The auditor is likely to find himself pursuing courses in several of them at the same time, inasmuch as the same subjects, or portions of them, are treated not only in that faculty of the University to which they are assignable, but also in one or more of the special schools. For instance, a student interested in the history of the French language would find courses related to this subject in the Faculty of Letters, the Collège de France, the *École des Hautes Études*, and the *École des Chartes*. Of these, the first is the only place where he would pay a fee for the privilege of attending. Three of the four, in the present case, are in different parts of the same great building, the famous Sorbonne; the Collège de France is just across the street.

The requirements of admission vary from school to school. The *École des Beaux-Arts*, which comprises the most noted school of architecture in the world, is a case apart. Admission is by a severe competitive examination, and the number of foreign students is limited to a certain fraction of the whole. Each foreigner, moreover, must have obtained a certain rank in the competition; the foreign students are not allowed to form the lower end of the list. The Collège de France, which confines its activity to lectures, and grants no degrees, is at the other extreme, and opens its doors daily to whoso chooses to enter. The lectures are in many cases of the most advanced and technical nature, by no means always of the "popular" description. Here one may hear some of the most distinguished of French scholars treating of the subjects in which they have made themselves famous; such men as MM. Ribot, Levasseur, Maspéro, Deschanel, Gaston Paris, and others. Most of the other schools mentioned are entered by the simple formality of filling out a blank application with one's name, age, birthplace, and address. One or more courses may be taken at pleasure.

In the University proper, it is possible for the foreigner to be on any one of several different footings. To begin with, many lecture courses are open to the public without discrimination, like those in the Collège de France, with no formality of any kind. Secondly, teachers of foreign nationality may, upon application, obtain cards entitling them to free entry to all classes in modern languages and literatures, and in the science and art of teaching. Thirdly, on presenta-

tion of a satisfactory diploma (which the candidate must not forget to bring with him), and payment of thirty francs for the year's tuition and library fee, the American may matriculate and become a properly constituted student, free to follow what courses he pleases in his faculty. Finally, if candidate for a degree, he must pay in addition a series of fees for registration, examination, and diploma, and must be diligent in signing attendance records. For these details and others, one should consult the official *Livret de l'Étudiant de Paris*, published by MM. Delalain Frères, 115 Boulevard Saint-Germain, and obtainable of any Paris bookseller. In this pamphlet should be sought also the subjects of courses for each year. It appears annually, a few days before the opening of the courses. The foreign student or intending student who needs still further explanation, may call on or correspond with the Comité de Patronage des Étudiants Étrangers (address, the Sorbonne), which offers him its services daily throughout the year.

The courses are, as a rule, of one hour a week each. As each professor gives only three, or at most four, he is amply able to bestow on them that perfection of form which French taste demands. Nothing could be more finished or elegant than the "form" of a French university lecture. In other courses class-room work is demanded of the student, in the way of demonstrations, essays, or translations. In the courses leading to the title of "Agrégré," the class is conducted, under the direction of the professor, by the different students in turn. The academic year begins in November and ends on the first of July, with interruptions of a week at Christmas and a fortnight at Easter.

The degrees and titles granted may be taken by foreigners as well as by natives, and by men and women without discrimination. The "baccalauréat," the "licence," and the "agrégation" are less likely to be sought by the American graduate students than the doctor's degree. The first, which is the lowest in rank, corresponds roughly to the first two years of the American B.A. course. The degree is granted only by the University, but the studies may be taken in the "collèges" instead, if the student prefer. The second requires at least four additional terms, and is required by the State of persons intending to teach in the secondary schools. As the "Licencié" is entitled to dispensation from the second and third years of military service, many men take this means of spending two years in the University instead of in the army. The practical result is that a great number of the youth of the well-to-do classes spend two more years in study than they might otherwise have done, with a beneficial effect upon the professions which they afterwards enter. The title of "Agrégré," the next in order, confers upon its holders the right to 1,500 francs additional salary as teachers, and irremovability from their office except on complaint accepted by a council of fellow-Agrégrés. The degrees of Docteur ès Lettres and Docteur ès Sciences, required by the State as a qualification for University professorships, stand at the summit of the system. The requirements are extremely severe and the expense considerable. The candidate must write and publish two theses, one in French and one in Latin, which involves an expense

of several thousand francs, and must undergo a searching public examination in which all the members of the faculty may take part. And the theses are not the thin pamphlets on narrowly limited topics which some of us associate with the word, but exhaustive works of several hundred pages, which often have taken years to write, and which often long remain as authorities—such works as Renan's 'Averroès,' Brunot's 'Malherbe,' Fustel de Coulanges's 'La Cité Antique,' Bédier's 'Les Fabliaux,' Beljame's 'Le Public et les Hommes de Lettres en Angleterre au XVIIIème Siècle,' etc., etc.

The new Doctorate (Doctorat de l'Université de Paris) requires at least two years of graduate study, part of which may be done away from Paris, elsewhere in France, or even in a different country. The accompanying fees have not yet been determined. The candidate must write and defend a thesis (French or Latin), and undergo an oral examination on questions chosen by himself and accepted by the Faculty. While it is expressly stated that this degree is not equivalent to the State Doctorate and does not confer the same privileges, it is to be assumed that the standard will be equally high, and that the absence of the Latin thesis and the accompanying expense will constitute the sole difference. Several foreign students in Paris have already set their eyes upon this degree, but so far no one has offered himself for the ordeal. The chance is open for an enterprising Yankee to become the first Doctor of the University of Paris.

The latest provision is one intended for foreigners planning to teach French in their own countries. These the University intends furnishing with a certificate of competence, after a satisfactory test. The certificate is to be called "Certificat d'Études Françaises." Candidates must present a diploma representing the bachelor's degree, but women may be accepted on presentation of a letter of introduction from the head of a college or school. The candidate must matriculate in the Faculté des Lettres (fee, 30 francs), and must attend three lectures a week for one year—one in French literature or philology, one in French history or geography, and the third according to his preferences. The examination will be written and oral. The former part will be based on the lectures, the latter will comprise the translation into French of a passage in the candidate's native language, and the summary in French of a passage from a French book read aloud to the candidate. At first sight the conditions do not seem formidable, but, to judge from the excellence of the English written and spoken by the students who take that study in the University, it may be expected that the pronunciation and syntax which will pass muster with the professors of modern languages in the Sorbonne will be good indeed. The University will be prepared to accept candidates for this certificate this autumn.

It may be added that foreign students planning to spend some time in Paris may obtain a good many useful hints, addresses, and other information from a little German pamphlet, 'Ein Studienaufenthalt in Paris,' by Ph. Rossmann, published by Elwert, Marburg.

For thirty years a steady stream of American students has been flowing to the German universities. These students have returned with knowledge and ideas which have exerted a continuous and generally beneficial

effect on higher education in America. But there are other fields in which scholarship may find a harvest. If the example of patient industry, of unwearying thoroughness and attention to detail offered in Germany has been of lasting value, American scholarship may also find an inspiration in the keen analysis, the clearness, the brilliancy, and the originality of French studies.

W. S.

Correspondence.

IF NOT, WHY NOT?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the American Revolution we were unquestionably rebels in fighting Great Britain; and so were the Filipinos in fighting Spain in 1897 and 1898. France was at war with Great Britain at the time of our Revolution and aided us in our rebellion; we were at war with Spain in 1898 and aided the Filipinos in their rebellion. Now the Major calls the Filipinos "rebels" against our authority.

Suppose that in 1781, when Great Britain had practically lost her thirteen colonies, she and France had made peace and she had quitclaimed us to France for say £4,000,000. And suppose France had immediately turned against us what troops she then had on this side of the Atlantic, and had sent a large army over, giving us the choice between immediate unconditional submission and destruction; and suppose we, "misguided" like these wretched "niggers" of Luzon, had perversely preferred to rule ourselves, should we in such an event have been "rebels" against French authority? If not, why not?

I read a McKinley Syndicate organ (the *Boston Journal*) pretty regularly, but find nothing in it on this question—or, indeed, on any other political matter—beyond constant assurances of the good Major's infallibility, and the sinfulness of questioning the same. I dare not sign my name, as the horrid fate which is impending over Edward Atkinson is a great terror here nowadays, and doubtless an exodus like the French emigration of 1787-1790 will soon begin in this vicinity.

A. MUGWUMP.

Boston, May 6, 1899.

SOUTHERN LYNCHINGS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have long been a subscriber to your paper and an attentive reader of its contents, as, though sometimes mistaken, and often unjust, it has the quality of perfect honesty and the "courage of its convictions." It is a fine teacher of morals, and I should like to see it a power in the land, acting as a counterbalance against those frothy and time-serving journals which minister to the taste of the unthinking multitude and, while perhaps despised, help to form public opinion.

Though I and many of my friends quietly accept the animadversions of the *Nation*, no matter how unjust, for the sake of its sterling character and many excellencies, there is a large portion of our community which must infallibly become alienated by the implacable dislike and injustice of its editorial remarks concerning them. I allude to the wholesale denunciation of the South in which the *Nation* never fails.

In regard to the horrible crime of lynching, the accounts of which make the reader ashamed of his countrymen, there is always on the part of the *Nation* an assumption that this crime belongs wholly to the South. This is by no means correct. There are more lynchings at the South than elsewhere, because there are more ignorant negroes there, and because the crimes which especially infuriate the mob are those more usual among uneducated negroes than among white people or cultivated black ones. When a negro is educated he is apt to seek city life; the more populous the city, the better suited to his tastes and favorite occupations, and as a rule the larger cities of the Northern States and their large watering-places receive the greater number of decently cultured or gently nurtured negroes. The vast numbers left in the midst of the rural population of the South are the most degraded of the race, and although many of these are peaceful and industrious, there are also many infinitely worse than beasts.

In the Northern and Western States, as the *Nation* may learn if it will take the trouble to inquire, negroes are lynched from time to time, and white men also. This does not make the crime less heinous, but it is one shared by the whole country. Booker T. Washington, in his admirable remarks recently in Baltimore, says education is alone the remedy—education of both black and white. This is true, but we need something in the meantime to put a stop to these horrors, lest, as the *Nation* suggests, what with unjust, unequal, and ferocious war abroad, and bloody crimes and vengeance at home, our young men become a bloodthirsty race, delighting in cruelty and despising the arts of peace; sons of the dragon's teeth now being sown. If the *Nation*, instead of confining itself to denunciations of the evil, would calmly study the subject, it might be able to suggest a remedy. The whole country should act. What is to be done? Cease these unjust accusations! Help us to do better.

A VIRGINIAN.

WASHINGTON, May 7, 1899.

[We will begin by counselling the South to remove from its statute-books every law which implies that black men are something less than human beings; to mete out justice to them in every relation, from the ballot-box to the gallows or even to the fire-stake—the same measure for white offences against blacks, for black offences against whites.

This may seem to our correspondent a counsel of perfection, and we will therefore forestall a request for something more concrete. There is at Atlanta a university for the blacks named after the city, founded by Northern philanthropy, and now wholly maintained by it. In line with the methods adopted by General Armstrong at Hampton and afterwards by Booker Washington at Tuskegee, it so commended itself that the Legislature voted it an annual subvention. In a perfectly natural manner the privileges of the institution were sought by whites and not denied; and because they were not denied, and the university would not pledge itself to be exclusive, the subvention was withdrawn from it, and it has ever since been in heavy straits. Now we affirm a logical

connection between the late awful lynching in Georgia and this action of Georgia's Legislature; and the unconditional restoration of State aid to Atlanta University would, in our judgment, be both an act of expiation and a signal step towards that even-handed justice without which there will never be an end to the inherited cruelty of slavery.—ED. NATION.]

AT EASE IN METHODISM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of May 4, you remark, in the course of a brief comment on the proper attitude of Episcopalians towards Prof. Briggs:

"We feel bound to say, also, that these nice points of doctrine are most unsuitable for discussion within the Episcopal fold. Its strength does not lie that way. The Presbyterians and Methodists can beat it hollow at that."

I suppose one who knew nothing of Methodist doctrine might be led by this last sentence to suppose that the attitude of Presbyterians and of Methodists toward the so-called "higher criticism" was essentially one, and that a Methodist clergyman who ventured to hold substantially the same views as are advocated by Prof. Briggs would be in imminent danger of being tried for heresy. I say nothing of the Presbyterian body, for it has been sufficiently in evidence for the past few years; but I venture to think that a somewhat wider acquaintance with the doctrines of the Methodist Church and the views held by many of its most representative clergymen would lead you to somewhat greater caution in the sweep of your implications.

The articles of religion as officially promulgated for the Methodist Church are exceedingly few and simple, and they afford very small basis for heresy-hunters to proceed upon. The actual facts are that in Methodist theological schools, in Methodist pulpits, in Methodist colleges, and in the ranks of the laity is a large and rapidly growing body of men for whom the "higher criticism" has no terrors. Some of these men are widely known, and their names are to be learned without special difficulty. I have no right to drag a list of names into this communication, but I know whereof I speak.

I am ready to admit that there are many conservative men in the Methodist Church, some of whom cannot be expected to reverse the conclusions of years of conviction; but these men are not so representative as to be ready to begin heresy trials for such of their brethren as have adopted the newer views. What is the date of the last trial for heresy that you recall among the thousands upon thousands of Methodist clergymen?

So far from accepting the implication of your remark, I venture to think that there is no Evangelical church that on the whole offers more freedom in matters of doctrinal belief than the Methodist. If there is one, which is it?—Yours very truly,

A METHODIST.

May 6, 1899.

THE ROMAN FOLK-SPEECH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your notes on Dr. Olcott's disserta-

tion in the *Nation* of April 13, 1899, convey a mistaken impression as to the status of scientific investigation into the popular vernacular of the Romans. The proposition with which your review opens, "that scholarly study of the every-day Latin of the ancient Romans . . . is only just beginning," becomes true only by the addition of the words *in America*, where, indeed, so far as published results are concerned, your reviewer is fairly correct in suggesting that it is confined to Columbia University and to the latter half of the present decade.

In Europe, however, ever since the appearance of Diez's scientific Grammar of the Romanic Languages, first in 1836-42, the scientific study of the Roman folk-speech has been rife, and so rich has been the yield for the seven years 1891-1897, to take a mere sample, that Dr. P. Geyer uses eighty-four pages of Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, vol. 98, pp. 33-117, to make his shorthand report of that interim. Even as early as 'Poggii Florentini historia convivalis,' 1538, p. 32f.; Morhof 'De Patavinitate Livii,' 1685; Pa-gendarm (*alias* Tiefensee), 'De Lingua Romana rustica,' 1735, we mark the rise of scholarly interest in the fascinating subject—an interest, however, which, owing to the strong fetters of Ciceronianism, produced no sound or substantial fruit. But, for the nineteenth century, what shall we say of the august array of names—Raynouard, 'Grammaire comparée,' etc., 1821; Dieffenbach, 'Ueber die jetzigen Roman. Spr.,' etc., 1831; Winckelmann, 'Ueber die Umgangssprache der Römer' (in Jahn's *Neues Jahrbuch*, 1833, pp. 493-509); Diez, 'Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen,' 1836; Fuchs, 'Die Roman. Spr. in ihrem Verhält. zum Lat.,' 1849; Pott, in Hüfer's *Zeitschr. für die Wissenschaft der Spr.*, 1851, lll., pp. 113-165; Kuhn's *Zeitschrift für Vergl. Spr.*, 1852, I. 309-350, and 385-412; *Zeitschrift für Alterthumsw.*, 1853, II. 481-499, and 1854, 12. 219-231, and 233-238; Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, 1863, 12. 161-206, and 1864, 13. 24ff., 81ff., 321ff.; Corssen, 'Ueber Ausspr., Vokal. und Bet.,' 1858; Schuchardt, 'Vokal. des Vulgärlatein,' 1866-69; and, after this epoch-making and monumental work, to mention only the more conspicuous contributors to the subject, Rönisch, Wölflin, Rebling, Sittl, Gröber, Meyer-Lübke, and Lindsay of Oxford?

It should be noted, too, that the idea expressed by your reviewer, "We are glad to observe that Dr. Olcott uses the term *sermo vulgaris* in its proper sense, therein differing from most of his fellow-investigators," etc., would have been appropriate enough when Schuchardt wrote in 1866, Vokal., I. 45; but in 1899 is a rather belated sentiment. Surely, no serious scholar in the last quarter of a century has failed to discriminate between the *sermo cotidianus* of the Roman masses and "mere slang, or low, indecent language, or that which is 'vulgar' in the modern society sense of the word."

Very truly yours,

THOMAS FITZ-HUGH.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS,
AUSTIN, April 28, 1899.

P. S.—In reply to your query, "Which of our universities will be first to establish a real University Press of its own, to print and publish the productions of its faculties and students?" attention should be called to the University of Chicago Press, which I have known to do such work for American universities at large.

[We welcome Professor Fitz-Hugh's

remarks if he and others were led to think that we meant to suggest that Columbia University or American scholarship had been first in this field of investigation. Such an idea was far from our meaning. Indeed, with the exception of the writers before the present century (who, we think, gave evidence of "scholarly interest" rather than of scientific investigation), almost the whole of Prof. Fitz-Hugh's useful list of contributors is included in Dr. Olcott's bibliography or in his notes. Another reading of Geyer's introductory remarks in his *Jahresbericht* ought perhaps to show Professor Fitz-Hugh that our remarks on the real nature of the term *sermo vulgaris* were not wholly unnecessary. Geyer's review, by the way, is not devoted solely to the vulgar, but covers the late Latin as well; in fact, for the whole seven years, he quotes but a small number of works devoted entirely to the former subject. As for university presses, if Chicago has really established one of its own, we rejoice to hear it. A volume of its "Studies in Classical Philology," lying before us, does indeed bear on its title-page the words, "The University of Chicago Press"; but the next page shows that the book was printed by a well-known firm in Massachusetts.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

The Postmaster-General should take notice of Benjamin H. Sanborn & Co.'s intention to publish immediately in Boston a new edition of Burke's Speech on Conciliation with America, so often quoted by the authors of the "incendiary literature" of the present hour. This looks like an act of defiance. The fact that the speech is edited by a woman will surely not be allowed to prevent its exclusion from the mails if it cannot be arrested in the press.

The ninth volume of Harvard Studies in Classical Philology (Ginn & Co.) will embrace memoirs and posthumous papers of Prof. George M. Lane and Prof. F. D. Allen, a paper on "Hidden Verses in Livy," by Prof. Morris H. Morgan, and other interesting matter, with the usual indexes.

Macmillan Co. publish directly 'Wordsworth and the Coleridges, with Other Memories Literary and Political,' by Ellis Yarnall; 'Side Lights on American History,' by Henry W. Elson; and 'Tristram Lacy, or the Individualist,' a new novel by W. H. Mallock.

We were guilty of two lapses last week, in misnaming the American house associated with J. M. Dent of London in publishing the delectable Temple Edition of Scott's Novels, to wit, Messrs. Scribner; and in omitting to mention that the abridged Life of Sir Richard Burton bears the same American imprint.

Shortly after the death of Alfred M. Williams of Providence, R. I., his friends were favored with a memorial volume. It contained an admirable biographical sketch by Mr. Howland, some of Mr. Williams's last writings from the West Indies, some verse, a portrait, and a few illustrations. This has

now been given to the reading public (through Preston & Rounds Co.) with the general title, 'Under the Trade Winds.' The charms of West Indian scenery, and the sad strangeness of the social relations there prevailing, are vividly portrayed, and those not previously acquainted with Mr. Williams's powers of description have now an opportunity of realizing them. The portrait shows the man of later years worn down by mental toil and the loss of a beloved wife. After having, in the civil war, participated unscathed in more than one forlorn hope, he met his death through a fall from mule-back on a mountain trail, in search of folk-lore.

'How Count L. N. Tolstoy Lives and Works,' by P. A. Sergeyenko, translated from the Russian by Isabel F. Hapgood (T. Y. Crowell & Co.), is one of the most characteristic and interesting works ever written on Tolstoy. The man is set before us in a most realistic presentment; his thoughts, his habits, even his diet, are minutely described. Miss Hapgood deserves well of the great non-Russian-reading public for putting this portrait within their reach. We only wish that she had given a few footnotes. Many of the personal proper names are familiar enough to Russian students, but what do they mean to outsiders? Surely a note ought to have been given (p. 44) to the name of Count Araktcheeff (not Aratchkeeff), a man cordially detested in Russia as one of the *maîtres*, to use a convenient French term, of the Emperor Paul. When we know his story, we see the point of the anecdote told about him.

The Hatzfeld 'Dictionnaire Général de la Langue Française' (Paris: Ch. Delagrave) completes five-sixths of its total bulk in *fascicule* xxv., ending with *ruilée* on page 1984. In this instalment of an authoritative work, severely condensed, there is not much to remark beyond a few words borrowed from the English, like *rob* (*robre*), a rubber at whist, and *rôt-de-bif*, roast-beef; or characteristic French compounds like *remue-ménage*, *risque-tout*; or proverbial personages like *Roger-Bontemps*.

The *Green Bag* for April (Boston Book Co.) has a paper, by Bushrod C. Washington, on the trial of John Brown, written in no forgiving temper, and adding nothing of moment to what was already known of the raid or the trial. Those who wish to extrillustate Sanborn's Life of Brown, however, will thank the writer for a view of the courthouse, with portraits of the judge (Richard Parker), the prosecuting attorney (Andrew Hunter), the Virginia counsel (Judge Green and Col. Botts) originally assigned for Brown's defence, and finally the Sheriff who executed sentence (James Campbell).

The redwood forests of the Pacific Coast are described by Mr. Henry Gannett, in the May number of the *National Geographic Magazine* (Washington), as occupying a narrow strip hugging the coast from the southern boundary of Oregon through northern California, with an area of 2,000 square miles, in which the standing timber is estimated at seventy-five thousand million feet. As measured by the amount of merchantable timber per acre, this is probably the densest forest on earth. In the Southern States and in Minnesota, tracts containing from 5,000 to 10,000 feet per acre are regarded as heavily forested; but around Eureka, Cal., the lumber companies have realized "an average of between 75,000 and 100,000 feet per acre. . . . There is on record a single acre, near Gar-

berville, which yielded in the mill 1,431,530 feet in lumber. There was sufficient lumber on this acre to have covered it with a solid block of frame dwellings ten stories high." The reverse side of the picture is the fact that there is no young growth nor sign of reproduction from seed. This indicates that, with the clearing away of the present forests, though the supply at the present rate of cutting will last three hundred years, the redwood "as a source of lumber" will cease to exist. The progressive drying of the climate is suggested as the cause of the failure of the reproductive power, and this testimony of the forest is used by Mr. J. B. Leiberger, in a following article, to answer affirmatively the important question, "Is climatic aridity impending on the Pacific slope?"

The *Geographical Journal* for April opens with an account, by Prof. N. Collie, of two explorations in 1897 and 1898 of an almost unknown part of the Rocky Mountains lying about eighty miles north of the Canadian Pacific Railroad. A special object was the search for Mounts Hooker and Brown, discovered some sixty years ago and believed to be the highest peaks in the range. The Century Atlas, for instance, gives Mount Hooker a height of 15,700 feet. When found, however, they proved to be only 9,000 feet, "not so high as thousands of others in the main chain." An interesting climb was that of "probably the only peak in North America the snows of which, when melted, find their way into the Pacific, the Arctic, and the Atlantic Oceans; for its glaciers feed the Columbia, the Athabasca, and the Saskatchewan Rivers." Dr. H. Schlichter endeavors to show, by an examination of the extensive ruins in Rhodesia, South Africa, that these territories were, "1,000 years before the commencement of the Christian era, a gold-producing country of a large extent, and colonized by the early Semitic races round the Red Sea, viz., by Jews, Phœnicians, and Western Arabians." The proofs are mainly the character of the buildings, their astronomical ornamentation, and a supposed Semitic inscription which has been found. In the discussion which follows, Mr. F. C. Selous maintains that the natives built stone walls as late as the beginning of this century, and extracted gold from quartz up to 1870. Baron Nordenskjöld contributes a paper, with facsimiles, on "the influence of the 'Travels of Marco Polo' on Jacopo Gastaldi's maps of Asia," and Lord Curzon a note on the source of the Oxus.

The Year-book of the Royal Geographical Society contains, among other things, an interesting list of more than 400 of the 4,009 fellows composing the Society, "who may be regarded as special authorities on particular subjects," together with supplementary lists of subjects and countries, with their "referers." The illustrious roll of medallists closes with the name of Lieut. E. A. Peary, U. S. N., who received the Patron's Medal in 1898.

Petermann's *Mitteilungen*, number 3, begins with the first part of an account, by A. Gaedertz, of a recent journey made by him in the Chinese province of Shantung, in the interests of a German syndicate formed for mining and railway-building in the new German sphere of influence. It is accompanied by an admirable map. New light is thrown by Dr. R. Gradmann on the obscure problem of the curious course of the frontier of the Roman Empire in southwestern Germany. He shows, with much historical and

archæological detail and with the aid of a map, that for nearly the whole distance of a hundred and thirty miles from the southwesternmost point to the Danube the boundary runs exactly parallel to the southern limit of the Frankish pine forests. Some interesting statistics illustrating the growth of the Siberian province of Tomsk in the last thirty years are given. Manufacturing establishments, for instance, have increased from 223 to 7,570, employing 12,914 workmen, while there are 68 yearly markets against 11 in 1857. The colleges and schools number 711, with 26,409 scholars, out of a population of about two millions, mostly Slavs.

Mr. John Thomson's second Bulletin of the Free Library of Philadelphia is a Descriptive Catalogue of the works composing John Russell Smith's "Library of Old Authors," begun in London in 1856. Thus, in addition to analytic and bibliographical notes, it gives, under John Aubrey, an alphabetic list of his *Miscellanies*; under W. Carew Hazlitt a similar list of the pieces in "Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England." An index completes the assistance afforded by the catalogue. The next Bulletin, it is announced, will consist of an index of first lines and of subjects of Herrick's Poems.

The public reading and expounding of Dante instituted in Florence in 1373, with Boccaccio (then near his end) as the first to perform this function, lasted with numerous vicissitudes till 1859, when Giambattista Giuliani had the final word. After forty years of silence, the Florentine executive committee of the Italian Dante Society restored the good old custom on April 27 in the great hall of Or San Michele. Not one scholar, but a group of seven, explained, not the first seventeen (as Boccaccio), but the first seven cantos of the "Inferno." The Mayor of the city presided, and the occasion was "solemn" in the Latin sense. The session was made the more enjoyable by Salvini's reading of the first canto.

A melancholy interest attaches to the late Prof. Edward D. Cope's paper on "Vertebrate Remains from Port Kennedy Bone Deposit" in the current number of the *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia*, as it is the last of the brilliant series of contributions to science by that celebrated palæontologist, and was prepared during his final illness. It treats of the extraordinary accumulation of organic forms of Pleistocene age found in the so-called "bone-hole" exposed in quarrying the Cambrian limestone at Port Kennedy, Upper Merion Township, Montgomery Co., Pa. In a paper entitled "The Bone Cave at Port Kennedy and its Partial Excavation in 1894, 1895, and 1896," Mr. Henry C. Mercer gives additional information concerning this fossil deposit, and describes phenomena indicating that one or two great inundations occurred in the Schuylkill Valley in Pleistocene times. The deposit is of great variety and unknown extent, but thus far no traces of human remains have been discovered. In the same number Mr. Clarence B. Moore continues the account of his explorations among the aboriginal mounds of the South. He describes two classes of mounds—those used for places of abode or refuge, and the low mounds used for burial purposes. Certain rises in the ground known as "mounds" by the inhabitants proved to be banks thrown up by the action of the Savannah River, notably so in the cases of Little Patten and Big Patten, which are given as mounds even on the Government

chart. Mr. Moore concludes that the swamps of the Savannah were not largely inhabited in prehistoric times, and, on the whole, South Carolina appears to have little of archæological interest to offer. Half-tones and a colored plate illustrate Mr. Moore's memoir.

—Mr. Julius F. Sachse has printed in a very handsome form his recent paper on Franklin's account with the Lodge of Masons, 1731-1737. The discovery of Franklin's daily ledger among the Philosophical Society's collections enables Mr. Sachse to tell a very interesting story, and to prove that Philadelphia was the mother city of Freemasonry in America. Until Massachusetts is again heard from, the claim will hold, and, based as it is upon unquestionable evidence, the question may be regarded as settled. A number of photographic reproductions are given in this essay, among them being the pencil sketch of Franklin made by Benjamin West. Mr. Sachse believes that the "Mystery of Freemasonry," published in the *Gazette* of December 3, 1730, was the work of Franklin, who was at that time not a Mason. In 1731 he was admitted, and made some amends. Mention is made of Louis Timothee, who had aided Franklin in 1732 to print the *Philadelphia Zeitung*, the first German newspaper in America. Timothee afterwards removed to Charleston, to take charge of a printing-office equipped with a printer's outfit by Franklin. Was this Timothee the father of Peter Timothy, who did the printing for the patriots in the Revolution? Mr. Sachse has given us a very valuable fragment of history and personal information, made all the more so by his conscientious reproduction of his original material.

—Mr. Edward Sherman Wallace has used his five years' experience as United States Consul for Palestine to write a brief history of ancient Jerusalem, and an account of the modern city and its conditions, political, religious, and social, under the title, "Jerusalem the Holy" (Fleming H. Revell Co.). The chapters which deal with the present conditions of Jerusalem and the character of its population, drawn, as they are, from Mr. Wallace's experience and personal observation, are decidedly interesting. That portion of the book which deals with the ancient history of the city is of little value. The author's aim has been "to combine completeness with brevity, and thus to place in the hands of those who are interested in this city of ancient memories and holy sites, a book of such facts as are ascertainable." His aim has not been attained, apparently because his critical knowledge was not adequate; but with reference to the conditions of life in Jerusalem today, the visitor to the city will find the book an interesting and, in general, trustworthy guide. Neither the Jews, Christians, nor Moslems who now inhabit the Holy City are attractive representatives of their respective races or religions. The first mentioned, in particular, are pauperized by the contributions from without, on which many of them live in whole or in part. Christian missions, as conducted in Jerusalem, also come in for severe criticism; not that the missionaries individually are at fault, but that so many missionaries and so much money are expended in this one place, in vain and demoralizing rivalry. The holiness of Jerusalem the Holy is a thing of yesterday and to-morrow, not of to-day. Mr. Wallace looks forward to the reoccupation of

Palestine by the Jews, his expectation being based mainly on a very literal interpretation of the prophecies of the Old Testament. It is as charming as meeting a real live dodo to read that it is generally conceded "that, in the millennial age, living waters shall go out from Jerusalem, half of them toward the former sea and half of them toward the hinder sea." As a matter of fact the Jews are coming in rapidly, and to-day, in the Holy City itself, outnumber all the other elements of population put together. The Turkish Government places obstacles in the way of this immigration, but a little money overcomes many obstacles. The book is carelessly written, with much repetition and unnecessary verbiage. "Fifteen illustrations from photographs" pleasantly illumine the text.

—The article of greatest general interest in the April Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund is on woman in the East, by P. J. Baldensperger. The author was born in Jerusalem and brought up in the country, and as a child was often taken by his mother into their neighbors' women's quarters. His knowledge, therefore, of their secluded life is exceptional. He describes at this time women in the towns, known as Madanîé in distinction from the Fellahin or country people, their appearance at home, conversation, amusements, marriage customs, religious observances, superstitions, and care of the sick. His conclusion is that "woman in the harem is, relatively speaking, perhaps happier than the Occidental lady can imagine her to be." Dr. Conrad Schick contributes a catalogue of the "preparations made by the Turkish authorities for the visit of the German Emperor and Empress to the Holy Land in the autumn of 1898." This veneering extended to the building of a pier at Haifa, making roads passable, piercing a broad entrance to Jerusalem close to the Jaffa Gate, clearing the streets of booths and whitewashing houses, to say nothing of decorations and architectural restorations, more or less fantastic and barbarous. "The many beggars were gathered, before the arrival of their Majesties, and sent by escorts to villages some distance from Jerusalem; and it seems that even the dogs, which at night make so much noise, were diminished"—"caught and housed in cages," as another account runs. Constantinople was similarly sophisticated *pro tem.*, as regards the eddieship and the dogs. We may be sure that the German Emperor was not deceived, but one recalls the transformations effected in the Russian "military colonies" in advance of the first Alexander's inspection, to secure a smart and prosperous appearance; horses, cattle, and poultry being concentrated from roundabout, good cheer provided for "specimen" peasants' tables, and hollow wheat-ricks stuffed out with straw and rubbish to simulate abundance. In Catharine's visit to the Crimea, too, her route was thronged with an imported population.

—To M. René Doumic has been accorded the attention of translation by an American hand, as a return for his edifying lecture-tour of last year. A volume of studies on 'Contemporary French Novelists' has been done into English by Mary D. Frost, and published by T. Y. Crowell & Co. It contains critical essays on the leaders of the several schools in modern French fiction, from Feuilleton to Rostand, Hervieu, and Bazin, with the very noticeable omission of Anatole France. This

selection seems to have been made with some idea of forcing into notice M. Doumic's well-known literary predilections (not to say prejudices), for it places side by side the virulent "slating" of Zola and the glorification of Daudet. As with M. Brunetière, novelists of anti-clerical, realistic, or non-mystical tendencies find here but very short shrift; unless, indeed, as in Maupassant's case, they gallantly leave all formulation of opinions and conclusions to critics more or less authorized. The article on Daudet contains a stereotyped defence of the French Academy, the spirit of which is sufficiently indicated in the assumption that the novelist "would have been greatly at a loss himself to give a motive or pretext for his attitude" in 'L'Immortel.' We must, therefore, correct our impression that precision of introspective power was one of the positive qualities of the author of 'Le Petit-Chose.' The translator's work succeeds in preserving the prevailingly gray tones of the original; but sticklers for accuracy, even where slang is at stake, may question the exact equivalent of "cad" and *mufle* (p. 360).

—The memoirs of Jan Kilinski are very much valued by the Poles on account of the simplicity and vigor of his style and the interesting period of history about which he wrote. He was a shoemaker of Warsaw. After the diet at Grodno in 1793, when Poland was dismembered and the King Stanislas had become a mere tool in the hands of a mercenary aristocracy, a Committee of Patriotic Citizens was formed at Warsaw, of which Kilinski was one; but the ruin of Poland was accomplished, and Kilinski was carried prisoner to St. Petersburg. He was released when Paul came to the Russian throne, in one of that monarch's periodical fits of generosity, as capricious as his severities. There has recently been found in a private library a continuation of these memoirs of which little was known. It has been carefully edited by a learned historian who prefers to remain incognito under the simple initial A. This new volume, published at Cracow, is of surpassing interest. The National Committee made short work of the traitors—bishops, hetmans, and magnates—who had signed away the independence of their country. Their trials before the National Court and speedy execution by hanging are narrated by an eye-witness. One of the most appalling stories is that of Prince Michael, the brother of the King, who was the Primate of the country. He actually entered into treasonable correspondence with the general in command of the Prussian troops then besieging the city, and pointed out a vulnerable part in the defences. This letter he intrusted to a servant whose manner, as in the case of André, made him suspected while crossing the lines. On his being arrested, the plan which the primate wished to communicate was found on him. The King sent his brother a powerful poison in a lozenge, which he told him he must take. The miserable ecclesiastic obeyed, and in half an hour was no more. The only alternative was being publicly hanged as a traitor. The story, with many others, is naively and graphically told. Kilinski, on being released from captivity, returned to Warsaw and carried on his trade till his death in 1819. The editor of this book gives a picture of his house.

—Mr. Louis Dyer's second Machiavelli Lecture at the Royal Institution in London

dealt with his author's use of history, and opened with Mr. Lowell's definition of a university, 'a place where nothing useful is taught.' The ancient Romans were to Machiavelli, as to Dante in the second book of his 'De Monarchia,' a providential people predestined to universal sway. Machiavelli parted company with Dante when Caesar's usurpation came. For this the author of 'The Prince' had words of strenuous condemnation. Guicciardini, while occupying in general Machiavelli's point of view in regard to the perfections of Rome, warmly controverted his vigorous plea for the political preponderance in a well-organized state of a free and law-abiding people. Both Machiavelli and Guicciardini made of the Roman Republic something very like the Florentine polity of their own day. The former's view was colored by his leanings toward the people, while the latter had the same instinctive predilection for the nobles, his own order. Be what you are not, Machiavelli substantially said; and do what you cannot, and you shall be as the Romans were—free. Do what you cannot and be what you are, and you shall come under the sway of the Prince. Modern history Machiavelli treated with a free hand, but was always on his good behavior with the ancients. His highly embroidered version of the abortive insurrection at Prato (1470), and his propagation of the foul slander against Catherine Sforza in connection with events after her first husband's murder, give us an example of our author's deviation into Yellow Journalism—what Guicciardini censures as his predilection for extraordinary events. Machiavelli's reverence for antiquity was out of all proportion to his knowledge, but, judged by his best work, he was certainly more interested in understanding history than in using it for any purposes of his own.

SOME LATE NOVELS.

Colette. By Jeanne Schultz. T. Y. Crowell & Co.

The Man Who Worked for Collier. By Mary Tracy Earle. Boston: Copeland & Day.

Aylwin. By Theodore Watts-Dunton. Dodd, Mead & Co.

An Angel in a Web. By Julian Ralph. Harper & Bros.

Poor Human Nature. By Elizabeth Godfrey. Henry Holt & Co.

Niobe. By Jonas Lie. Translated from the Norwegian by H. L. Brækstad. Geo. H. Richmond & Son.

Old Chester Tales. By Margaret Deland. Harper & Bros.

Latitude 19°. By Mrs. Schuyler Crowninshield. D. Appleton & Co.

The Battle of the Strong. By Gilbert Parker. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

A Hungarian Nabob. By Dr. Maurus Jokai. Translated by R. Nisbet Bain. Doubleday & McClure Co.

The Wire Cutters. By M. E. M. Davis. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

God's Prisoner. By John Oxenham. Henry Holt & Co.

A Writer of Books. By George Paston. Appletons.

"I always did like that sermon," said the enthusiastic parishioner. The public always has liked Colette, the mischievous maiden who threw the image of her patron saint out of the window and brought down a mortal hus-

band. If one may use the word "reappearance" of that which has never disappeared, she has reappeared. Her new red-and-gold raiment, her illustrations, her fresh translation, more literal than the original one, are the badges of her enrolment in the "Falcon Series," where she will doubtless win new admirers and secure rereading from old ones.

It might be thought that there was nothing left to say in Creole or Southern speech of Creole life on the bayous, or life in the South among the negroes and the "mountain people." Yet of Miss Earle's fifteen stories there is not one which has not a decidedly original cast, scarcely one which does not contain some wholly unexpected turn or dénouement. Several are merely vehicles for a racy bit of dialect or a life-like portrait. Others are sketches of incident, episode, or character, made with marked local color, and often with an artist's touch. They are straightforwardly told, in a clear-cut style, inviting to such readers as have risen unrefreshed from superfluities and preachments. In a sincere desire to learn, we inquire, Are the "you-all" and "you-uns" of the South applied to a single person, as we constantly find Miss Earle using them?

'Aylwin' stands the supreme test of the novel, the cathedral and the mountain. Its full dimensions do not overtake the vision till one is leaving it behind and can survey it as it recedes—its lights and shades, its plan, its scope, its unity, its relationships, and its loftiness. The beginning of 'Aylwin' is unusual, but gives promise of rarity hardly more than of mere queeriness. The Cymric child enters, bringing the apprehensiveness of a novel of precocity; Welsh songs hint that a bilingual style may block the way; a drunken organist is unprepossessing; and when we reach the Moonlight Cross of the Gnostics, desire fails, for expectation is threatened with a novel of mysticism, learned but dull. But, from this point, the main elements of the story having ranged themselves in the laboratory, there is built up, or rather there grows up, as nobly beautiful a novel as the past year has produced. The mysticism, pervading but not intruding, plays a definitely appointed part in an ingeniously devised plot; the fantastic stands forth as the natural against a background of Welsh mountains peopled with Welsh gypsies; the air of Snowdon, rarefied though it is with visions and superstitions, breathes over no fabled land, but one made very real and living with its crags and waterfalls and its wandering Romany children. Briefly, themes which might have become over-subtle on the one hand and sordid on the other, have been treated simply, sincerely, and with elevation. Gypsy horse-trading, fortune-telling and begging, and the squalor of London slums do not avail to vulgarize the book; nor the supernatural in creed, the preternatural in faith and constancy, to make it absurd. Rather have we found it, although somewhat stiff reading in spots, a book to adopt, especially in its almost affectionate portrayal of the ways of Romany folk, who "alone understand Nature's supreme charm and enjoy her largesse."

Welsh Winifred, the lost love whom Aylwin pursues throughout the story, is a fascinating creation, but Sinfi, the gypsy who helps to find her, is to her as Rebecca to Rowena, or Brünnhilde to Sieglinde, a superbly glowing figure, fierce and tender, rugged and soft, warrior and maiden. Studio life in London as we have it here at "the culmination of

the neo-Romantic movement in Art," is but another phase of the spiritual and transcendental. Portraits or not portraits, sane or demented, they are interesting persons who paint in those studios and unfold their views on art and zoölogy, on this world and the next. "The Children of the Roof" and "The Children of the Air" have share and share alike in the book; but, for them all, the moral is the same—that to him who loves, materialism is impossible.

The very material spiritualism of Mr. Ralph's story offers a curious contrast to Mr. Watts-Dunton's imaginative isms. Colonel Lamont's dead-and-gone relatives—"Etherials"—they are called—meet about his death-bed to discuss and influence his last will and testament with a zeal which, if convincing, would be discouraging to the old woman who sighed for "sweet nothing for ever." They all follow the lines they had taken on earth as eagerly for their living descendants as they had once done for themselves; any virtues they may possess are obviously not the result of clarification in heaven. They succeed in delivering the Angel out of her web of dangers and into her inheritance, leading her through the low-ways and side-ways of three kidnappings, a fire-escape rescue, and a chafing-dish supper in a slangy but moral Bohemia. The expected marriage with the rescuing hero had not occurred on the last page, so that it may fairly be called an unlabeled story; but its premature cutting-off brings its own healing.

Although the title-page of 'Poor Human Nature' bears the added legend, "A Musical Novel," the reader need not be frightened by the prospect of technicalities. There is not much music in the story, though a deal about opera-singing and singers. It belongs to the school of fiction of 'The First Violin' and other Anglo-German alliances between song and story, where music is, as the psychologists say, a marginal not a focal object, and in that school it takes creditable rank. Preliminary glimpses of rustic life in a German mill village, then the fussiness of operatic management in a little German city, small talk, small cabals, small and large behavior of the artists, sketches of the Hausfrau and the prima donna at home and on the stage, are all neatly and readably presented, with flecks of humor relieving the sentiment. For sentiment is sure to predominate when a blonde, broad-shouldered Teuton is singing tenor rôles with a dark, plain, but fascinating English soprano. Music is treated from the manager's side of the curtain and the subject rather than from the audience's and the musician's. It is not so much a story of music itself as a gleaning of little facts pertaining to musical representations. Some conversations on acting are sensible, but when we read that the great tenor—the Bayreuth *Tristan*—being too ill to sing the chief part in "Lohengrin," "just put in an appearance as *Gottfried*," we feel free not to be oppressed by weight of specialized learning. The romance concerns the two singers and the tenor's uncongenial German wife, and is contrived to end romantically without crime.

Edmund Gosse writes an interesting introduction to the English translation of Lie's 'Niobe,' speaking of the author as "locally the most popular of the Northern novelists," and of this as one of his most characteristic stories. "Without reaching the intellectual passion of Ibsen or the romantic tenderness of Björnson," says Mr. Gosse, "Lie comes

really closer than either of these more inspired poets to the genuine life of the Norwegians of to-day," and he adds, "He is with Mrs. Gaskell or M. Ferdinand Fabre; he is not entirely without relation, in some of his books, to that old-fashioned favorite of the public, Fredrika Bremer." All this is certainly whetting to the appetite, and is justified by the story when allowance is made for the eternal spasmodic, the crudity, we did not quite say savagery, of the Scandinavian novel, not diminished by the alien tongue, however well translated. That this is done into good English idiom is true; but did any English reader ever fail to find in a novel of Norway or Sweden a hint of the jumping-jack—a combination of semi-barbarism with encyclopædic learning? The plan of 'Niobe' is no connected plot, but a family chronicle, which jerks along in shreds and threads, the warp and woof never getting together into a fabric—only knotted into a long dark, ever-darkening strand. It is the melancholy story of the conservative parents of a family—excellently drawn, both—driven distracted by the spirit of modernity that takes possession of one child after another. They must be artists, singers, actors; they must emancipate, illuminate, reform; they must use psychic force and submit to magnetic influences. They must leave their country home for wider fields, and (according to temperament and sex) betroth themselves manifold, influence poets, inspire spiritualists, reorganize society, or work financial havoc. In short, they "think in squares," as one of the characters puts it; "but, as it happens, the world is round." "In my time," says the distraught doctor father, "they took to drink. Nowadays they are the victims of their ever-changing fixed ideas." The aspirations and temptations of the young people do not always appeal to the understanding, but the despair of the parents is burned deep into the reader's sense. When the coil begins, the domestic troubles seem capable of adjustment, and the reader can freely admire the insight into the struggle between the spirit of yesterday and the spirit of to-morrow. But matters go from natural bad to unnatural worse; pessimism carries the day; luridest tragedy writes the epilogue. There is no more suggestion of Gaskell, but of Maupassant, of Melpomene, of Kilkenny and its exhaustive conflict. The sun that rose in Bremer goes under clouds of Ibsen, and sets invisibly to sound of dynamic thunder.

Mrs. Deland is at her best in village stories; in the tales of Old Chester, at the best of her best. Many old friends are met here, chiefly and most notably Dr. Lavendar, who figures, like Wotan in the Nibelung stories, as the real hero of the successive comedies and tragedies that go on in his parish. He is a lovable and admirable old rector, wise as a serpent and (when necessary) as stinging; irretrievably old-fogy in the administration of parish matters, unblushingly bold in freeing love matches that have caught on snags. Whether declining to institute girls' clubs, boys' debating societies, an altar and a cross, or whether cutting Gordian knots with the audacity of Alexander but with the sword of Gideon, Dr. Lavendar is a fine old figure, sturdy, human, real. There are many eccentrics in his flock, yet not more than any village fauna may show. A girl's misguided altruism lays small tax on credulity, while we must credit it to the author's skill that no improbability attaches to the sketch of a circus acrobat who turns summersaults

in the village tavern, and afterwards preaches in the bar-room; nor to that other sketch, of Miss Mary Ferris, who, being jilted, retires to a sofa, "crushed," for thirty years, to the unspeakable satisfaction of her sister Clara, luxuriating in this proof of gentility; nor to the fact that on a day Miss Mary should "acquire her legs and some clothing" and live to doubt whether, after all, her heart had been broken, "whether her fine delicacy had existed," to sister Clara's chagrin—Clara, who ever wallowed in delicacy, and who promptly fell ill of balked vicarious refinement. These are but a few out of many characters that are called into life in Mrs. Deland's pages, each individuality the more marked for the pettiness of incident round which it revolves.

It is interesting to note the difference between these Pennsylvania stories and kindred ones of New England. With the village features common to both, the Middle State conscience seems a trifle less feverish of the two; life is more juicy, humor less coy; there is more about match-making, less about the turning of old black silk gowns. To the Bible, too, is added the Prayer-Book, and the village children have lessons on the collects, with apples or jumbles afterwards. But whether Pennsylvania or the Episcopal Church or Mrs. Deland is responsible for these variations, we cannot say. It is certain that the author's comments on her village and on humanity at large are both penetrating and humorous to a high degree. In one only of the stories—that of the misunderstood little boy who, being bullied by his uncle, gets a cough and turns his face to the wall—is there a reminiscence of the morbid in situation which we have deplored in her novels. Mr. Pyle's illustrations may be classed among the happy few that really illustrate and adorn.

'Latitude 19°' begins with pirates off the coast of Hayti. It is the year 1820, during the reign of Christophe, self-styled "King Henry of the North." Like all good and proper pirate stories, this ends with rescue and a safe home-coming; but though other tales of castaways have been wild, wonderful, and anthropophagous, this exceeds them all. Possibly no other than the thoroughgoing pen, ink, and brush of woman could have furnished so ample an outfit of adventure, so strong a local color of hiky-poky-wiggery-wum. Othello would have forgotten to mention his own hairbreadth 'scapes had he read these. The Wandering Jew, reading, would have looked upon himself as old Caspar sitting in the sun.

There is no necessity at this day to direct attention to the interest, dignity, and power of Mr. Gilbert Parker's romances. In 'The Battle of the Strong' there is a captivating story and a fascinating topography. Of the Island of Jersey a hundred years ago there is a description that describes; of history and the particular freebooting French invasion of the day among the many of the centuries, there is a lively suggestion—Mr. Parker disclaiming more; and of fine writing in the best sense of the phrase there is an ever-presence. The characters we find of more varying excellence. The delineation of several strong natures battling for their various ends is done with force, but not always with persuasion. Would the high-souled Guida have consented for five years to make herself an accessory, another high-souled woman a victim, to the crime of bigamy? Despising the father, would she

have been so keen about the dukedom for the child? She clamors for it with far less restraint than she has shown in waiting for the establishment of his legitimacy and her own good name. In fact, about Guida, pure and aspiring as she is, there is a muddle of motive that discredits all that is said of her strength. Philip commits bigamy to win a dukedom, child-stealing to reattract his deserted wife; then, dying of a sword-wound, writes, in ink, alone and quite unassisted, a long and eloquently worded letter of confession and advice to his wife and son, with a quality of preaching that Mr. Day might have used in dying counsel to Sandford and Merton. On the other hand, the autobiographic letter of the reformed Détricand, romantically improbable, perhaps, is a fine bit of manly self-revelation, and carries its own justification. A little phrase—"when taking notice is supreme we call it genius"—is a good example of Mr. Parker's insight at its best. The ivory miniature of the little French chevalier, the deep-hued sketches of the fishermen and shipbuilders and undertakers of Jersey, are delightful achievements in portraiture. It is with a jar rather than a sense of contrast that one perceives, even in Jersey, the awful finality of title. From lowly kitchen interiors and breezy coasts and sea-swept rocks one finds one's self with a painful start in a world where kind hearts are not as much as coronets, nor simple faith a patch on Norman blood.

'A Hungarian Nabob,' its able translator tells us, was written nearly fifty years ago. "On its first appearance, Hungarian critics of every school at once hailed it as a masterpiece. It has maintained its popularity ever since," and "has reached the unassailable position of a national classic." We can readily believe Mr. Bain that the work of translating it into English, never done till now, has been an enormous labor, from the "difficulty of contending with a strange and baffling non-Aryan language," and from the difference in national tastes which has prompted a certain amount of condensation. The Continental European has nothing to do but read novels of pitiless length, if we may judge of demand by supply. 'A Hungarian Nabob' contains more than 350 pages, and has been shorn of a good third of its bulk to make it attractive to English readers. While agreeing with the translator in thinking this an improvement, we are less in accord with his estimate of the book. "Noble" is an adjective it would not have occurred to us to apply. Vivacious it is, with an almost Gallic swiftness, so that the pages slip fleetly by under the eye; but this is all that makes endurable the still remaining overplus of incident, often as coarse as it is irrelevant. If the descriptions are light, airy, elegant, the things described are heavy, crude, preposterous. The vices are gross, the virtues almost as much so; the horse-play, buffoonery, and riot, even the conversion of sinners, read on an alien plane of civilization, taste, and morals. To find them convincing, one must be either an enthusiastic translator or a non-Aryan of 1822.

In the early eighties the public lands of Texas, hitherto free to roaming cattle, were offered for sale, and wire fences began to be built to enclose vast tracts of land; sometimes lawfully, sometimes not, the water supply was cut off by the prohibiting wires, and the cattle perished by thousands. To cut the fences by midnight raids became a popular movement, and the excitement

reached the pitch of a wire-fence war. All Western Texas was involved, and finally, after wrongs on both sides, State legislation restored harmony. This period makes a picturesque setting for a story of adventure and love. To these the author of 'The Wire Cutters' has added some remarkable studies in heredity from one's mother's first husband, and a tangled chain of death-bed misapprehensions which lead to results frequently observed in romance, but in real life avoidable by the free and candid use of postal cards. The book is interesting reading and able writing.

Mr. Oxenham has treated the murderer topic originally, in letting his man successfully evade discovery. For once the criminal covers every trace of his deed, is enabled to disappear from the haunts of his acquaintance and begin a new life. The new life proves to be a story of shipwreck and venture, with hot and cold water and the usual piratical and devil-fish attachments. It is not often that a novel is so commodious. The unexposed irregularities sit uneasily on the reader of the good old murder tale; the crimes fester into inconveniences; the modern improvement does not improve, we venture to think. To be sure, there is conventional balm in hacking the devil-fish to bits and in finding the hidden treasure; but the thought will intrude of the loved ones in the home office and the undiscovered victim buried in a rented garden, while the slayer is living a life of perfect chivalry in Pacific islands. The sea voyages are well done, with, naturally, much present-day "slithering" and "squatting," and there is no denying to the story a vast and ingenious mechanism.

'A Writer of Books' opens attractively and proceeds brilliantly. Reluctantly does the reader at last admit that it must be numbered with cross-patch novels written by women for the emancipation of their sex and the disparagement of man. The interest is indeed maintained to the end, and the cleverness persists. The touch, too, is lighter and more reasonable than in many books of the malcontent class. Nevertheless, it is written with such definite partisanship, in a quarrel where at least one of the combatants is Nature, that it leaves a disappointing impression as a story and an unpleasant one as a sermon. All women are wronged; all men are rakes (excepting one specially provided for the heroine to fall in love with); all marriages are unhappy save now and then one between fools; all legislation is of men, therefore against women and not to be obeyed by them; woman is "kept rigorously in her 'proper sphere' by society's chief Bumble, the average man"—such are the lessons of the book, stamping it as what has been called "the novel of, by, and for the club-woman." Be it quickly added that it soars superior to its species in its style, which is excellent, its wit and humor, which are delicious, its temper, which is sharp but not shrieking, its length, which is comfortable and comforting. We must perforce think that, quite aside from the woman question, our author has not sounded human nature to its depths, from her saying, "Intelligent, imaginative children prefer true stories to fairy tales," but that she is re-creating nature as her theories would have it, in the loveless light of what the Tennessee moonshiner called "improving like hell."

BRADFORD'S LESSON OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT.—II.

The Lesson of Popular Government. By Gamaliel Bradford. The Macmillan Co. 2 vols. Pp. 520, 590.

The pride of organization which resents intrusion and feels antagonism at the suggestion of outside control or guidance in what it regards as its own province, is not altogether a vice on the part of the Legislature. The innate gregariousness of man which makes us flock together, makes us also more or less hostile to everything that opposes or tends to disintegrate the flock. We personify the organization itself, and identify ourselves with its welfare; and though this impulse has its origin in the humble tendencies which we share with the sheep and cattle, it is, after all, the condition on which human society is built, and without which social progress would have been impossible. Every private club resents any meddling with its special functions, as really as a Parliament or a Congress shows jealousy of dictation or too paternal advice from King or President. In criticising the abuse of this spirit of independence, we should be careful to acknowledge the normal value of it. Congress is a constitutional corporate body, which must do its own work according to the laws of its own organization, even though the result fall far short of perfect work. It may be helped or checked by criticism and discussion in the press, in reform clubs, or in partisan political clubs, but it could not be tolerated that Tammany or the Civil-Service Club should claim a share in its organized deliberations. Its responsible work must be done by its own members, in due order under parliamentary law, or it ceases to be a self-controlled organization. The speeches of its own members may be wise or foolish, solid or windy, but they are part of the process by which the body to which they belong reaches its conclusions—a part, so to speak, of its functional activity. Speeches from outsiders are foreign to its proper processes, are interruptions to its organic life and action, and inevitably rouse in the members a subtle repellent force, as if they implied an assumption that the body itself is not capable of doing its own work. Criticise this as we may, it is a natural phenomenon of all similar societies of men, and is not peculiar to legislative assemblies.

Testing the matter in its application to Congress and the President, we can see how it is likely to work (or fail to work) in two examples which Mr. Bradford gives: one, the effort of Washington to get the advice and consent of the Senate as a sort of privy council in negotiations prior to the conclusion of a treaty with Indians (II, 405); the other, a supposed case to illustrate the author's scheme (II, 352):

"Washington entered the chamber and took the Vice-President's chair. He informed the Senate that he had called for their advice and consent to some propositions respecting the treaty with the Southern Indians, and had brought the Secretary of War with him to explain the business. Gen. Knox produced some papers which were read. Washington's presence embarrassed the Senate. Finally, a motion was made to refer the papers to a committee."

Maclay of Pennsylvania, who made the motion, tells the story:

"As I sat down, the President of the United States started up in a violent fret. 'This defeats every purpose of my coming here,'

were the first words that he said. He then went on, that he had brought his Secretary with him to give every necessary information; that the Secretary knew all about the business, and yet he was delayed and could not go on with the matter."

Finally, the President said that he would have no objection to postponing further consideration until the ensuing Monday, but he did not understand the matter of commitments. There was an awkward pause. "We waited for him to withdraw," says the diarist. "He did so with a discontented air."

The example shows very well, when analyzed from the legislator's point of view, the impracticability of such viva-voce intercourse between the Executive and the House. The President was not a Senator, and what he might properly say was to give them information on which he asked their advice. He must give it to the organized body from without, and, when received, the Senate must act upon it according to parliamentary methods of procedure within. If Mr. Maclay was not satisfied with the information given, did not feel ready to act, thought investigation might tend to conclusions different from the President's or General Knox's, the respectful as well as the parliamentary way was to refer, as he moved. The President desired haste, and was naturally disturbed by what seemed to him unnecessary delay. Could the Senate consent that he should be judge of the propriety of such delay? Could he properly debate with them the right and sincerity of motions which were in order under their rules? As the story is told, he was visibly disturbed, and his manner implied condemnation of their procedure. Suppose Mr. Maclay had felt it due to himself to repel this implication, would a tart, unpleasant debate have been seemly or profitable? If the President had no right to debate (as was the fact), he was out of order in objecting to the motion; and, if out of order, could the Vice-President call him to order? The embarrassed silence which is described as lasting till he withdrew, is the proof that the Senate saw opening before it practical difficulties, which revealed as by a flash the mistake of thinking that the intercourse between it and the Administration could be carried on in that way. It was an *experimentum crucis*, and was enough.

The case supposed by Mr. Bradford is after the cabinet shall have been admitted to the floor of Congress. He assumes that the bill passed gives the cabinet the privileges, "*verbatim et literatim*," with neither more nor less," contained in the Senate report (II, 336). They are, the "right to participate in debate," and "to give information asked by resolution or in reply to questions" (II, 325). In stating his supposed case, Mr. Bradford recognizes the fact that the cabinet officer would not be a member of the House (II, 351).

The case, then, is this: The Secretary of the Treasury, at the meeting of Congress, appears and takes a seat near the Speaker's desk in the House of Representatives. "He is simply an agent of the Administration, having no vote, but presenting the wants of the Treasury and the effect of the existing tariff upon the financial interests of the country" (*ibid.*). He rises, and, being recognized by the Speaker, "does not embark upon a radical reform of the tariff, but proposes a few changes of detail—among others, for example, free wool—and makes these a pretext for the discussion of the whole subject. If a private member had made the same proposal,

it would be referred with a hundred others to the appropriate committee. . . . But he is a very different individual. In the course of his speech he would insist, respectfully but earnestly, upon the importance of immediate public discussion, and would close with submitting a resolution to that effect" (*id.* 352).

After commenting on the probability that this would result in the Secretary's becoming the leader of the House in financial matters, pitted against a leader of the Opposition elected in caucus, Mr. Bradford asks, "Is it not evident how the 'advice and suggestions' of the Pendleton report might develop into something vastly more important, and that such are the 'obvious advantages' which the author of that report pointed to, but did not see fit to discuss?" (*id.* 353).

It is indeed quite evident that when matters had progressed as far as the case supposed, the plan of the bill would already have "developed into something vastly more important," and something which could have become possible only when the legislative body had wholly put away that "inherent jealousy of the executive" which the author finds innate in it. It is supposed to follow from the provision of the proposed bill that the President's Secretaries should have "the right to participate in debate on matters relating to the business of their respective departments," without becoming members of either house.

Let us suppose Mr. Reed in the chair, and Mr. Carlisle as Secretary rising at the opening of the session to "propose a few changes of detail" in the "existing tariff." Mr. Speaker, with his bland but disconcerting smile, would politely suggest that no subject relating to the business of the Treasury was then before the House for debate, and that Mr. Secretary was out of order. If Mr. Carlisle then produced a bill to amend the tariff so as to put wool on the free list, and should say that he proposed to introduce it and to open debate upon it on its first reading, the Speaker, with increasing geniality of ironical deference, would call the Secretary's attention to the fact that bills or resolutions could be introduced only by members of the House, that his bill must be adopted and introduced by some actual member, be referred in usual course, and, when it was duly reported by the committee and before the House for debate, he would most gladly recognize the Secretary to discuss it. The difficulty in imagining this scene is chiefly in supposing that a veteran parliamentarian like Mr. Carlisle would take the rôle assigned him, or that he and the Speaker would not reëact the parts of the Roman augurs and laugh in each other's faces at the thought of the bill for free wool being reported back from Mr. McKinley's committee.

The truth is, that Mr. Bradford's supposed case implies that the initial velocity of the Pendleton bill had already made cabinet ministers members of Congress, and given them an effective initiative in legislation, if not an exclusive one. He and we agree that this cannot be done without amending the Constitution, which says that "no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office" (art. I, sec. 6). Voting is not the only distinctive mark of membership of a political body. To take part in its proper

business, to shape it by introducing measures and by amending others, to seek to guide or control it by the motions which affect its progress and continue or interrupt the sessions, are quite as necessary marks of membership as voting. The more one thinks about it, the more he may well doubt whether participation in debate can be extended to any but members, for there are times when the right to hold the floor may, of itself, defeat a measure. At least, the right to speak without efficient part in the business is apt to prove a vain show, and, after the first curiosity had worn off, would be only adding another speech to the superabundance of talk, when the measure under discussion could rarely be kept in the form selected by its draughtsman, or remain such that an administration would choose to be responsible for it. In short, we find ourselves coming back to the conclusion that any efficient parliamentary leadership is impossible without full membership of the body.

Nor is this unreasonable. Transaction of business is out of the question if an organized body is subject to intrusion and cannot keep full control of its own procedure. Its presiding officer refuses to recognize strangers by a rule which is a necessary condition of its existence, from Congress to a college debating society. Suppose Mr. Bryan had risen in the gallery of the St. Louis convention and moved that bimetallicism, sixteen to one, be added to Mr. Hanna's *chef d'œuvre* on the currency. The cries of "Hustle him out!" would have been only a rough popular assertion of a rule, quite right in itself, that only the members of the convention can shape its course or be responsible for its action. Mr. Bryan would have made a ringing speech, if permitted; the sensational incident would have attracted no end of public comment; popular interest would have been at the boiling-point; the educational effect might be said to be enormous; but, just the same, it would not work for common use.

Mr. Bradford does not escape the common tendency in debate to exaggerate the things which make for his contention. The asserted inefficiency of writing as the means of communication between the President and Congress is one of these. Experience seems to prove the contrary. Information on the state of the country is in its nature an assemblage of very numerous and multifarious facts, tending to the statistical, and demanding exactness of detail and often elaborate tabulation. Blue-books are as common and as necessary under the English system as under our own. A minister, on the floor of Parliament, is as dependent on them for the material of legislation and for the support of proposed measures, as any chairman of committee on the floor of Congress. The trouble is not in conveying information in writing, nor argument in favor of a measure; it is only in the give-and-take of rapid debate and the prompt exposure of specious objections that oral readiness is demanded. There is great room for improvement in the character of some of our executive communications to the Legislature. We, no doubt, tend too much to orating on all sorts of subjects. A study of terse statement of business and a clear and telling marshalling of dominant facts is, we may admit, a neglected branch of public education. If inaugural addresses were abolished and annual messages reduced to a bare statement of really important facts and recommendations in tersest business style, or broken into several, with a single

important topic for each, we should hear less of the hiding of ideas in voluminous disquisitions that people have not time to read. If the short summary rests upon extensive proofs, these can make blue-books for reference and study, without being embodied in a message for popular reading.

Our author very frequently speaks of the absorption by the Legislature of executive powers, but we miss a clear definition of what those powers are, and a discriminating statement of the encroachments. The law-making body certainly has, under the Constitution, the right to make laws—all the laws. These include not only the great and permanent rules which establish freedom and maintain essential rights, but the complete system of the business organization and conduct of affairs, the levying of taxes and the appropriation of the revenue, the fixing of the number of subordinate officials, their duties, and their salaries. The administration of these laws in the daily progress of business, the personal supervision of subordinates, the receipt and disbursement of moneys, the arrest of wrongdoers, the preservation of the peace, the movements of army and navy, the official intercourse with foreign nations—these are the executive duties, and which of them does the Legislature attempt to perform in fact? Is the debate not rather upon the extent to which the executive may go beyond administration proper—the faithful execution of the laws that are made—and have power in the law-making? What else is all the talk of debating the bills before Congress, of leading either house or the parties in either house, or of having the initiative in introducing public bills? Our system gives already to the executive a very important share in law-making, as it gives to the Senate apart from Congress (i. e., the official union of Representatives and Senate) two executive duties which it performs in executive session. Aside from these, what additional powers has either department obtained by encroachment? It is, of course, a perfectly legitimate aim to secure a recasting of the distribution of powers by amendment of our Constitution, if such shall seem wise, but if the odium of encroachment is used as an argument, the conquests gained should be accurately described.

The examples of executive commissions for administering certain classes of laws, the number of which in Massachusetts Mr. Bradford criticises with apparent reason, are the creation of subordinate offices for the performance of executive work, and may be unwise; but unless the Legislature appoints the persons who are made commissioners, the making of the law cannot be properly described as an assumption of executive powers. A multiple executive is very open to criticism as an institution, but if it be permitted by the Constitution of the State, the question is one of legislative wisdom and discretion, and not of power. In the interest of intelligent reform we owe it to ourselves to preserve the distinction clearly.

In dealing with the veto power, Mr. Bradford says that "it involves an absurdity. What sort of executive government," he asks, "is that which has no power to say what shall be, but only what shall not be done?" (i, 49). As the subject is that of law-making, is it not clear that the executive government which has power to say what laws shall be made as well as what shall not be made, is a pure and simple autocracy? The author cannot mean that.

Our executive has now the power to say what laws are, in his opinion, necessary or desirable, and constantly exercises it. If he chose, he could accompany his recommendation with the draft of any bill. If he does not do so, it is because there is never any difficulty in getting a party friend to introduce the bill to carry out the recommendation. The trouble is not in saying what bills shall be introduced. Mr. Bradford's idea of initiative in the executive is that he should also say what bills shall *not* be introduced. Instead of showing the absurdity of the veto power, this is a proposal for a very great extension of it.

But in treating the subject generally we must not forget that there is never a time in any civilized state when a body of laws is not existing and in force. All practical legislation may be divided into acts to provide means for carrying on the established system and acts to change that system. The power to say with the barons, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*, is no vain or futile prerogative. Under our Constitution it counts not only for a complete suspension of the act, but for a final adverse vote against it equal to sixteen per cent. of the members of each house of Congress. This preservative force against new laws made by "new lords," and in favor of the laws as they stand, is the signal guarantee of deliberation and of progress in accord with matured opinion.

If Mr. Bradford's suggestion of a reform in our government by his definite plan seems to us open to sound criticism, no one can fail to agree heartily with him in regard to the need of pointing out clearly and measuring accurately the abuses of our methods and practices. Greatest of these is the perversion of party spirit and discipline into a machine run by unscrupulous men with a single eye to the power and profit of controlling the Government and its offices. The boss and his organized body of "workers" constitute a business organization as definite and complete as any railway or manufacturing corporation. The dividends in place, in money, or in both, are the stimulus to activity in the stockholders and to their devotion to the manager whose craft secures the profit, and whose cunning dupes the innocent voters of a great party into thinking that they are working for the success of important principles when in fact they are laboring only to enrich their masters. The greatest present question for the American people is not whether the executive should have a greater share in the legislation of the republic, but whether a close organization, unknown to Constitution or laws, shall continue a plainly despotic rule over us, while we are amused with going through the forms of electing presidents and congresses that are the puppets worked by the boss and his tools behind the scenes. Through the whole of Mr. Bradford's book there is a clear recognition and a strong presentation of the vital need of our awaking to the burning question whether we are to preserve anything worthy the name of freedom. His chapters are a great accumulation of evidences of the perils to which popular institutions are exposed, and he does not neglect to make the history bear both directly and indirectly upon our own condition.

Fur and Feather Tales. By Hamblen Sears. Harper & Brothers. 1899.

Mr. Sears, in his first paper ("Henry's

Birds"), describes a method for luring wild-fowl within gun-shot so novel that it cannot fail to attract the attention even of sportsmen long since divorced from all illusions. Application would be a better word than method, the point being the mechanical manipulation of live decoys to lure black ducks. To those familiar with the wariness of that species, particularly when it is closely shot day and night for months in succession, the operation will excite astonishment. Where live ducks are employed as decoys, a conventional method of tethering them is generally resorted to. No training is necessary to make them effective as lures. They are commonly slightly wounded birds that have been retrieved, or the offspring of captive wild parents. "Henry's Birds," it would appear, were of the domestic barnyard sort, coached by that ideal gunner by a system too long to describe, but which develops in ducks phenomenal intelligence. "Henry's Birds" not only were mentally gifted, but possessed remarkably robust constitutions, as the treatment to which they were subjected will discover.

On a frosty night in January, on Cape Cod, Mr. Sears and Henry, with a crate of thirty of the "Birds," proceed to a pond, evidently unfreezable, the resort of black ducks. What follows had better be described in the words of the author:

"And in this bitterly cold water, which froze on the duck's feathers as soon as it touched them, we tied those unoffending creatures by the leg to a cord which ran out on the water and disappeared in the darkness. It appeared that this glacial cord was a 'runner,' and that it extended out into the pond four hundred feet to a pulley on the end of a long pole, which was anchored in such a manner as to be held just under the surface. The line running through this returned to the stand, passed through a small hole to the inside, and out again through another, until, at the end of its eight-hundred-foot journey, it joined itself and formed a circuit. To this the ducks were tied by a leather noose. As one bird was fastened and dropped into the icy water, I pulled in on the other part of the rope and gently forced Mistress Duck three or four feet out on the black water. Thus in a few moments we had what to any wild duck, to say nothing of any tame man, would appear to be a flock of birds swimming about at random and raising a horrible racket in all this silence of the night. The thing was repeated with more ducks, on another and similar endless runner which ran to another spot on the pond. This done, Henry directed me to pull first one, then the other flock out to the pulleys."

This was rather a bad quarter of an hour for "Henry's Birds." However, they survived it, as did some of their companions that were tethered in the water alongshore. At intervals others of the "Birds" held in reserve were tossed in the air to flutter over their mates and then return to the blind. What this action had to do with the luring of the wariest of wild-fowl is not clearly explained. The dawn of day in January, on Cape Cod, is tardy and morose. With its arrival on that particular morning a flock of ten black ducks drifted in among the live decoys. Of these the concealed gunners killed eight when they had drawn together and while they were *slight upon the surface of the water*, the ninth when wounded and swimming off, and the tenth and last as it rose in flight. That Mr. Sears has a suspicion that his proceedings on this occasion were unsportsmanlike is evident in a quasi-apology which he offers in these words:

"If you are a sportsman you are saying at

this moment, "That is no sport; it is slaughter." In a measure, judged by the highest standards, that is true: but you deceived the duck while you crawled up on him, and I deceived him when I made him crawl up on me. It is not in the strictest sense the ideal of sport; but, on the other hand, it is neither mean nor unworthy of a good sportsman. And the study, preparation, time, money [the italics are ours], and excitement of it all surpass the practice of crawling up on the bird or of shooting over wooden "coys."

"Qui s'excuse, s'accuse." A record of this character is read, mainly, by youths, who, by reason of its form and imprint, accept it as authoritative. It is not surprising, therefore, that the methods of the pot-hunter are superseding rapidly those of the conservative sportsman of other days.

The remainder of the papers which comprise Mr. Sears's volume relate to stag-hunting in France; the shooting of moose in Maine, of reindeer in Norway, and over the preserves of Robins Island. There is nothing in them that calls for special notice; they are on a level with the higher average of this sort of literature. Mr. Frost's illustrations, as usual, from a pictorial point of view, leave nothing to be desired. In some of this artist's drawings of sports of the field, he is careless in maintaining the correct relative size between the game and the gunner whose weapon is directed towards it. This is indicated in the illustration opposite page 36 in the book under notice. The flying duck in this instance cannot be less than 300 yards from the gun that is being discharged at it.

Discussions in Education. By Francis A. Walker. Henry Holt & Co. 1899.

Mr. T. P. Munroe has here gathered together the addresses and essays of the late Gen. Walker which deal with educational problems. The writer's interest in special questions of education does not appear to have been marked until, in 1881, he assumed the Presidency of the Institute of Technology. The present volume, however, shows that he had very definite convictions on the subject of technical education. About a third of the 333 pages before us consists of addresses on such topics as the relation of professional and technical to general education—topics, that is to say, closely connected with President Walker's immediate interests in the Institute. His contention that the study of chemistry and physics exercises a moral and intellectual influence which "stands in strong contrast with the dangerous tendencies to plianibility, sophistry, casuistry, and self-deception which so insidiously beset the pursuit of metaphysics, dialectics, and rhetoric, according to the tradition of the schools" (p. 22), is somewhat out of date in these days, when students in the faculty of arts are no longer trained to make the worse appear the better reason. We have fallen on times when special pleading for the retention of the classics in education would be more to the point. On the question whether a technical school should be under the wing of a university, President Walker comes to the conclusion that it is more to the advantage of students of technology to be detached "in schools devoted to their own purposes, than in schools where snobbishness makes odious comparisons, and where fashions are set in respect to student life, conduct, and dress, which they have neither the means nor the inclination to imitate" (p. 50). In the group of addresses on col-

lege problems, the author expresses somewhat optimistic views on the relation of college athletics to the life of the community:

"Who shall say that the remarkable enthusiasm for physical training and the intense interest in athletic contests which have been so suddenly developed in our country, may not be clearly seen, a generation hence, to have accompanied, and that through no accidental association, the elevation of art to a far higher and nobler place than it had before occupied in the thoughts and affections of our people? . . . The vision of the Apollo may yet rise to the view of thousands out and up from the arena at Springfield, as erst it rose before the thronging multitudes of Olympia" (p. 285).

There is a paragraph on p. 270 which has a touch of Sophoclean irony in the light of recent events:

"As the United States have grown more powerful," wrote Gen. Walker in 1893, "they have grown more peaceful. To-day, Canada and Mexico repose under the shadow of our irresistible power. . . . It is even difficult to secure from an over-lavish Congress appropriations sufficient to enable us to make a decent show of naval power in the great harbors of the world. It is true, we have recently suffered an apparent brief access of jingoism, . . . but the readiness with which the affair with Chile was adjusted, and the general applause with which our flag was hauled down from the Government House at Hawaii, showed how superficial and how partial was the infection."

The volume is an interesting contribution to the history of American education, and forms a sort of supplement to the lately published addresses of Presidents Eliot and Gilman.

Fields, Factories, and Workshops. By P. Kropotkin. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1899.

That formerly well-known economist, Henry C. Carey, would have taken delight in this book. Its brilliant author, who, perhaps, never heard of Carey, has managed to lay hold of his most absurd fallacies, and to found an ideal society upon them which surpasses the conception of Edward Bellamy. Carey, it will be remembered, detested transportation, and its necessary concomitant, trade. He held that the products of the earth should be consumed where they were produced, and that the factory and the farm should be side by side. The idea of carrying goods across the ocean revolted him, and it is doubtful if he could have reconciled himself to the growth of our exports of manufactures. The author of this book, at all events, believes that commerce is doomed. Every nation is learning to supply its own wants, and the consequence will be that as no foreign market for manufactures will exist, the laborers now engaged in supplying this market will have to take to agriculture.

That they can do so with infinite profit is the burden of this book. The author narrates, not without eloquence, the wonderful achievements of some modern agriculturists, and concludes that all agriculture should show like results. It is not only better, but cheaper, according to him, to raise the fabulous crops which are produced in the reports of bureaus of agriculture. The character of the soil is immaterial; if it is inferior, it is easy to transform it. In fact, he observes, the reputed richness of the Western prairie lands does not exist; the land of the Eastern States is better than that of Iowa.

As for one reason Carey would have delighted in this book, so for another reason would Bastiat have rejoiced over it. The

French writer showed the wonderful gains to many industries that would arise from shutting out the rays of the sun, and Kropotkin ingeniously asserts that it is economically more advantageous to raise tropical fruits under glass in the temperate zone than to import them. Every region is to become its own producer and its own consumer of manufactured goods, and also of agricultural products. Even now grapes are grown "at less expense of human labor, both for capital outlay and yearly work," in the vineries of the London suburbs than in the vineyards of the Rhine, or on Lake Lemán; and "home-grown fruit is always preferable to the half-ripe produce which is imported from abroad."

We are also told that the high cost of growing wheat in England is a consequence of the high rents which prevail in that country, and that it is not the soil of America which causes our abundant crops, but the stimulus given to farmers by our agricultural bureaus and their distribution of seeds. By "nationalizing" the land, and by "associated labor," two or three inhabitants to the acre can be maintained, so that the most densely peopled countries of Europe could easily support twice their present population.

Altogether, we have here a really remarkable collection of exploded theories, visionary speculations, and interesting misinformation, set forth in an engaging style, and issued by the publishers in a most attractive form.

From Reecer to Rear-Admiral. By Benjamin F. Sands, Rear-Admiral U. S. N. F. A. Stokes Co.

This modest volume contains the autobiography of the late Rear-Admiral B. F. Sands, prefaced by an excellent portrait and an introduction by his son, Mr. F. P. B. Sands, a well-known member of the Washington bar. Admiral Benjamin Sands was the younger Admiral of that name; the elder one, the patriarchal Joshua R. Sands, antedating him in the naval service and exceeding him in the length of his life and naval career. Our author entered the service from Kentucky over seventy years ago, in the period between the second war with Great Britain and the war with Mexico. In this era, duelling was prevalent, and the author relates the occurrence of a number of encounters which came within his own observation. In one of these affairs the elder Sands was engaged, and when this duel was brought to the attention of President Jackson, he remarked that he was determined to stop duelling between officers and civilians, but, so far as affairs between officers were concerned, he would not interfere, since their profession was fighting and their training that of arms. In those days the youngsters of the navy were as ready to marry as to fight a duel, and the author mentions a case of a midshipman on \$19 a month who sought the hand of the daughter of an old officer, with no dread of the future provided he found shelter under his father-in-law's roof.

Admiral Sands served with the Coast Survey in its early days under the eccentric Superintendent, F. R. Hassler, a Swiss by birth and education. The time favored the development of individuality in and out of the service, and there was no more striking figure than Hassler. Sands's service dates back to the discovery of Gedney's Channel into New York Bay, which demonstrated to the merchants of New York the commercial value of this survey of the coast. ~~and~~

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1899.

The Week.

The subjects to be brought before the Peace Conference at The Hague are multiplying in number. A few days ago the announcement was made that the Finns in the United States had secured from President McKinley a promise that the cause of the Finns in their own country should be brought before the Conference by the delegates of the United States. This statement must be very wide of the mark. However keenly our sympathies may be enlisted for the Finns, we have no more right to bring that subject before the Conference than the Russian delegates would have to introduce resolutions deprecating the practice of lynching negroes in the United States. The Poles of the United States have sent out a pamphlet entitled, 'The Cause of Poland and its Relation to the International Peace Conference.' It presents in a pathetic manner the truths of history touching the subjugation and dismemberment of Poland by Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and it maintains that the peace of the world cannot be considered secure until those wrongs are righted, but it does not seek to have the cause of Poland brought to the attention of the Conference by the representatives of our Government. It is a temperate, well-considered, and well-composed memorial addressed to the consciences of all nations, and not to those of any one in particular. It is an appeal for nationality such as the Filipinos might address to the same tribunal. In fact, the whole argument of the Poles, except so far as it is based upon history, would be equally appropriate if sent out by Aguinaldo and his Congress. But the only Power competent to bring the matter formally before the Conference at The Hague would be one of the three which are guilty of the crime against Poland. Of these it happens that one (Austria-Hungary) has its foreign affairs directed by a Pole (Goluchowski), while the last Premier was also a Pole (Badeński). The pamphlet informs us further that the present Czar was moved to call the Peace Conference by reading the works of the Polish economist Bloch. So it seems that honors and influence are not wanting to Poland, although her nationality has departed.

It is gratifying to learn that our representatives at the Disarmament Conference at The Hague are instructed to advocate the exemption of private property from capture at sea under all circumstances; that is, the application of the same rule which governs on land. In time of war, private property is ex-

empt from capture on land, and there is no reason why a different principle should prevail on the water. When the United States was invited in 1856 to join in the Declaration of Paris abolishing privateering, Mr. Marcy replied that the Government of the United States would gladly do so on condition that the private property of belligerents on the water, except contraband of war, should be placed on the same footing as private property on land. This proposal was not agreed to. The anomalous condition remains that, when war is declared between two nations, all the property of their citizens which is afloat on the common highway of nations becomes liable to plunder, while none of their property can be seized or molested on land, even though the territory where it is situated has been overrun by the enemy. Our recent war with Spain supplied many illustrations, some of them painful and humiliating, of this barbarous rule. Spanish vessels carrying lumber from the port of Mobile, their officers being ignorant of the existence of war, were seized and brought into Key West and held as prizes of war. The cupidity of our sailors was naturally excited, and the captures became numerous as the war progressed. If this rule had been applicable on land, we should have been entitled to sell the whole city of Santiago after it was captured, and divide the proceeds among the soldiers. This would have been a transaction too monstrous to contemplate, yet, in a moral point of view, it would have been in no wise different from what was actually done in respect of the Spanish ships in pursuance of and in strict accord with the laws of war then and now in force. Let us hope that our representatives at The Hague will spare no effort to bring about a change in this barbarous custom.

It was rumored a few days ago that the Anglo-American Commission would not resume its sessions at the appointed time next August, there being no reason to suppose that the two countries would be any nearer to an agreement than they were when they separated last February. This rumor is now contradicted at Washington, where it is affirmed, apparently by authority, that very liberal views are entertained respecting trade relations with Canada and everything else except, perhaps, the question of the Alaska boundary. It is unfortunate that the latter question was not referred to arbitration. It is peculiarly suited to arbitration, especially in view of the fact that the last boundary dispute which we had on the Pacific Coast was so referred, and that the decision was in our favor. It is unfortunate that the two Powers

should enter the Peace Conference at The Hague with the declared purpose to promote international arbitration when they were unable to settle this trifling dispute in the way which both of them approve. And here we must admit that our position was not the more *défensible* of the two, if we refused the offer of arbitration unless the arbitrator were chosen from one of the countries of South America; the Canadians objecting, that since we claim a kind of suzerainty over South America, under the Monroe Doctrine, this was only an offer to refer the question to a prejudiced judge. There was ground for this criticism, although it might have been found in practice that the prejudice was the other way. The Spanish-American republics are not a little piqued by our claim of suzerainty, which looks to them like an impairment of their own independence, and it is not improbable that an umpire chosen from among them would have leaned against us. On the other hand, there is no reason to suppose that an arbitrator chosen by Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Italy, Russia, or France would be under prejudices in favor of England.

The immediate result and direct consequence of the Postmaster-General's order to take Mr. Edward Atkinson's pamphlets from the mails destined for Manila, has been to create an enormous demand for those documents in the United States. This demand has risen to 1,000 per day, and is far beyond Mr. Atkinson's present ability to supply them. His mail has grown to such proportions that he has been obliged to employ a private secretary to open and answer letters. Some of his correspondents want to know what were the treasonable utterances which led to the extraordinary action of the Postmaster-General, and, after reading the documents and finding nothing in them but the usual arguments against the policy of foreign annexation and conquest, are moved by the spirit of American liberty to aid as much as possible in the circulation of the pamphlets. It is altogether likely that this demand for Atkinsonian literature will increase, and that in the next political campaign it will be found in the hands of many stump-speakers, who will be asking what it was that led the Postmaster-General to issue his order requiring that the pamphlets be removed from the mail-bags going to Manila.

The reason alleged was that they tended to promote desertion or to discourage the reenlistment of soldiers. Yet the only pamphlets sent were addressed to Admiral Dewey, to three generals, and to three civilians. Now, no Cabinet offi-

cer, in his most hysterical moments, could imagine that one of Atkinson's pamphlets, or any pamphlet for that matter, could shake the loyalty of Admiral Dewey, or lead Gen. Otis, Gen. Lawton, or Gen. Miller to desert. Of course, no such consequences could flow from the perusal of the documents by President Schurman, Prof. Worcester, or Mr. Bass. Therefore, the whole seizure effected at San Francisco was a "dead-water haul." Moreover, word was given out at Washington that the order of seizure did not apply to letters, but only to pamphlets and other printed matter. It follows that if Mr. Atkinson had put his pamphlets under seal and paid letter postage on them, he could have sent them to every private soldier in the army. We have examined them with some care, and we can say with a clear conscience that the most censurable paragraph in them (the most censurable according to Charles Emory Smith's theory) is a passage quoted from Admiral Dewey himself in these words:

"These people, the Filipinos, are far superior in their intelligence and more capable of self-government, than the natives of Cuba, and I am familiar with both races."

Mr. H. H. Van Meter of Chicago recently sent an inquiry to the General Manager of the Associated Press as to the character of the censorship exercised by our Government in the Philippines, and received this reply: "There is a very strict censorship at Manila." Thereupon Mr. Van Meter addressed an open letter on the subject to President McKinley, "as an American citizen who loves his country and values his birthright of liberty above all other earthly blessings; as a Republican who voted for you for Congress in your old home district of Ohio when you were defeated there; as a man who believes in you as a Christian, a patriot, and a statesman, and who voted for you for President." He points out that the war which Congress declared against Spain to free Cuba was over before this trouble began, and that Congress has declared no other; "so we cannot call this war, but Weyerism"; and he proceeds to ask such searching questions as these:

"Is it not possible that, but for this military censorship, it would not be? Had our home Government and the American people known all, would it have been? Is not this the kind of strife we went to war with Spain to put a stop to? Have we not simply supplanted the standard of Spain with the star-spangled banner? Are not Americans now doing what they fought Spaniards for doing before? Have we not slain many times more Filipinos in a few months than Spain has slain in centuries? Have we not destroyed more homes and left far more desolation than the Spaniards? Are these the reasons for the military censorship being so very strict in Manila?"

"A Captain in the Union Army" writes an interesting letter to the Boston *Advertiser* "in regard to the new policy of a strict censorship, so rigorous and so paternal that it withholds mails in pa-

pers and parcels and telegram messages from the soldiers of this day." He himself enlisted in the autumn of 1863, and was in the army during the Presidential campaign of 1864, when the soldiers were allowed to vote, and did vote by the thousands, for McClellan on the platform that the war was a failure, and that there should be an immediate cessation of hostilities. He says:

"I recall distinctly that nothing was withheld from the soldiers of that most bitter and critical period, 1861-1865. I remember the newsboy on his pony with papers of every sort before him piled up to his chin. He furnished whatever paper was called for until the supply was exhausted. I remember, in skirmishing in the Valley campaign, 1864, the scenes of the picket line. When our lines were near together and there were periods of lull in the firing, we exchanged our coffee for the 'reb' tobacco. The 'rebs' cheered for McClellan, the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, and we responded for Lincoln. We exchanged our papers, whatever was called for, if we had it, for the papers of rebellion. We were men who had minds of our own, who liked to know all that was being done and said, and could draw our own conclusions."

That Imperialist demonstration out at Chicago on Sunday week proves, on the evidence of the local papers, to have been a very different sort of thing from what it was represented to be in dispatches sent from that city to Eastern organs of the expansion policy. Great preparations had been made for immense crowds, the First Methodist Church having been engaged for the expected overflow meeting, in addition to the Auditorium and the Central Music Hall. But the *Times-Herald*, the special champion of the McKinley Administration, admits that the Auditorium was not filled, and that "twice as many people could have been comfortably seated at the Central Music Hall," while the meeting at the church had to be abandoned because only fourteen persons entered the audience-room. The Imperialist newspapers try to "blame it on the weather," because it rained. The *Times-Herald* excuses the lack of interest on the curious theory that the Chicago people are so enthusiastic in their support of imperialism that they feel no necessity of showing their sentiments; "perhaps, even despite the rain, there would have been people enough for all three halls and for a big open-air meeting too, had it not been that everybody was so sure that everybody else would attend!"

The demonstration was as lacking in moral force as in physical impressiveness. The chairman of the Auditorium meeting laid stress upon the necessity of abolishing free speech if the nation pursues the expansion policy. He admitted, to be sure, that "every man has a right to his convictions upon public questions," but he insisted that he must keep such convictions to himself if they do not agree with those of the McKinley Administration. "No man ought to pub-

licly utter sentiments which tend to humiliate or discourage the country's defenders in the field, or to lessen his country's influence in the family of nations." It was not a long step from the position of this ex-judge to that of an active clergyman of the Lyman Abbott and Wayland Hoyt school, who "pitched into" the antiquated Declaration of Independence as "played out" in this progressive era. Said the Rev. Dr. P. S. Henson:

"And so to-day there are those that wave the Declaration of Independence in our faces, and tell us that the thing to do is to deliver over those islands of the archipelago in the East to the people who are their rightful masters, for 'all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.' So wrote Thomas Jefferson. Do you remember that the Lord said to Joshua, 'My servant is dead'? And so is Thomas Jefferson. Let the dead bury the dead. As to that hallowed document that declares that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, if that is to be literally construed, there never was a greater falsehood palmed off by the devil upon a credulous world."

It having been asserted by our ardent Imperialists that all missionaries and missionary societies are with them, the Rev. Dr. Barton, one of the Secretaries of the American Board in Boston, wrote a letter to the *Herald*, in which he declared:

"I know the opinion of a large number of the missionaries of our board and of others, and I do not know one who is in favor of an Imperialistic policy; and, more than this, I have never heard this policy advocated by the officers of our board or of any other. . . . On the other hand, I have constantly heard the officers and missionaries of the American Board express regret that the policy of imperialism was likely to prevail."

The publication of this letter had a very practical sequel. It brought a gift of \$10,000 into the Board's treasury. The donor remained anonymous, simply congratulating Dr. Barton on his letter as "reflecting the true attitude of the church," saying that it had "strengthened the value of your Board as an agency for the use of missionary funds," and offering his gift as a substantial "token of this feeling." But a still more remarkable sequel came later. The *Congregationalist* had been a hot champion of conversions by killing, and the attention of its editor was called to this gift for missions and the reasons for it. But he simply informed his readers that the donation was no doubt the result of "the special season of prayer" in behalf of the American Board. An editor whom Satan hath so evidently desired that he might sift him like wheat, is himself the fittest subject we know of for special prayer.

The Manila correspondent of the *Evening Post* states that the volunteers who have fought so bravely in Luzon were sent into battle with short-range Springfield rifles, and black, smoky powder, against an enemy armed with long-range Mausers and smokeless powder. What is the explanation of the fact, also re-

ported by this writer, that the Krag-Jørgensen rifles which reached the volunteers after the hardest fighting was over, have been lying unused since 1897, as was disclosed by the date on their cases? Why were they left unpacked during the entire war with Spain? Our correspondent says of the volunteers:

"These soldiers have, hour after hour and day after day, marched up against intrenchments from which fire was being poured upon them at a range of 2,000 yards, and could not reply because their guns were inferior in range to those of the enemy. They have been fired upon by a concealed foe with deadly effect, the smokeless powder making it impossible to tell where their assailants were, and yet every time they fired their Springfields a great cloud of smoke arose to disclose their exact position to the enemy, and to obscure their own vision and prevent accurate shooting."

Is Secretary Alger the man who is responsible for this needless slaughter of our soldiers? If not, who can be held responsible?

It is interesting to observe that the section from which a soldier went to the Philippines has nothing to do with his sentiments regarding the work which he is compelled to do there. Many letters have been published from members of various Western and Southern regiments protesting against the war which our forces are now waging, as one which fills them with a sense of shame. The *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, also a Republican newspaper, prints a striking letter from a captain in the Pennsylvania regiment, who says, in so many words, that he thinks "it is a burning shame" that he and his comrades have been forced, by "so-called statesmen, that should at this particular time be in our places," to fight in order to "take from a people what the American forefathers fought for— independence." It becomes every day more plain that it is a great mistake for the American Government to try carrying out an imperial policy with volunteers who think, and who are not afraid to say what they think.

The sudden death of ex-Governor Roswell P. Flower recalls his part in the last Presidential campaign, when he surprised his critics by the independent, manly, and very able speeches which he made against the nominee and platform of his party and in favor of sound money. His argumentation had a telling effect by reason of its intrinsic merits and of his prominence in the former councils of his party. Very few such examples are found. They betoken high moral courage. Ex-Governor Flower's course in this behalf was so bold and outspoken, so free from cant and self-seeking, that even the Bryanites were compelled to respect him. Although Cleveland and Carlisle, Palmer and Buckner, and even David B. Hill (who did not distinguish himself in that campaign) came in for volleys of abuse, Governor Flower was treated with cour-

tesy, which was by no means the silence of contempt, since all the accounts received of his speech-making tour agreed that it was very effective, especially among the farmers of the West.

We are glad to see that the Bar Association has taken up the question of campaign contributions from judicial candidates, already passed upon by the City Club and the Chamber of Commerce. The Association proposes the appointment of a committee to draft the necessary legislation forbidding all such contributions, either in the form of "assessments" or voluntary. It is most fitting that the legal profession should take the lead in this reform, for they have most reason for wishing to put an end to the present practice of selling judicial nominations to the highest bidder for the benefit of the Tammany boss. Not only does Croker decide who shall be the favored bidder, but he claims the right to control the conduct of the judges after they get upon the bench. If the members of the bar did not revolt against this scandal upon their profession, it would be difficult to imagine any provocation which would cause them to revolt. All candidates for the bench should be prohibited from contributing a penny in any way, either in return for a nomination or an election, on penalty of losing their seats after election. A bill containing such prohibition should be drawn and presented to the next Legislature, and should be passed in spite of all opposition, secret or open.

Bishop Potter's quiet statement of his reasons for ordaining Prof. Briggs is as creditable to him as it is mouth-stopping to the clerical objectors. The Bishop shows that he has complete technical right on his side, and, moreover, that his head and heart go with his action. What he thinks of the leaders of the outcry against Prof. Briggs he freely indicates in his direct assertion that they have betrayed "lamentable ignorance," and that some of their perversions of Prof. Briggs's words are "as malignant as they are unscrupulous." This is official. It comes from the "Right Reverend Father in God" of the protesting clergymen, and carries apostolic authority. If anything was needed to complete the exposure of the agitation as a silly business—largely blown up into its frothy proportions by the press, never so happy as when it is scoring a theological "scoop" or flattering the vanity of a foolish cleric—it would be this judicial utterance of the spiritual ruler of the diocese of New York.

For the real and larger significance of this Briggs controversy, one need only read Prof. Adolf Harnack's little book, "Thoughts on Protestantism." One of the greatest dangers now besetting Pro-

testant churches is that of treating their creeds as legal ordinances. As Prof. Harnack says, the fact is that "no one is any longer expected to take over the old Protestant teaching in its hard entirety." In truth, it is a common experience to find that "church newspapers and men who consider themselves orthodox are guilty of gross offences against the old doctrines." Yet, strangely enough, at the same time "the demand that the creed should be authoritative is advanced all the more loudly and *sans phrase*." The creed, that is, may no longer be believed, but it must be obeyed. To question any part of it is to be hostile to the church. Now this, as Harnack says, is to Catholicize the Protestant Church. It is to make dogma a rule of obedience, not a rule of faith. And the moment the Protestants set about this, that moment the Catholics will beat them off the field. When it comes to imposing doctrine as a dose to be swallowed, whether you like it or not, the Catholic church has an experience and facility which no Protestant can hope to rival. If he cannot stand resolutely for free inquiry, and be ready to "follow the argument" wherever it may lead him, he has no real place in the spiritual economy.

A good deal of sophistical reasoning about the English Conventions with the Transvaal is coming from those who want Mr. Chamberlain to step in and make President Krüger redress Outlander grievances. The Pretoria Convention of 1881 declared an English "suzerainty" over the Transvaal. But in the succeeding London Convention of 1884 the word suzerainty was omitted. Those Englishmen who want to do as they please with the Transvaal say, nevertheless, that suzerainty was not renounced. What was not expressly given up may still be asserted. If 21,000 British subjects in the Transvaal appeal, as they have appealed, to the English Government to interfere with the Boer Government, why may it not? What is the good of being a suzerain, even by implication, unless you can order somebody about? Well, as a matter of right and law, saying nothing of policy or force, the debate is illusory. There is an official declaration of the sense in which England understood the London Convention. It was given by Lord Derby to the Boer delegates in 1884, and, of course, England cannot now retreat from it without disgrace. Lord Derby wrote specifically:

"By the omission of those articles of the convention of Pretoria which assigned to her Majesty and to the British Resident certain specific powers and functions connected with the internal government and the foreign relations of the Transvaal state, your government will be left free to govern the country without interference, and to conduct its diplomatic intercourse and shape its foreign policy subject only to the requirement embodied in the fourth article of the new draft, that any treaty with a foreign state shall not have effect without the approval of the Queen."

POSSIBILITIES AT THE HAGUE.

"Who is this Hyder Ali of whom I hear so much?" asked Frederick the Great, in his old age, of Sir Hugh Elliot. "Sire," was the reply, "he is an old man who, after spending his life in the pillage of his neighbors, is indulging in goody-goody talk." Similar retorts are being pretty thickly flung at the Czar's head on the eve of his Disarmament Conference at The Hague. *Que messieurs les assassins commencent.* Why does Russia push on her own armament so feverishly? Is it in order to make her call to an arrest of arming an open hypocrisy? "One of the most elaborate shams" of the century, Mr. Sidney Low calls it, and the German professors are not far behind in sneers. Mr. Goschen offered to curtail England's ship-building programme if the Czar would strike off three or four ships from his schedule; why was not the proposal closed with if Russia is sincere? This is what the cynics and sceptics and apologists for war are more and more openly saying as the day for the meeting at The Hague draws near. They are trying to make out the whole movement to be simply "The Truce of the Bear."

Yet even the bitterest of them do not venture to question the Czar's own sincerity. They represent him as an amiable enthusiast surrounded by wily and unscrupulous ministers. Even the outraged Finns are persuaded that if they could only get the ear of the Czar, their wrongs would be at once righted. It is his counsellors who have ridden over the sacred rights of Finland, and concealed all knowledge of it from Nicholas. A story is circulating in Europe which pathetically illustrates this view of the real source of government in Russia. We quote it from the *National Review*:

"In the course of a recent conversation with one of the leading foreign Ambassadors at St. Petersburg—not, by the way, the British Ambassador—the Czar referred to an article in the Russian newspaper *Novoe Vremya*, to which the Imperial attention had been particularly called. He recommended his visitor to read it, and, as the latter was about to withdraw, the Czar considerably said: 'You may as well take my copy in case you have mislaid yours.' The much delighted diplomatist retired with his prize and naturally commenced reading the article that had so impressed the Emperor. Though a regular reader of the *Novoe Vremya*, the Ambassador was immediately struck by the freshness of this particular article, so on returning home he turned up his own copy of the paper, and was not a little astonished to find that his *Novoe Vremya*, of the same date as the Czar's, did not contain this important article. He then realized that this enterprising organ of the Russian reactionary party publishes on emergencies two distinct issues—a regular edition for the general public and for foreign quotation, and a special edition consisting of one copy for the private and particular consumption and mystification of the Czar."

As against the extremists in cynicism who are predicting that the Conference at The Hague will turn out a farce, and also as against the extreme enthusiasts who expect it to inaugurate the millennium, some remarks by Mr. Leonard Courtney in the *Contemporary* are well

worth taking into consideration. He writes with the soberness and weight of long public experience and study, not allowing himself to indulge in extravagant hopes, but not permitting himself, either, to shut his eyes to the opportunity offered by the Conference to mark one step more in human progress. What Mr. Courtney most insists upon is the validity and power of an international sanction. Once clearly set forth, it enforces itself. It erects a sort of moral tribunal before which no civilized nation can bear to be dragged as an offender. No armed power is necessary to enforce the Geneva Convention. To observe its requirements is often a crippling thing in military operations, yet no commander of a civilized army would now dare to disregard them. The same law holds of other international agreements. Neither Spain nor the United States was a party to the Declaration of Paris of 1856, affirming the principle that free ships make free goods. Yet both countries voluntarily accepted the principle in their late war. No one compelled them, but they could not put themselves outside the family of nations.

It has been said that even if some sort of agreement is reached at The Hague, there is no guarantee that the participating Powers will live up to it. They may say they will not increase their armament, but who can make them true to their word? They may assent to a system of international arbitration, but what constraint can be brought to bear if they refuse to arbitrate in a given case? These doubts, so far as they are sincere, Mr. Courtney does much to dissipate by his historical examples. Where there is real moral force behind international agreements, they stand without the need of physical force. Under the Treaty of Ghent, the United States and England agreed not to maintain war-vessels on the great lakes. Not only has that disarmament convention been religiously observed, it has even been extended, so that the long Canadian frontier is practically unfortified. Mr. Courtney also specifies the international agreements neutralizing certain states, as Switzerland, Belgium, and the Duchy of Luxembourg. It is not fortress or army which preserves these countries from spoliation, but simply the silent moral power of an international sanction. There is such a thing as an international conscience.

The question is if this conscience can be effectually brought to bear on any of the great problems which are to be discussed at The Hague. As to many of them there is no doubt that it can be. Some proposed extensions of the Geneva Convention, new rules against bombarding unfortified seaports, the exemption of private property from capture at sea—these and other measures to make war more humane can unquestionably be agreed upon. We think they will be. And more may be done. Some added

countries of Europe might be neutralized, and so delivered from the nightmare of dread of attack and the burden of preparing to resist it. It is a significant fact that, immediately after the Czar's rescript was issued, the Norwegian Storting petitioned the King to take steps to have Norway neutralized at the Conference. Other nations might have this international guarantee thrown about them—if not now, later. There is no doubt that if Denmark and Spain and Portugal and even Italy were to be relieved of all need of supporting an army, as Switzerland is, it would be an unspeakable blessing to them. And the international sanction which would be automatic in enforcing their privileges and immunities would be equally effective and self-executing in respect to an agreement to check the growth of navies and armies, and to submit international quarrels to international tribunals. The thing for the delegates to ask themselves is, not if the Czar is sincere, but if they themselves are sincere. If he is a dreamer, let them show themselves capable and practicable men, able to snatch from this happy chance some advantage for mankind, and to further, if only a little, a humane movement whose ultimate fruits of righteousness and peace can be garnered only in the fulness of time.

IMPERIUM ET LIBERTAS.

It is curious and interesting to note that, though our republican soil seems to be the one most unfavorable to the growth of any form of government not based on popular discussion, it is in reality that one in which it is easiest, in an emergency, to get rid of popular discussion; and that it is the most ardent supporters of the Government who are most earnest in favor of the change. There has recently been a very striking illustration of this at a meeting in Chicago.

We have remarked already how soon, when war breaks out, no matter how distant, or how trifling a drain on our resources, an "incendiary literature" springs up—that is, a literature dangerous to the state and needing suppression or discouragement. We have that already. There is now a literature among us which needs to be taken out of the mails, as in Russia, and is accordingly taken out without any authority of law. But it may be said that this is due to the fact that this literature is being sent to the troops in the field on purpose to discourage them. The continued mental and moral connection of the troops in the field with the people at home, and their continued participation in home discussions of public affairs, were undoubtedly presumed when the law provided for a continuance of the franchise of the volunteers when they took the field for active service at a distance from home. The power of voting means

liberty to hear what is said on both sides to the voter, as a preparation for voting. This liberty is, in fact, one of the foundations of the state under popular government. But already, in the second war waged under the law, this liberty has been abolished. The soldiers in the Philippines who will vote at the Presidential election next year are not to be allowed to hear anything against the fitness of William McKinley for a second term, though probably some millions doubt his fitness and are able to give reasons for doubting it. All these voters are, therefore, excluded from hearing all discussions on this most important matter. But the thing goes farther, and we commend its progress to those clergymen and others who favored the Cuban war as a "war of humanity," and thought it would end with the liberation of Cuba. They will see now that, under our system of government, if the Executive is permitted to go to war for *any* purpose, the purpose cannot be strictly defined. It is always, in practice, whatever it may be in theory, a license to carry on war against anybody or for any purpose that seems good to him.

There are now strong symptoms of a disposition not to permit the discussion of any important branch of public affairs, even at home, provided it has any relation to war. The Imperialists are unwilling to have voters allowed to discuss the conduct of the war, or its cost, or the policy of its continuance, or the terms of peace. All these are to be handed over to a one-man power. The theory that any one who criticises the war is responsible for the death of the men who die in it, and not the persons who started it, has already made its appearance. Hear Gen. John McNulta at Chicago:

"If, by the acts of men living among us in peace and under the protection of our government, this war is prolonged so that my boy, fighting in the front rank there with Lawton, is killed, they have murdered him. Men like those who spoke at the anti-imperialist meeting at Central Music Hall should be held responsible for the death of every soldier who falls there by reason of their encouragement, and every man who thus encourages an enemy in time of war is a traitor."

You see you are a traitor and a murderer if you speak against the war; not so William McKinley, who set it on foot. It is for him to say how long it should last and what should be its objects. If you say anything that can possibly cheer the enemy, you make yourselves liable to the penalties of treason, in spite of the constitutional definition of treason.

All this is the more extraordinary considering the example set us by England, although a monarchical country with a restricted suffrage. She waged two important wars, which excited the keenest interest at home, without any attempt to restrict or punish discussion. One was the war of the American Revolution, in which Burke and Fox and Chatham and

so many other eminent Englishmen encouraged the "rebels" in their resistance by every legal device within their reach. The other was the Crimean war, fifty years ago. This was marked, as our war has been, by hideous administrative blunders and want of preparation. But the press never ceased for one hour to encourage the Russians by pointing these blunders out, and abusing the Government which committed them, so that it finally got turned out of office. The principal exposé of them, Russell, actually rose to eminence on his work. There never was any talk of hanging him for murder or treason. No father threw on him responsibility for his son's death, and nobody proposed to burn the *Times* office. On the contrary, the nation wept and prayed and sentimentalized, but it kept its head, remembered its liberties and its government, and went to work through its tears, reforming its army and searching for better men to carry on the war. Nothing was remitted to any one's "discretion." No one attracted reverence simply by carrying on a war. What was said to many was, "Imbecile, how have you carried on the war? You are only fit to care for sick mules. Begone."

THE MARRIAGE SCANDAL.

The public has been more than usually moved of late by a marriage scandal which happens to be conspicuous because the parties are rich, not because their conduct was unusually bad. Similar things take place among poorer people every week; but, as the culprits generally have but little money, they get little or no attention from the newspapers. Consequently, it seems as if it were only the rich and idle who were in the habit of violating the law. The rich probably furnish the larger proportion of the offenders, for we believe it could be proved by statistics, or very nearly proved, that money and idleness are the two greatest external stimulants to conjugal unfaithfulness. Money creates in our day almost the only "class" (properly so called) left, and men and women with money are more than usually in need of excitement, and are more than usually able to procure it. When they get vicious, their wealth makes their offences more than usually interesting to that immense body of the public whose means are small. When a wife runs away from a husband who has five millions, to join a paramour who has only three millions, it sets the readers of the Sunday papers nearly wild with excitement and curiosity, which are naturally increased if the husband be a decent man and the paramour a little cad, and rises to boiling-point if the cad is abandoning a wife of his own. Every detail of the wretched business is worth a round sum.

But you will not find the morality of

the matter much debated. What rouses the gossips more than expansion, or the Briggs case, is the question why the wife left a man with five millions for a man with only three. That the matter has a moral side has ceased to interest people. It is the business side which occupies them. They are not concerned about the wife's morality, but about her apparent want of business sagacity, especially if it can be shown that she is not such a fool after all, since the cad, besides his three millions, has plenty of diamonds of his mother's. As the cases in which these details are presented are of course rare, there is but little discussion of the general condition of our marriage laws, but that condition is well known to be such that the institution of marriage can hardly be said to exist among us, any more than in the fifth century at Rome, when twenty wives in succession was not an extraordinary allowance even for a Christian deacon. When you see a couple living together happily or unhappily in "God's holy ordinance," you may feel pretty sure that it is not the law of the land that is causing it, but pure inclination or strong sense of loyalty, truth, and honor. Ministers, and even judges who administer the law, have no hesitation in making the law on this point a mockery, without taking the trouble to offer any excuse but personal taste or convenience. Men and women both act as if we were dwelling on a desert island, where sense of individual duty had to do the work of lawgivers and jurists.

The reason of this is plain. We allow persons who have broken their marriage vows, or wish to break them, to use the law to enable them to break them with impunity—that is, to give what is really a state of concubinage the appearance of a real marriage, and thus to escape the social stigma which is the law's best support. Any one who is tired of his wife, any wife who is tired of her husband, finds in the law an arrangement by which the veriest strumpet can put herself on a level with the purest, bravest, most constant wife. This is the literal consequence of allowing every State to have its own marriage law; and the only remedy for it is a national divorce law. Moreover, the public, with the aid of the newspapers, is rapidly getting accustomed to this state of things, so that persons who pass their lives in lawful wedlock begin to have the air of prudes, or "fossils," or "old fogies." This makes preaching vain. It is not a wild supposition that, in another generation, we shall be in enjoyment of the advantages, in point of expense, of the régime of free love. Remarriage "across the line" is already becoming a formality; it will not take very long for it to become a useless formality.

This condition is one of those which make us feel that our activity in spreading civilization by "killing niggers" is

somewhat misplaced. Marriage, loyal and faithful as human nature will permit, is one of the foundations of human society. The men who make a great figure in the work of civilization have to go forth from pure homes, and have to feel sure who are their fathers. A nation which does not possess this institution, or is allowing it to vanish, seems to us but ill fitted for the great work of evangelization. Here is another field, besides the care and education of "niggers," in which it seems to us the missionary character sits badly on us. If charges of cavalry and the assaulting of redoubts made happy homes, the "great to-morrow" would surely be ours. But here is the rift in our lute. We once again affirm that as it is good institutions and well-administered laws which make a conquering nation, so also it is homes which legislation makes permanent that qualify people to spread their civilization.

TAXATION OF CORPORATIONS.

In the current number of the *Political Science Quarterly* Prof. F. W. Taussig considers the subject of the taxation of securities, i. e., of stocks, bonds, and other paper evidences of ownership in or claims against corporations. This is a very complex question and by no means a novel one. It is perpetually coming up for solution and is never solved. On the one hand, it is argued that this kind of property ought to be taxed just as much as real estate. On the other, it is said that it is practically impossible to tax such property because the assessors cannot find it unless the owner voluntarily exhibits it. But the owner, as a general rule, will not do this. If he makes a full disclosure of say \$100,000 of stocks and bonds, he is taxed on that amount, and more than that if the market value is above par, while real estate is commonly valued, for purposes of taxation, at not more than 60 per cent. of its value. All the States of the Union have tried to reach securities as a part of the general-property tax, and most of them keep trying in spite of repeated failures. This is a case where experience, long continued and unvarying, counts for nothing as against popular prejudice and catchwords. Equality of taxation is a most alluring phrase. If it could be reduced to practice, all good men would rejoice. But if our nearest approach to it in actual practice is the taxation of a few very honest persons, who make true returns, and a few very helpless ones, such as widows and orphans whose holdings are going through the probate court, then the phrase equality of taxation is a lie and a sham. That does not prevent it, however, from carrying the day in a popular election, or in a State Legislature, as it usually does.

The State of New York does not require citizens to make lists of their per-

sonal property, but it aims to tax such property in other ways. The Tax Commissioner or Assessor makes his own estimate of the amount of such property owned by a citizen, notifies him of it, and invites him to call and swear that it is an over-estimate, which he generally does. If, after the swearing, there is still a residuum of taxable personal property assessable against the person, the amount remains at that figure on the assessor's rolls for two or three years. Then the assessor moves it up a few thousands, by way of experiment, and watches the effect. If the taxpayer does not come around and "swear it off," he waits two or three years longer and then "gives him another hitch," and keeps doing it till the taxpayer comes in and makes remonstrance under oath. In short, the payment of taxes in New York on personal property that is not visible to the eye of the assessor is a matter of conscience altogether. Illogical as this system is, the practice in New York is better than in the States where the taxpayer is required to make out a yearly list of his possessions and hand it to the assessor—a system which does not yield any larger revenue, on the whole, but which does lead to greater perjury and demoralization.

As regards securities issued by corporations, Prof Taussig, recognizing the impossibility of taxing them in the hands of the owner, would strike them out of the list of taxables altogether, and tax the corporations themselves—that is, secure the revenue at its source. "No one," he says, "who watches the trend of our public affairs can fail to observe the growing strength of the movement by which public-service corporations are called on both to exhibit openly what is the outcome of their operations, and to share with the community the profits due to granted franchises. No doubt the movement is often headed by demagogues, and often has the marks of an unreasonable onslaught on a particular kind of property. But at bottom it is sound and healthy and is sure to continue." He then refers to and commends the franchise-tax law of Massachusetts, which provides that street-railway companies, when their dividends exceed 8 per cent. on the capital invested, shall pay, over and above the ordinary taxes on corporations, a tax corresponding to such excess, so that the increased earnings shall be shared by the public. The system requires careful public supervision over the issue of the securities, but this is by no means an impossible task.

Prof. Taussig's article does not touch the franchise-tax bill now in Gov. Roosevelt's hands, but such inferences as may be drawn from his argument are favorable to it. He holds that a franchise tax over and above the tax on corporations using public streets is just, and that the only question is as to the mode

of levying it. He would abolish the tax on shares in the hands of shareholders and recoup the Treasury by taxing the source of the dividends. The State of New York, by the way, does not tax such shares in the hands of the holder if the corporation issuing the same has paid the corporation tax of this State. It does not tax the shares of foreign corporations held by citizens of New York, the presumption being that such corporations are taxed at home. The principle being conceded that a franchise tax is just, how should it be levied? The Ford bill makes the franchise a part of the real estate, and the people who oppose this feature contend that the tax ought to be upon gross earnings, and they urge the Governor to veto the bill because it puts a dangerous power in the hands of local assessors in fixing the value of the franchise. No doubt there is a danger here, but Prof. Taussig considers this a danger which confronts us at all times—one which calls for the betterment of our civil service, rather than for a modification of our tax laws. Upon this point he says:

"Just as the method of taxing shares and bonds gives opportunity for evasions by the holder and favoritism by the assessor, so taxes on corporations give opportunity for corruption by the corporation and blackmail by the tax commissioner. No doubt an honest and capable official finds his task more manageable under the latter plan than under the former; but honest and capable officials you must have in any case. The examples, unfortunately, are many where the taxation of corporations has led to corruption, or blackmail, or both, the root of the evil being in either case a debauched public service. In whatever direction we seek reform in our public life, this same imperative need confronts us."

AMERICANIZING THE ENGLISH PRESS.

The excitement and discussions in England over the Sunday editions of the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Telegraph* produce a curiously reminiscent effect upon those who have been connected for any time with American newspapers. We went through all that twenty-five years ago. All the arguments for or against the Sunday paper which the English are now bringing forward as novel discoveries, were threshed to dust here in the '70's. Mr. Balfour solemnly reminds the House of Commons that the work on a Sunday newspaper is actually done on Saturday, and that it is the Monday paper which is really wicked; and all the other dear old platitudes are hurled about with vigor and enthusiasm. Any American newspaper file of a quarter of a century since would show the English that their reasoning was anticipated in this country at every point.

The English have for years had Sunday papers of a certain kind, just as we had before the war. Theirs, like ours, were not newspapers in the strict sense of the word. The news element was reduced to the minimum. What passed for the Sunday paper was a collection of

stories or gossip, or chat about sports and society—just the empty stuff for a vacant laborer to nod over as he sipped his Sunday ale. It was, in fact, only among the working classes and un-intellectual folk that these papers circulated at all. They were rubbishy affairs, quite without influence on men of influence, though they undoubtedly played a certain part in the social economy. A member of Parliament tells a story that illustrates what we mean. He was in a remote part of the country the other day, and was rejoiced to find that there was no public-house within a radius of some miles. "No," said the countryman, with whom he was talking, "and no church or chapel, neither." This was less pleasing to the member. "Then," said he, in a tone of deep commiseration, "what do you do for the means of grace?" "Means of grace!" replied his friend, indignant at this disparagement of the local resources, "haven't we the *Dispatch*?"

From such unpretentious means of grace to a regular or even enlarged Sunday issue of the *Mail* or the *Telegraph* was a great transition; yet England finds herself making it almost unawares. It came as it were by stealth, and was an accomplished fact before the public clearly understood what was happening. We do not know what will be the immediate outcome of the experiment—whether the outcry and the threatened boycott will lead either the *Mail* or the *Telegraph*, or both, to suspend a Sunday edition for the present. We do know, however, that if either or both persist, the rest of the newspapers will sooner or later be compelled to follow suit. American experience is conclusive on that point. It needs but some exciting event, some great piece of news—a war, a huge calamity—and the Sunday newspaper, glorying over its six-day rivals, will speedily see them take up the challenge and likewise publish, seven days in the week. It was so here and it will be so in England. There will be protests; all sorts of shifts and subterfuges will be attempted—special summaries of "the Sunday news" for tender consciences that disapprove the Sunday newspaper, and that sort of thing—but in the end we shall see our experience reproduced across the Atlantic, and the Sunday newspaper take its place as an established institution. We shall see it, we mean, if its beginnings are allowed. When the press says A in this matter, it soon says B, and presently fetches up at Z.

What makes us fear that the beginnings of Sunday journalism will not be successfully withstood in England is the fact that the steps which have led up to it have gone without effective rebuke. There has been a steady Americanization of the English press during the past decade. The Sunday edition is only one and the last symptom of a disease now deep seated. No one familiar with Eng-

lish newspapers can have failed to note their growing assimilation to our models. With a few honorable exceptions, they have acquired more and more of the American newspaper manner and tone. They have become hysterically sensational, shrieking in big headlines over a disaster or particularly gruesome murder; they give more and more space and importance to the seamy side of life, making a specialty of "racy" divorce trials and all kinds of nameless immorality; they grow more and more credulous and silly in printing irresponsible rumors and gossip as "news," and, in short, are faithfully copying American "breeziness" and "enterprise." To us, the natural end of such a rake's progress seems a Sunday newspaper, rather more vivid and disgusting than the week-day issue.

The best view which can be taken of our own Sunday newspapers must admit that they are a nuisance. They are twice cursed: they curse him that prints them and him that reads them. They add new terrors to Sunday. On purely humanitarian grounds, and without allowing theological reasons to have any weight whatever, we could wish them all away. They cause unnecessary labor to those who must produce them, and carry intellectual and moral corruption throughout the community, making a rational, to say nothing of a religious, use of Sunday harder if not impossible for thousands of their victims. If there is any sadder sight in nature than a man deliberately sitting down to wallow in a "sextuple" Sunday newspaper, we do not know what it is. The Puritans devised no such tortures for their Sabbath.

THE DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR SERVICE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

BRUNSWICK, Me., April 19, 1899.

Although the need of radical reform in our diplomatic and consular service is not a wholly new subject, the discussion of the political and commercial advantages that may possibly accrue to the United States from the adoption of a new foreign policy has given the matter the character of urgency. If we are to enter into delicate political relations with the governments of Europe and Asia, and push our commercial interests abroad in directions and ways hitherto unknown, the necessity of administering our foreign service, in both its branches, on some more rational plan than now prevails is imperative. Of the abundant experience available for our guidance, that of Great Britain is most often cited; but it is to be feared that the knowledge of English administrative methods in this direction, even among many public men themselves disposed to favor reform, is general rather than specific. The recently published "Foreign Office List," an annual official publication, for 1899, exhibits some of the workings of a system having close practical interest for us.

The series of orders in council organizing the civil service of Great Britain, on the basis of examinations designed to test the

fitness of candidates, began with the order of May 21, 1855, establishing a limited system of competition for persons nominated for so-called junior positions. In 1870 the examinations were thrown open to free competition, upon payment of prescribed fees; certain positions, mainly such as were to be filled by promotion or by direct appointment by the Crown, being specifically exempted. An order of the following year fixed the probationary period at six months, during which time the conduct and business capacity of the candidate were to be subjected to tests determined by the chief of the department whose service the candidate intended to enter. Subsequent orders of 1876, 1890, 1896, and 1898 created a lower or second division of clerks, provided for their promotion and progressive compensation, and required vacancies to be filled by promotion from lower grades. By an order of 1896, retirement on a pension at the age of seventy, for persons then in the service, and of sixty-five, for those thereafter appointed, was made compulsory; reserving to the Secretary of State the right to extend the period, where public interest dictated, for five years at most.

For appointment to a clerkship in the Foreign Office, or to the position of attaché in the diplomatic service, the candidate is required to pass an examination in arithmetic, handwriting and orthography, English composition, *précis* writing, French, German, geography, and European history, with related topics in American and Asiatic history, from 1789 to 1871. As optional subjects, two of the following languages, viz., Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Russian, modern Greek, and Arabic, are indicated. The *précis* examination consists in making abstracts or schedules of papers containing official correspondence, and drawing up a memorandum, in narrative form, of their contents. There is also a test of general intelligence, "as evinced by the manner in which the candidates acquit themselves under examination, and specifically by the quickness they may show in seizing the points in papers read by them, or read over to them, once or twice." An inspection of the specimen papers printed in the "Foreign Office List" seems to show that the examinations are longer (the time allowed for each varied from two and one-half to three and one-half hours) and more exacting than those in our own civil service with which they can fairly be compared.

The service of an attaché dates from the issuance of the certificate by the Civil Service Commissioners. The first two years, six months of which are spent in the Foreign Office, and the remainder either there or at some foreign embassy or mission, are regarded as probationary. On the satisfactory completion of the two years, the attaché, if he can speak fluently French and one other foreign language, is commissioned as Third Secretary, with a salary of £150. For such as show, upon examination, a competent knowledge of public international law, an extra allowance of £100 a year is provided. A Second Secretary receives an initial salary of £300, increased by £15 annually until the maximum of £450 is reached. The minimum salary of a Secretary of Legation is £500. Members of each of the three classes just named are further granted, in addition to any other salary or allowance, an annual allowance of £100 for a competent

knowledge, colloquial or otherwise, of either Russian, Turkish, Persian, Arabic, Japanese, or Chinese, while serving in any country where such language is vernacular. They are also allowed actual travelling expenses on first appointment, and on removal incident to promotion, and also subsistence money, when subsistence is not included in the passage money. All members of the diplomatic service, whatever their rank, are, in the language of the regulations, "expected to take their turn in whatever part of the world their services may be required"; and secretaries and attachés, whether married or unmarried, must be prepared to go to the post to which they may be appointed. Second and Third Secretaries and attachés are not, as a rule, kept more than two years at the same mission, and the appointments of heads of missions are for a term not exceeding five years; but the Secretary of State may lengthen the term, for special public reasons. Provision is further made for an allowance to such officials, not below the rank of secretary, as may, on account of war or interruption of diplomatic relations, be temporarily withdrawn from active service.

The conditions of entrance to the British consular service are, naturally, less elaborate than those for the diplomatic arm, but the aim—a competent service of permanent officials—is the same. The examinations, required of all candidates either resident in England at the time of their appointment, or passing through England on their way to their first station, include English composition, French (speaking and writing), British mercantile and commercial law, commercial arithmetic, and a sufficient knowledge, for commercial purposes, of the language current in the place to which the person is assigned, to enable him to communicate directly with the Government and the natives. For northern Europe, the language regarded as satisfying this latter requirement is German; for Spain, Portugal, Morocco, and South or Central America, Spanish or Portuguese, as the Secretary of State may determine; and for Italy, Greece, Turkey, Egypt, and places on the Black Sea and Mediterranean, except Morocco and Spain, Italian. A service of three months in the Foreign Office, for the purpose of acquaintance with the methods of business in use there, is required, as far as practicable, of all appointees to consularships on their first nomination. Consular clerks are examined in handwriting, orthography, arithmetic, and one foreign language.

The provisions for pensioning officials in the diplomatic and consular services are somewhat elaborate, and involve, naturally, details of administration not necessarily applicable to American conditions. The general outlines of the system, however, are simple. In the diplomatic service, pensions are granted, on the recommendation of the Secretary of State, to such persons as have served at least fifteen years, ten of which must have been passed in actual service, either continuous or on different occasions, at some foreign post. There are four classes or grades of pensions, the maximum amounts of each being, respectively, £1,700, £1,300, £900, and £700; but the pension may not, in any case, exceed the amount of the salary enjoyed by the pensioner at the time of his retirement. Allowances, calculated on the term of previous service and the salary received, may also be granted to invalided secretaries, officials disabled by injuries received

in discharge of their duties, and such as are withdrawn from active service on account of rupture of diplomatic relations. The acceptance of a salaried office under the Crown, however, works a suspension of the pension, if the income of the office be equal in amount to the pension; if the income be less than the pension, then the latter is diminished by the amount of such income. The pension or other allowance is free from taxes or duties, except the tax on incomes; and its acceptance does not disqualify for membership in the House of Commons.

Pensions for consular officers are provided for by the general laws regulating pensions for members of the civil service. The ordinary rate of superannuation allowance is ten-sixtieths of the annual salary and emoluments of the office for ten years of service, rising by an additional one-sixtieth for each additional year, until, upon the completion of forty years of service, the maximum of forty-sixtieths is reached. The allowance is, regularly, not granted to persons under sixty, except for disability; but, as in the diplomatic service, the right to grant allowances for short terms, and in certain special cases, is reserved. In the case of disabling injuries received in performance of duty, a gratuity not exceeding a year's salary, or such an allowance as, together with any other allowances to which the official may be entitled, shall not exceed the salary, or £300 a year, whichever is greater, may be given; and in case of death from such injury, similar grants may be made to specified dependents. For the purpose of the acts, finally, certain places or countries are, from time to time, declared to be "unhealthy," and, in computing the retiring allowance or gratuity, two years' service in such places is reckoned as three years.

How does such a system work in practice? In particular, is there a reasonable probability of rising from the bottom to the top of the ladder?

Some one hundred and eighty double-column pages of the "Foreign Office List" for 1899 are taken up with a "statement of services"—a series of brief official biographies of all persons living who have served or are now serving under the Foreign Office, either at home or abroad. As an instance of a distinguished public career which has compassed all the stages from attaché to Ambassador, I select the biography of Sir Edmund Monson, the present British Ambassador to France. Omitting items of personal rather than official distinction, this is the record. A graduate of Oxford, Sir Edmund was nominated attaché in March, 1856, passed an examination, and was appointed to Paris. In 1858 he was transferred to Florence, next retransferred temporarily to Paris, and thence, in the same year, to Washington, where he remained as secretary to Lord Lyons, the British Minister, until 1863. In that year, having previously passed a second examination, he was transferred to Hanover, still as attaché. Promoted to be Third Secretary, he was sent to Brussels, and in 1865 resigned, to contest, unsuccessfully, a seat in Parliament. In 1869 he was appointed Consul at the Azores, and in 1871 promoted to be Consul-General for Hungary. He was Second Secretary to the Embassy at Vienna in 1874, and employed on special service in Dalmatia and Montenegro during parts of 1876-77. In 1879 he became Minister Resident and Consul-General to Uruguay, and in 1884 Minister to Para-

guay and the Argentine Republic; in the latter year he was transferred to the Danish mission, thence, in 1888, to Greece, and, in 1892, to Belgium. In 1893 he was made an Ambassador, serving first at Vienna, and, finally, was transferred to Paris in 1896.

Details aside, the English system rests upon four principles: first, appointment only after a suitable civil-service examination, and with no regard to political "influences"; second, a short preliminary training in the Government Office at home, before entering upon service at a foreign station; third, regulated promotion from lower to higher grades, with corresponding increase of compensation; and, lastly, a retiring allowance or pension, proportioned to the term of service and the compensation previously received. It creates, avowedly and of set purpose, an office-holding class, not for the benefit of politicians, nor yet with encroachment upon popular rights, but solely for the reason, enforced by long experience, that in no other way can the public business be well done. Not all who enter the service attain distinction, distinction being a reward for merit and demonstrated ability; but there is assured tenure during competency, and a chance to rise according to the measure of personal worth. The system, doubtless, is not perfect, and, in any case, could hardly be copied in every detail by the United States or any other country; nevertheless, it is the most effective system of diplomatic and consular administration known to the modern world.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

AT HONOLULU.

HONG KONG, April 6, 1899.

The Pacific is hardly to be called a sea of desolation, but it is surely one of desolateness. A three weeks' voyage from San Francisco to Yokohama showed but one sail, more literally one smokestack, besides our own, if we except small coasting craft along the Hawaiian shores. The vastness and the loneliness of the ocean that oppress the Atlantic voyager are magnified and intensified for the transpacific traveller. Eight days from California, and dawn shows the ranges of Oahu purpling in the morning light. The steamer, with the sun, enters the straight gap in the barrier reef, upon whose coral summit lies a newly-wrecked sailing vessel, and, threading the contracted harbor, reaches the excellent wharf of Honolulu.

As every one knows, the capital of the recently acquired possession is an Americanized town, through which unfamiliar subtropical vegetation flings out its banners. The trading is obviously in the hands of whites, and, to those who know the history of the missions, it is clear that the descendants of those pioneers have applied their inherited intelligence, in part at least, to the material improvement of the country, and, as far as casual observation goes, not unworthily. "Missionary" has become an epithet, not alone for those to whom it properly belongs, but for an element that, independently of active religious work, attends church and upholds outward morality in a community where circumstances make laxness of living easy; and for a political party as well. The distinctively American element is the most conspicuous, but the broadened speech, the rising inflection, and in the shops the recurring decoration of the Union Jack, testify to the frequent Briton. Fortu-

nately, the conquering Irish have not yet reached this outpost, so that the municipal and the higher governments are free from their controlling touch. The native race gives the predominating Hawaiian hue, in varying degrees of dilution, to the street population that is not white. The countenance is pleasant rather than otherwise, the hair straight, the complexion fairly clear, and varies in tone from the quadron to the gingerbread tints of our own streets. The upper lip, as has been expressed, "seems as though the skin were a little too short," and thus upturned is ever ready to break into a smile. There is a considerable Portuguese colony; the Chinese laborers are very numerous, with a few in trade; and the Japanese subjects are so many as to give color to the suggestion that the empire of Nippon may have encouraged this expatriation with the ultimate view of laying claim for control, if not for possession, by virtue of mere force of numbers.

Many of the lower races use the term "men" in designating themselves to foreigners, and "Kanaka" applied to the Hawaiian means "man." The Kanakas, like so many weaker peoples, seem doomed to go down before alien vices and diseases and exotic modes of life. Fresh air and fresh earth are sanitary advantages often abandoned when "civilized" houses and fixed habitations, with a gradually increasing soil pollution, come in vogue. The census marks a steady downward curve in the native blood, although the next enumeration may possibly show that recently imposed hygienic conditions and increasing public care have checked the decline. But remembering that leprosy has laid its unrelenting hand on one in every thirty, and that the combination of ignorance and carelessness is in league against child life, it is more likely that the vanishing point will finally be reached than that the Kanakas, using the word respectfully, will come into their own again. But whatever the physical retrogression, there has been a constant upward trend in other directions, so that at this date more than ninety-six per cent. of the children of school age (six to fifteen years) actually attend school, and, of the Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian population above the age of six, more than eighty-five per cent. read and write. This is almost exactly identical with the rate among the American and European population here, excluding the Portuguese. At Honolulu the Kamehameha schools, which are domestic and manual as well as mental in their training, make a superb monument to the intelligent and patriotic beneficence of their founder, the late Mrs. Bishop, of the royal family.

It is not to be supposed that any considerable proportion of the native population, certainly that of unmixed blood, desired annexation, or indeed that the royal government should be overthrown, weak and personally objectionable in some respects as it may have been. Nevertheless, men who would not have disturbed the Queen upon her throne frankly admit now that material prosperity, a veritable boom that seems to be substantial, has followed the change. Visitors, if not permanent new settlers, are much more numerous, so that, as one resident frankly remarked, the citizens "are overwhelmed with letters of introduction." Capital is growing. The national debt of \$4,000,000 is assured of liquidation by the United States. The volume of general trade is in-

creasing, and sugar culture has attained immense proportions. The growth of the sugar interest depends upon the duties, upon efficient labor, and upon water. First reciprocity and then annexation removed the obstacle of a tariff. Asiatic immigration afforded a perfectly trustworthy and constant service. Driven wells have brought large otherwise useless tracts under cultivation through irrigation from reservoirs. These wells are not truly artesian, as they are called, but they reach a water-bearing level, and pumps complete the work. Some of this water is too brackish for domestic use, but it answers perfectly for the crops, and by it vast new areas have been set in cane. This acquisition of water is doing for the islands what it does for Arizona and the higher table-land of our interior; it brings into service the natural fertility of the soil. But the water-supply is necessarily not exhaustless, and it is probable that each new well will diminish the flow of the older ones. Still, the sugar output is enormous now, with all the conditions for continued production and with an assured market; so that shares in the great companies mean fortunes, and active plantations are better than mines of gold.

The coupled incidents of the Spanish war and of annexation led to a show of defensive force near Honolulu by the general Government, in the form of certain volunteer organizations. A part of these have been recalled, leaving neither a fragrant nor a blessed memory. A battalion of volunteer engineers, who seem very creditable extemporized soldiers, remain; but their former uniformed compatriots do not appear, either in discipline or in personal carriage, to have impressed our newly matriculated citizens or their alien associates as guardians acceptable in efficiency or in morals. In addition to these defects of manner, to put it lightly, the blight of ill-health appears to have fallen upon their camps as upon so many nearer home, and to have added another object-lesson in the matter of military sanitation impressed by a high and unnatural death-rate. A new and better-situated hospital, a more experienced officer at the head of medical affairs, and the withdrawal of the peccant regiment have changed the situation.

Pearl Harbor, so long and so much before the public, is only a few miles further along the coast. When its mouth and approaches are properly opened (not a difficult undertaking), it seems likely to be not merely a valuable and necessary naval and military station, but the natural harbor for commerce as well as for war. It is not simply a single sheltered basin, but it embraces several deep-water bays reached through a common defensible entrance. It would not be unreasonable to find the future commercial metropolis of the islands ranged around that landlocked haven, while the political capital continues from its present slope to look out upon the roads and minor refuge that now make up Honolulu harbor.

To recur to Honolulu, water systematically introduced has transformed an occasionally dry and dusty plain, and made perpetual verdure possible. Frequent hydrants assure against fire as well as drought, and indicate pipe-lines for domestic service. In reliance on a porous subsoil, as is not new in sanitary history, there is no artificial method to carry away the waste, and cesspools down to this substratum receive the

domestic sewage. Appropriations have now been made for town sewers, and this summer will see their introduction, with the outflow entering the sea far beyond low water, according to the plans of a distinguished New York engineer.

At the time of these observations, very sincere distress oppressed the Hawaiian population, with whom the white residents thoroughly sympathized. Upon the deposition and the subsequent abdication of Liliuokalani, the theoretical succession devolved upon the Princess Kaiulani, a young woman of mixed blood, of cultivation and of attractiveness. She was the offspring of the marriage of the Queen's sister, Princess Li-ke-li-ke, with a Scotch resident; and Victoria Kaiulani Cleghorn, after the revolution, hardly represented the royalists' hopes as much as she impersonated their sentiment. Of pleasing aspect and gracious manners, accomplished in European tongues, as well as educated in the serious courses of an English school, she returned home too late to serve as a rallying-point, when affairs were yet unsettled, even if it were possible that the monarchy could be revived. But she was popular among the foreigners of the capital and beloved by her mother's race. Living quietly at her own place in the country with her father, she was necessarily an important but not an obtrusive personage, and she accepted her ill fortune with fortitude and without public repining. The remains of this interesting young woman, with whose life had expired the last breath that connected the old régime with the present, lay in state at her residence, where a mourning and respectful concourse paid constant homage. The last of the royal line, there was, for many, more than the grief of personal bereavement—there was the sad assurance that the chief of their race had fallen, with no possibility of revival. No one could cry, "The king is dead; long live the king!" whether the sentiment looked forward to the head of the state or merely to a representative of Hawaii. The graceful body, in its white robes and royal trappings, represented not rest, but extinction.

With equal taste and judgment the Government recognized this as a public occasion, and extended official assistance. The public band played dirge music in the grounds; the police arranged for not order, for there was no disorder, but system in the throng; uniformed officers represented at this bier of the past the respect of the present; and on the public buildings the flag of the republic was at half-staff for the princess in death. There was a purple velvet pall over the couch, with the royal cipher embroidered thereon in gold; officers who seemed to be of the native troops, or possibly representing the local administration, stood at the head; and the guard of honor on each side was four officials wearing certain insignia and bearing imposing feathered staves or wands of ceremony, which they lowered together midway over the body, and raised again, slowly and solemnly, in time with the strains of music. It is singular and interesting that the distinctive decorations of the royal cloaks and helmets and staves of office in the barbaric days, when the throne was founded on conquest and maintained by force, should be of delicate feathers, naturally associated with more gentle thoughts than those of war, and that these ornaments in their final office should have a

peculiar fitness in doing honor to the youthful Kaiulani. In the respectful procession that passed with reverence were manifest transient tourists, white residents, who by public policy may have been committed to the republic and to annexation, Hawaiian youth too inexperienced to have well-considered opinions, and mature and aged natives, who may have seen before them a picture of their country and their race. All were serious, and the natives were solemn and sad, with trembling faces and weeping eyes.

The apartments through which the procession moved were those lately occupied by the Princess, and were furnished with tasteful simplicity, although containing occasional signs that her birth rank had not been forgotten. In the rooms were Hawaiian and other ladies, peculiar decorations upon whom seemed to indicate hereditary or conferred right of attendance. Two large registers were opened on a veranda, where those who had paid this mark of respect were desired to inscribe their names—an interesting commentary upon the literacy of the public, to whom the ceremony was freely open, and, indeed, whose peculiar function it was. The body, after lying in state for a week, on the succeeding Sunday was to receive a state funeral from the Kawalahao church, the oldest and apparently the largest in Honolulu, one always associated with distinctively Hawaiian religious exercises, and originally built, if tradition is correct, by native offering of labor and the contribution of individual stones. As the grizzled sexton, superintending certain preparations, later in the evening remarked with some pathos: "No more kings; no more queens. Now, all Americans." The building most closely associated with the beginning of civilized life in the Hawaiian rulers was that which should see their literal exit, as Kaiulani was borne from its doors. D. Q.

CHRISTINA OF SWEDEN.

PARIS, April 20, 1899.

Baron de Bildt, the present Minister of Sweden and Norway in Rome, has taken advantage of his situation to study the letters written by Queen Christina of Sweden to Cardinal Azzolino, and has just published this correspondence, together with an historical study of an extraordinary person (Paris: Plon, Nourrit & Cie.; New York: Dyrssen & Pfeiffer). Christina has generally been rather severely treated by historians. Protestants have not forgiven her conversion to Catholicism, and Catholics have been scandalized by the behavior of the royal convert. She has offended the Swedes by her want of patriotism; she may be said to have surprised everybody by her cosmopolitan life, her endless agitation. In France, the drama of Fontainebleau is all that is remembered of her.

The documents concerning Christina are imperfect. Before her death she ordered that all her papers should be destroyed, and the greater part of her extensive correspondence has thus been lost to us. M. de Bildt offers to the public a series of letters written by her during her second journey through the north of Europe, from 1666 to 1668. "She is found in it," he says, "speaking with an entire frankness and complete confidence. We shall see her in turn proud, vain, humble, and simple; sometimes hard and wicked, more often generous and indulgent; always witty,

sometimes gay; always conscious of her greatness and full of herself, but also faithfully and tenderly attached to her friend, and in this affection showing herself the true woman." There must have been similar series of letters written during the two journeys which the Queen made from 1656 to 1658 and from 1660 to 1662; but they have disappeared, and were probably destroyed immediately after her death. Her will was opened on the very day she died, and Cardinal Azzolino entered immediately into possession of everything there was in her palace. Azzolino was ill himself, and died in the following June. The work of destruction which he began during the last days of his life was left unfinished. There remained about 10,000 letters or papers of various kinds; how 4,000 of them entered into the collections of the Albani family, M. de Bildt has not been able to find out. The Albani collection was used by the Swedish historian Arckenholtz, who published four hundred letters in 1759 and 1760 in the volumes iii. and iv. of his 'Memoirs for the History of Christina.' The documents in question are now, curiously enough, in the library of the School of Medicine at Montpellier, France (where they arrived as a consequence of the occupation of Rome by the French in 1798). Some other papers of Queen Christina and Cardinal Azzolino are still in possession of the Cardinal's family, and M. de Bildt has been able to consult them in the archives of the present Marquis Azzolino.

In 1620, when Gustavus Adolphus had to take a wife, he felt some desire to marry a handsome girl, belonging to the best nobility of the country; but, says M. de Bildt in a very Darwinian style, "this tendency to natural selection was immediately checked by the authority of his mother, who was strongly imbued with the necessity of the document." By the word document, M. de Bildt means the inscription of certain names in certain genealogical books, parchments, or papers, without regard to the physical or moral condition of the bearers of the names. "If," he says, "the document is right, though the individual may have in himself the germ of the most dangerous maladies for his successors, he is 'well born,' and seems desirable for those who wish to maintain the race." This is said in disparagement of the marriage of Gustavus Adolphus with the Princess Mary Eleanor of Brandenburg. This union left nothing to be desired from an aristocratic point of view, but the young bride had only an insignificant beauty, a more than mediocre intellect, and her nervous system was weak and diseased. She adored her husband, but inspired him only with an affection "which did not rise above the senses." It is clear that M. de Bildt wishes to invoke the laws of descent, so as to throw on the unfortunate Princess of Brandenburg the responsibility for all the defects and the vices of Queen Christina.

Christina was born in December, 1626. She was six years old when she became an orphan. She has herself given an account of her education, in a manuscript published by Arckenholtz. She showed great intelligence at a very early age. She pretends in her Memoir to have been precocious in entertaining religious doubts. Her governess was her aunt, Princess Catherine, sister of Gustavus Adolphus, the wife of the Palatine Count of Deux-Ponts. "I had much esteem," she says, "only for my preceptor and my governor." The former was a Dr. John Mathias, who be-

came Bishop of Strängnäs; the governor was Axel Banér, an intimate friend of Gustavus Adolphus. At the age of eighteen, she assumed the royal authority, and showed herself at once the true daughter of Gustavus Adolphus. Her activity, her moderation, her application were much admired, and she became rapidly popular; she was compared to Minerva and was called Pallas Nordica. She concluded two treaties of peace—one with Denmark, the other with Westphalia—both favorable to Sweden.

She chose a favorite at the age of twenty, Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie. She made him colonel, general, ambassador, grand marshal of the court. Was it love, was it friendship? Nobody ever knew exactly. Christina speaks of herself in these terms in her Memoir: "My ardent and impetuous disposition has given me as much inclination towards love as towards ambition, . . . but my ambition, my pride (which was incapable of submitting to anybody), my contemptuous character have been marvellous preservatives." This memoir we speak of was modestly dedicated to the Almighty. She adds: "However near I have been to the precipice, your powerful hand has drawn me from it. You know, whatever envy and malice may have said, that I am innocent of all the faults with which my enemies have blackened my life. I confess that if I had not been born a woman, my natural disposition would perhaps have led me into terrible disorders, but you have always made me love glory and honor more than any pleasure."

This extraordinary Life, dedicated to God, was written in Rome, at a time when people were talking much about the relations of the Queen with Cardinal Azzolino; it was designed to cover the Cardinal as much as herself. M. de Bildt does not take the Queen implicitly at her word; he gives us the list of her favorites (people nowadays would perhaps call them flirts); the French Doctor Bourdelot, called for a time to Stockholm (Bourdelot was among the intimate friends of the famous Prince de Condé), young Count Tott, Steinbergh, the diplomat Dohna, and others. One of them deserves special mention, namely, Pimentel, envoy of the King of Spain, who arrived at the Court of Sweden in 1652. The Queen treated him, as soon as he came, with particular favor, and to Pimentel was confided the desire which Christina felt to join the Catholic Church. This desire, which was long kept a secret, may explain their great intimacy.

Christina was not a Messalina on the throne, nor even a Catherine II.

"She was a young woman," says M. de Bildt, "of delicate health, regulating her life without regard to the laws of hygiene, over-exciting her brain and her nerves, looking for every possible satisfaction of pride and vanity, fond of flattery and applause, enjoying her intellectual superiority, . . . restless, and conducting with the same diabolical ardor study and pleasure, . . . in short, an acute neuropath."

The history of her reign is well known; the two most interesting points are her conversion and her abdication, the beginning of a second life. Christina never was a believing Lutheran. "I believed nothing," she says in her Life, "of the religion in which I was brought up." She made the acquaintance of the great philosopher Descartes, author of the 'Discours sur la méthode'; but Descartes died four months after his arrival at Stockholm (February 11, 1650). She had been struck by the fact that though he was a

philosopher, he was also a fervent Catholic. The first Catholic priest with whom she came in contact was the Jesuit Macedo, confessor of the Portuguese embassy. She entered through him into negotiation with the General of the Jesuits and with Cardinal Fabio Chigi, one of the negotiators of the Congress of Münster. She wished to know if the Pope would allow her to make herself Catholic in secret and to remain a Lutheran to her people. The answer was negative. "Then," said she immediately, "I must abdicate." She abdicated in June, 1654, leaving the sceptre to her cousin Charles Gustavus, and left Sweden immediately for Flanders, having placed herself under the protection of Philip IV. of Spain. Before leaving Sweden, she made an arrangement with her successor and the Chambers whereby she was to receive the revenue of several provinces, which she would continue to administer through agents of her own choosing. No sum was fixed; but these revenues had an annual value of about 300,000 rigsdalers of Sweden (a million francs), quite a considerable sum for Sweden; but the style in which Christina lived, and her disorder, threw her into perpetual financial difficulties, which at times became almost inextricable.

Christina made her formal conversion with great solemnity before a Legate of the Pope on the 3d of November, 1655, in the Cathedral of Innsbrück, and left that city for Italy. Her journey was very theatrical, and was a continual festival. She travelled through Trent, Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, Rimini, Pesaro, Ancona, Loreto, Foligno, Assisi, and arrived in Rome on the 20th of December, 1655, with an enormous suite. A *coralcato solenne* took place in her honor. On Christmas Day, the Queen received the Communion from the hands of the Pope. A new life was beginning for her, but she could not be contented with feasts, operas, ceremonies. Her mind was too restless, and her ambition too great. She entered into all sorts of schemes, and made plans for the conquest of Naples by the French. She was drawn from the Spanish faction chiefly by Cardinal Azzolino, who had become her favorite, if not her lover. Azzolino was a trimmer, and went from the French side to the Spanish side, and from the Spanish side to the French.

In 1656, Christina made a journey to France, with Monaldeschi, her *grand écuyer*, and Santanelli, her grand chamberlain. The details of this journey are well known through the Memoirs of Madame de Motteville and those of Mlle. de Montpensier. Some letters of the Queen to Azzolino given by M. de Bildt furnish us new details. The drama of Fontainebleau, where Monaldeschi was murdered in the great gallery by the Queen's order, is an event which has excited the imagination of many writers—Alexander Dumas the elder and Browning among them. Of Browning, M. de Bildt says: "I confess that I have not much understood the poem of the latter poet, except that he knew nothing of the historical character of the personages of whom he spoke." Love had nothing to do with the death of Monaldeschi. Christina's action can be explained, but cannot be justified, and will always remain a terrible blot on her memory. Monaldeschi was certainly not a sympathetic character, but Santanelli, his adversary, protected by the Queen, was even less so, and it is not the least reproach that can be made against the Queen that she sacrificed a victim to such a mean personage.

We must refer to M. de Bildt for all the details of the drama, and for the attitude she took after it. His voluminous work is a document of permanent value. To the end of her life, in Rome or on her journeys, in her relations with Sweden, with France, with the Church of Rome, she continued to be the same restless, clever but irrational person. Christina died at the Riario Palace, leaving Azzolino her universal heir. She was buried in the vaults of Saint Peter. Azzolino died the 8th of June in the same year.

Correspondence.

THE UNITED STATES IN SAMOA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Please allow me, in your columns, at this critical time, to speak a word for the Samoans.

I have lived in Samoa; I know the people. I also know how hard it is for those who have not lived there to think of these brown, half-clad natives other than as negroes or savages. They are neither. They are as unlike negroes as negroes are unlike the white population of America. Neither are they savages, nor have been, within the memory of man; but they are a civilized and Christian people. All the world knows in what high esteem they were held by Mr. R. L. Stevenson. Lord Pembroke pronounced them the noblest and most lovable race of people he had ever known. They are naturally independent and self-respecting. They are law-abiding and love peace. There can be no better proof of this than the fact that when Mataafa, the great hero of Samoa, their rightful ruler by birth and choice of the people, was brought back from exile during the late King's lifetime, they sought not by a single act to overthrow the existing government. They had never forgotten their rightful King in captivity, and welcomed him back with such joyful demonstrations as have never before been seen in Samoa. But it was as their loved hero they welcomed him, while they continued their allegiance to the King the whites had put over them.

It was not until Malletoa Laupepa died that they crowned Mataafa King. Then was brought forward this miserable seventeen-year-old boy, Tanu, by the missionaries and Chief Justice Chambers. I doubt even if he is a true son of old Malletoa Laupepa, as I never heard of him in all the time I lived in Samoa, and I knew the King and his family. Tanu had no native adherents but those of his own clan, who, by the ancient customs of Samoans, had no choice but to stand by him. They were the same who fought by Mataafa's side in the war of 1888. Our own native family of Vailima were of this clan, and I know their hearts were with Mataafa; and even after the conflict of the forces of Mataafa and Tanu on January 1 of this year, a duel in which the honor of the clan was satisfied, I know how peaceably they would have returned to their smoking villages and rebuilt their houses and replanted their fields.

Mr. Chambers is a Southerner. His attitude towards the Samoans was always that of a master towards negroes. He openly said once, when Land Commissioner in Samoa after the last war, "that three acres of land was enough for any native." I am glad to say that he was promptly told, and that

by an American citizen, "that he was not sent to determine how much land was enough for a native, but to whom the land belonged." I was in Samoa when he received his appointment as Chief Justice, and know with what disfavor it was received by the best whites in Samoa. His decision in regard to the kingship was based on a mere quibble and not on basic right and wrong. He founded it upon a protocol to the treaty that Germany had demanded in the Berlin Convention and later, through her consul-general, had withdrawn; a protocol never made known to the Samoans when they accepted the treaty, and about which there has ever been a question of legality.

When Admiral Kautz arrived upon the scene, there was a provisional government, with Mataafa at its head, which the three consuls had agreed to recognize until they could consult with their home governments. Within two days of his arrival, this would-be Dewey overthrew the provisional government, began shelling defenceless villages, and sending troops against the Mataafa in the bush where they had been driven. The blood of every native and white shed after his arrival, meant to keep peace and protect the interest of foreigners, is as much on his head as if he had murdered each one with his own hands.

America and England are in the same position now that Germany was in 1888-'9, when, with arms, we demanded she desist trying to force upon the Samoans a King they did not want. As Germany was wrong and America right in 1888-'9, so are America and England wrong now and Germany right.

Vailele, where the Samoans withstood the attack of the English and American forces on April 1, is the same battlefield where they repulsed the Germans in 1888. The battle of April 1 was the Lexington of Samoa.

"You know the rest. In the books you have read
How the British Regulars fired and fled—
How the farmers gave them ball for ball,
How behind each fence and farmyard wall,
Chasing the red-coats down the lane,
Then crossing the fields to emerge again
Under the trees at the turn of the road,
And only passing to fire and load."

But, to our lasting shame and dishonor, we were red-coats in that fight.

I am, very respectfully yours,

KATHARINE OSBOURNE.

MADIRA, April 24, 1899.

WOOD ENGRAVING VS. "PROCESS."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I am glad to see, in the illustrations of the *Century*, at least, evidence of a returning sense of the value of the pure line in wood-cut illustrations, and dissatisfaction with the process reproduction of drawings in tint, which has been debasing our book illustration so long. Cheapness does not stand for everything in any direction except the alimentary, and not always there, and I doubt if what has been gained in certain qualities of fidelity in reproduction will ever compensate us for the discouraging effect produced on the wood-cutting craft by its so large adoption. Of course this was in a measure inevitable, since there are so many cases in which the cheapness of production is the necessary condition of the illustration being produced; but wherever the artistic quality of the reproduction, especially of works of art, is important, it seems to me that every degree of utilization of "process" is accompanied by a corresponding deterioration in quality.

Taking the *Century* for April, which is the last I have, and which represents all, or nearly all, the stages of assisted work, it is impossible not to recognize the sterling value of process in such reproductions as the portrait of Admiral Montojo and that of Gen. Greene, but nothing outside of bare necessity makes the portraits of Merritt and Chadwick permissible; while if we take the best of the mixed plates, that of the portrait of Dewey, and compare it, simply as rendering of flesh, and luminous tint, suggesting at least the luminousness of the flesh, with the head by Cole in a previous number, the "Parson's Daughter" after Romney, it will be seen that the difference is radical. The luminousness of the pure line, pure black in immediate contact with pure white, is not to be attained by any graduation of tint which does not give it. The only question, and this is one which only the engraver himself can fully answer, is how far the process basis could be made use of in the production of line work like that of the Cole block. If the process gradation appear at all in the finished work, it seems to me to mean so much loss of quality; if it does not appear, it is hard to see what advantage the use of process has over the former method of working on a photographic reproduction on the block, which is that of the Cole cutting. To my taste, the "Parson's Daughter" is the most exquisite example of pure line in a head that I know of in contemporary work, and if process is going to make such engraving unattainable by lowering the technical education of our future engravers, it will be a misfortune with no adequate compensation.

And, by the way, it is a matter of interest to inquire how the mixed style is going to affect the absurd decision of our Treasury which classes wood blocks as carved wood at 30 per cent. duty, while it permits a stereotype plate, which the engraved process plate is, to come into the United States free of duty. According to the sapient logic of our Treasury, if Mr. Cole can manage to do all his work on a process plate, he can escape the duty which now prevents his sending his large blocks to be printed in America. As he still holds to his purpose of bringing out the large engravings from the old Italian masters of which there was mention in the *Nation* several years ago, this question may be important to him and us.—Yours truly,

W. J. STILLMAN.

CANDERBURY, W. BOURNEMOUTH, ENGLAND.

GALILEO'S REASONING.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Galileo endeavored to show by a *priori* reasoning that the velocity of a falling body cannot be proportional to the distance fallen. In my 'History of Physics' I adopt the view that Galileo's argument on this point is illogical. Your reviewer of my history tries to show (p. 317) that Galileo's reasoning is sound, but I cannot accept his position. Galileo says:

"If the velocity with which a body overcomes four yards is double the velocity with which it passed over the first two yards, then the times necessary for these processes must be equal; but four yards can be overcome in the same time as two yards only if there is an instantaneous motion."

To test these assertions, we express Galileo's assumption by the formula:

$$\frac{ds}{dt} = v = as,$$

where a is some finite constant (not zero).

If it is possible for s to attain a finite value, then we see from this formula that the velocity is finite. Therefore, having a finite velocity, the body cannot pass from two yards to four yards *instantaneously*. Hence, Galileo's conclusion does not follow. The reason why the reviewer finds the time for this passage to be zero is because (contrary to Galileo's hypothesis) he assumes *this time to be zero*.

As a matter of fact, the distance s can never attain a finite value. The correct conclusion to be drawn from Galileo's assumption is that the body can never begin to move. Since Galileo concludes that instantaneous motion is the result when really there can be no motion at all, his reasoning is fallacious.

FLORIAN CAJORI.

[Galileo's reasoning (which, by the way, is not, properly speaking, *a priori*) was intended to refute the hypothesis that the velocities of a falling body at different times are proportional to the spaces described from a state of rest. This it did by showing that that hypothesis, conjoined with the indisputable facts that neither the time occupied in falling a finite distance nor the velocity acquired is infinite, constitutes an absurdity—that is to say, leads logically to contradictory results. We gave a conjectural restoration of the complete argument of the youthful Galileo, which in his extreme old age he but imperfectly indicated (*Opere*, 1842-56, vol. xiii., p. 161), and remarked that, so understood, it involved no logical flaw.

It is this assertion that Prof. Cajori disputes. When a disputant says an opponent's argument involves a fault of logic, it is his duty to point out clearly just wherein that fault consists. Prof. Cajori does not do this when he says that the reason we find the time to be zero is because we assume the time to be zero, for we made no such initial assumption, but only proved it must be so according to the hypothesis, if the whole time of fall is not infinite.

In that proof Prof. Cajori, it seems, can find no flaw. But he offers two arguments to show that such flaw there must be. The first of these consists in showing that the hypothesis leads to a conclusion contrary to that which Galileo deduces from it. This, however, would prove Galileo's reasoning wrong only on the assumption that the hypothesis is not one of those from which contradictory conclusions can be correctly deduced; that is, it shows that Galileo's reasoning is wrong only in case Galileo's conclusion that the hypothesis is absurd is wrong. Thus, Prof. Cajori's first argument is a *petitio principii*.

His other argument is, that Galileo's reasoning must be fallacious because quite a different absurdity can be deduced from the hypothesis. This would be good reasoning only if an absurd hypothesis could lead to but a single absurd consequence. Now, this is never the case.

Every mathematician knows that the

solution of the differential equation

$$\frac{ds}{dt} = as$$

is $s = Ce^{at}$. In order that s and t should both be zero together, C must be infinitesimal. Then, for a finite value of s , either a or t must be infinite. That is, either the acquired velocity or the time of fall must be infinite. Galileo's argument first adduces the fact that the time is finite, and on that assumption concludes that the hypothesis would involve an infinite acquired velocity, which is absurd. Prof. Cajori says this argument is illogical, because the true logical procedure is first to adduce the fact that the acquired velocity is finite, and on that assumption to show that the time of fall is infinite, which is absurd. The truth is, that these two arguments entirely agree and support one another, and must stand or fall together; so that Prof. Cajori's second argument only goes to show that Galileo's reasoning is correct, while his first argument in no degree impugns it.

We must not be understood as acknowledging the logical accuracy of Prof. Cajori's remarks in points which, for brevity's sake, we leave unnoticed.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

Small, Maynard & Company, Boston, announce that Mr. Dunne's new book, 'Mr. Dooley: In the Hearts of his Countrymen,' will be published by them next September, and 'The Dreyfus Case,' compactly presented by Richard W. Hale, a lawyer of Boston.

Lee & Shepard, Boston, announces for the early fall 'For Love's Sweet Sake: Selected Poems of Love in All Moods,' edited by G. Hembert Westley; and 'Camping on the St. Lawrence; or, On the Trail of the Early Discoverers,' a boy's book, by Everett T. Tomlinson.

Drexel Biddle, Philadelphia, has in press Ouida's 'La Strega'; a translation of Maupassant's 'Strong as Death,' by Teofilo E. Comba; 'An Atlantic Tragedy,' by W. Clark Russell; and 'Arctic Romances,' by Albert White Vorse, a member of Lieut. Peary's expedition in 1892.

Additional announcements from D. Appleton & Co. are 'A History of the American Nation,' by Prof. A. C. McLaughlin—the first volume in the new "Twentieth Century Series"; 'A History of Bohemian Literature,' by Count Lützow, in the "Literature of the World Series"; and 'Idylls of the Sea,' by F. T. Bullen.

'A Princess of Vascony,' by John Oxenham, will be published by G. W. Dillingham Co.

Mr. J. C. L. Clark's 'Two Summer Islands and Papers,' in preparation by C. de Hasbrouck, Boston, will contain sixteen pictures from photographs and old prints, and an historical map.

Lawrence & Bullen, London, who recently published 'From Cromwell to Wellington,' are about to issue a companion volume, 'From Howard to Nelson: Twelve Sailors.' The general editor is Prof. J. Knox Laughton, assisted by Vice-Admiral Sir

Frederick G. D. Bedford, K.C.B., Captain Montagu Burrows, R. N., Admiral Sir Edward Fremantle, K.C.B., Admiral Sir R. Vesey Hamilton, G.C.B., and other commanders of long and varied experience.

What the procession of alumni—plus the invisible spectrum of the absent and departed—is to a college at its commencement, the file of authors is to a publishing-house of long standing and a just pride in its function and history. To show this file is worth a book, has been the thought of a Boston house, and the result is one of the most attractive products of the Riverside Press—'A Catalogue of Authors whose Works are Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Prefaced by a sketch of the firm, and followed by lists of the several libraries, series, and periodicals. With some account of the origin and character of these literary enterprises.' This full title-page leaves room for little further description of the contents; but it should be said that a brief biographical sketch of each author precedes the list of his works and editions emanating from the firm in question, so that the catalogue has on this side the value of a book of reference for foreign as well as American writers. There is, besides, an index to the publications; and Hawthorne and the five contemporary poets whose works are exclusively controlled by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. (and who yet await their peers in succession) are well portrayed in an etched frontispiece.

On April 23 Geheimer Commerzienrath Adolf Kroener of Stuttgart, Germany, completed the fortieth year of his activity as publisher in connection with the Union Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, and as the present head of the famous house of Cotta. The living authors whose works have been issued by him—Hermann Sudermann, Ludwig Fulda, Adolf Willbrandt, Paul Heyse, Hermann Lingg, Wilhelm Hertz, Otto Braun, E. P. Evans, F. Jodl, Sigmund Riezler, Richard Weltrich, and many others—celebrated this anniversary by presenting him with a "Gedenkbuch," consisting of sheets of heavy paper of uniform size and superior quality, on which each author wrote the expression of his personal sentiments in a manner suitable to the occasion, and usually in poetic form. The folio volume, composed of these autographic productions elegantly bound, possesses a unique and highly interesting character, inasmuch as it contains contributions by many of the most distinguished literary men and scholars of Germany. It is also a memorial which Herr Kroener, who for two-score years has been the warm friend and wise counsellor of German writers and an efficient promoter of German letters, richly deserves.

In 1659 J. G. Cotta, whose ancestors were Italian, and had migrated to Germany early in the fourteenth century, married the widow of the academic bookseller, Philip Brunn of Tübingen. The bookstore which his wife brought in dower now became the "J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung," which, however, did not begin to rank high as a publishing house until 1787, under the direction of his great-grandson, Johann Friedrich Cotta, who stood in intimate relations of friendship to Herder, Goethe, Schiller, Jean Paul Richter, Wieland, Tieck, Voos, Zachokke, Fichte, Hegel, Schelling, Alexander and Wilhelm von Humboldt, and nearly all the most illustrious Germans of his time. This enlightened and genial spirit became traditional in the Cotta establishment, and has always characterized

its intercourse with the authors whose works it has published, and who are nearly all representative men in literature, art, politics, finance, political economy, history, biography, poetry, philosophy, and theology. It has issued numerous periodicals devoted, for the most part, to belles-lettres or to special departments of science. On the death of Karl Cotta, in 1888, the business, with the right of retaining the name of the firm, was purchased by Kroener, who had, in fact, held it by lease since 1879. Under his direction it has preserved its reputation, and even enlarged its sphere, and will doubtless exert as beneficent an influence in the twentieth as it has exerted in the nineteenth century.

A monumental labor in the cause of peace, authorized by Congress three years ago, is concluded, with good omen, on the eve of the Czar's Disarmament Congress. We refer to the 'History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to which the United States has been a party,' in six stout volumes, paged continuously, of which the fifth is composed of appendices and an index, and the sixth wholly of maps, though maps are interspersed in volumes I.-IV. This task was confided to Prof. John Bassett Moore of Columbia University, late Assistant Secretary of State, who may take a just satisfaction in it, from any point of view. The appendices give the text of the treaties relating to the respective arbitrations, together with "historical and legal notes on other international arbitrations, ancient and modern, and on the domestic commissions of the United States for the adjustment of international claims." The French indemnity, the Danish, Neapolitan, Peruvian, Brazilian, and Chinese, the Florida claims and the *Alabama* claims, are some of the heads of this portion; and the last section is "Plans for Permanent Arbitration." This invaluable work of reference is certain to play a useful part in promoting the federation of the world.

'The War of the Future' is the title of the much discussed work of Bloch which is generally credited with having exercised such marked and potent influence on the Czar in his propaganda for the Peace Conference. The work in question is such a complete thesaurus of data and discussion of the necessary character and consequences of the future war, in view of the phenomenal development in war equipments and technic, that European critics who contest Bloch's proposals fully acknowledge the exceptional value of his collection of materials. A German translation of the series is now in progress, under the title of 'Der Krieg,' to appear in six volumes, of which the first, second, and last have been issued. As these proportions will prevent the general circulation of the work, the Munich committee organized to agitate in favor of the Peace Conference has prepared a brief summary, covering seventy pages, and sold at the nominal price of sixty pfennigs. It is published by the house of Vita. The preface declares that this abstract is published "to enable every one intelligently and on the basis of the leading facts to understand the problem involved."

With its thirty-sixth annual issue the 'Statesman's Year-book' (Macmillan) makes an irresistible bid for this market by prefixing a special section for the United States prepared by Carroll D. Wright. The matter here most intelligently condensed and arranged and indexed is a statistical exhibition of the government of our country, in all its

branches; of the natural industry and growth, finances, education, labor conditions and legislation, parties and elections; of municipalities, with a novel and valuable table of city population, revenue, debt, valuation, tax-rate, names of mayors and city clerks. The personnel of the Federal Administration and of the consular service is also recorded, and in many more ways than we can enumerate this compilation will prove a remarkably convenient handbook. Hawaii and Porto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines not less, are similarly described as American territory, with maps. In the foreign portion of the 'Year-book' are timely maps of Newfoundland (with reference to the fisheries dispute with France); Africa, with Rhodes's wedge betwixt east and west Continental colonies or "spheres"; and Hong Kong, with its recent aggrandizement on the mainland.

The French Revolution has been studied chiefly as a grand political tragedy. Its social aspects have not received their share of scholarly attention, and so it is practically an unworked field which M. André Lichtenberger has investigated in his '*Le Socialisme et la Révolution française*' (Paris: Alcan). Last year M. Espinas published certain selected lectures, delivered at the University of Paris, on the same subject, but they were merely an argument against socialism, based upon a misconception of the Revolution as one long scene of disorder and ruin, a horrible example of the pass to which socialistic theories may hurry a great state. M. Lichtenberger has approached his task under the auspices of a better historical method. His previous work, on '*Le Socialisme au XVIIIe Siècle*,' had been favorably criticised. In his new volume he finds that the Revolution (particularly the latter part of 1793) is an epoch in the development of socialism, whose theories, which had usually been put forth by the philosophers, then first found their way into the speeches of politicians. Moreover, the line of social cleavage ran no longer between the privileged and the unprivileged, but between the rich and the poor. This is all that socialism owes to the Revolution, thinks M. Lichtenberger, for the people in 1789, judging from their *cahiers*, had no socialistic aspirations, and even the Jacobin leaders took only the most timid steps towards social reorganization, although their oratory glowed with a philosophic hatred of inequality.

The Boston Book Co. has put out as its sixth "Bulletin of Bibliography Pamphlets" the 'Children's Reading-List on Animals,' compiled by the Pratt Institute Free Library of Brooklyn, with the chief mammals in view. Alice's "Walrus and the Carpenter" finds a place with Wordsworth's dog poem, "Fidelity," Harris's Bre'r Rabbit, Don Quixote's Rosinante, Byron's Maseppa, Kipling's "How the Camel got his Hump," and much genuine natural history, from Darwin to Hornaday.

Two bulletins just issued from the office of the Register of Copyrights at Washington possess a wide interest. The first is the present Copyright Law of the United States, annotated and indexed by Mr. Solberg, together with lists of countries with which we have copyright relations and of Congressional acts regarding copyright from 1790 to 1897 inclusive. The second is "Directions for Securing Copyrights," with a useful list of articles not subject to copyright protection. A note states that the weekly catalogue of copyright entries is distributed by

the Treasury Department, and may be subscribed for at five dollars a year, through the nearest collector of customs.

The April issue of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* is noticeably rich in Franklinitiana. The opening paper, by John W. Jordan, exhibits Franklin improving his opportunities in England in 1758, as a family genealogist, and is illustrated by numerous highly interesting facsimiles. Much information is here given supplementary to that contained in the *Autobiography*, and which deserves a place in any new edition of that classic. There is a true Franklinitian flavor in a letter from a cousin, Mary Fisher, who died a few months later. The Folger pedigree is recorded among the rest. The frontispiece to this number is a valuable pen-portrait of Franklin, by Benjamin West.

John J. Boyle's seated statue of Franklin for the front of the Philadelphia post-office is the most interesting plate in the *Artist* for April (New York: Truslove, Hanson & Combs). They view selected, though said not to be the best, implies a genuine work of art.

The puzzling question how far difference of race or nationality may affect the competency of the literary critic is discussed by Dr. Marcou in his essay, "Are French Poets Poetic?" in the last number of *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*; and now M. de Wyzewa raises it in his critique of the works of Conrad Ferdinand Meyer (in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for April 15), which is surprisingly at variance with the well-nigh unanimous judgment of German readers and critics. On some points he is doubtless in error, as when, in speaking of C. F. Meyer's style, he considers the use of the pleonastic negation a barbarism due to French influence; but some other, more important, criticisms are just, from the French point of view, and valuable, as leading to a less biased appreciation of the eminent Swiss poet and novelist. It cannot be said of M. de Wyzewa that he lacks what Mr. Saintsbury calls the essence of criticism, viz., the ability "to appreciate what you don't like." Byron, Helne, Emerson, Tennyson, we learn from Mr. Marcou, did lack this faculty, at least in respect of French poetry—but they were only dilettanti in criticism.

Dokumente der Frauen is the title of a new monthly published at Vienna (Magdalenenstrasse 12), whose purpose is to make known the actual facts pertaining to the life conditions of the various groups of wage-earning women, more especially in Austria. It appears from the census of 1890 that of nine million women above the age of ten, in that country, six and one-quarter millions were earning an independent livelihood; the proportion of women to men of the wage-earning class being 79 per cent., against 39 in Germany, 26 in England, and 15 in this country. It is no wonder that under such circumstances the idea should have arisen among the more fortunate of the sex to seek the relief of misery by giving greater publicity to its existence.

The Imperial expansion of Great Britain is having one unexpected and undesirable result. It is depleting the country of a valuable and energetic section of its manhood, while it leaves large numbers of women unprovided for. In twenty years the surplus of women over men in the United Kingdom has increased from a quarter of a

million to a million and a quarter. The natural remedy for this evil is suggested by the fact that women are greatly needed in the newly settled districts of the Empire. These sons of poor clergymen, lawyers, doctors, military and naval officers, who are going in increasing numbers every year, need women of their own class to make homes for them. But hitherto it has been held to be practically impossible for ladies to face successfully the conditions which prevail in the outskirts of civilization. To meet this difficulty, it is proposed in the *London Times*, presumably by its colonial editor, Miss Flora L. Shaw, to establish a "training-home for lady colonists," in connection with one of the Government experimental farms in the prairies of the Northwest Territories of Canada. "Dairying, gardening, poultry-rearing, bee-keeping, breadmaking, cooking, washing, and other household arts would form part of the course." While it is possible that in some instances women thus instructed may purchase and work land for themselves, it is believed that in the majority of cases "they will, in the first instance, work in cooperation with their farmer brothers on a system of mutual profit." It is hoped that the Canadian Government will favor the scheme, which, if successful, will probably be aided by private subscriptions and endowments.

Señor Navarro Reverter, who, as Minister of Finance, framed the budgets of 1896 and 1897, comes forward as critic, and gives a forecast of what is essential to restore the credit of Spain. The most weighty circumstance is the extraordinary increase in the interest charge on the debt. Before the war, a nominal capital of 6,688,000,000 pesetas paid interest to the amount of 311,500,000 pesetas. The debts contracted during the war and the assumed debts of the colonies were 5,000,000,000 pesetas, but draw an annual interest of 334,340,000 pesetas. Nearly three-fourths of the entire annual income of Spain is swallowed up by this interest, leaving nothing for reducing the capital of the debt, and an insufficient sum to meet the running expenses of a costly and not over-honest administration. The remedy suggested by Señor Reverter is characteristic: the bond-holder must be mulcted. As the debt cannot be paid, it must be scaled, and as the rate of interest is usurious, it must be reduced. The taxpayer must be squeezed and his charges increased.

At Oxford a public lecture has just been delivered by Professor Earle on Alfred's jewel preserved there in Ashmole's Museum, and found in Somersetshire near the eyot of Athelney, where Alfred "burnt the cakes" and subsequently founded a monastery. This jewel consists in the archaic figure of a saint done in colored enamel. This enamel, the lecturer said, was not of Saxon workmanship, and he opined that the figure might be one of the gifts sent from Rome or Constantinople to Alfred. The figure is seated on a sort of throne and holds two palms. It is encased in a setting of gold filigree-work which ends downward in a carefully wrought boar's head. A disc of crystal fronts the seated saint. The whole is about two inches in height. The setting bears witness to the skill in the goldsmith's craft encouraged by Alfred in Wessex. The mouth of the boar's head at the bottom of the whole jewel evidently implies some dowel by which it was attached. Various suppositions

have been made as to the use of the jewel and its appendages. Prof. Earle mentioned several, and inclined finally to dwell upon the notion that the jewel formed the central decoration, rising up just at the middle of the forehead, in the rim of Alfred's helmet, used, not in battle, but as a crown on state occasions. The boar's head figures frequently as the characteristic decoration of the helmet (cf. *Beowulf* vv. 303, 1112, 1286, and 1454). The lecturer then spoke of two other Saxon jewels familiar to Alfred's age and still preserved, the ring of Ealstan, Bishop of Sherborne, through the reigns of Alfred's grandfather, father, and two elder brothers, and the ring of Elswitha, Alfred's Queen, now in the British Museum.

It has all along been supposed that the *Codex Vaticanus*, the leading Biblical manuscript extant, was of Egyptian origin, but practically conclusive evidence of it has not been furnished until recently. This is found in a thoroughly scholarly study by Alfred Rahlfs, printed in the *Nachrichten* of the Göttingen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften (1899, Heft I.), and entitled "Alter und Hermath der vaticanischen Bibelhandschrift." The mode of investigation is by comparison with the famous Festival Letter, No. 39, of Athanasius, which, in the order in which the Old Testament books are given, presents features found in common only in the *Vaticanus* and not shared by the *Sinaiticus*, *Alexandrinus*, or other leading Bible manuscripts. This is true both of the Canonical and the Apocryphal books. Only in one respect is there a disagreement between the *Codex* and the letter of Athanasius; but for this Rahlfs offers a satisfactory explanation, the point at issue being the position assigned to Judith next to Esther. In the case of the New Testament, too, this same agreement is found—all the more noteworthy in the case of Hebrews, which is here placed ahead of the Pauline writings. Rahlfs is convinced that the *Vaticanus* is dependent on Athanasius, and not vice versa; and as the letter in question was written in 367, the *Codex* itself must be younger. These are the first data at hand for settling the age of the latter work, although it has generally been assigned to the fourth century.

—The *Atlantic* for May contains the seventh instalment of Prince Kropotkin's "Autobiography of a Revolutionist." In this he gives an account of Nihilism, saying that "the movement is wholly misunderstood in Western Europe." It had nothing to do with terrorism, or republicanism, or assassination, but should be regarded as a philosophical movement directed against "the conventional lies of civilized mankind." The Nihilist broke with the superstitions of his fathers, and was a positivist, an agnostic, a Spencerian evolutionist, or a scientific materialist; while never attacking genuine religious belief, he fought against hypocrisy. He objected, especially, to all social hypocrisies. A Nihilist, when he met a person in the street who was indifferent to him, remained outwardly indifferent; he smiled only on meeting those whose approach made him glad. "All those forms of outward politeness which are mere hypocrisy were equally repugnant to him, and he assumed a certain external roughness as a protest against the smooth amiability of his fathers." He objected to sentimentality, and also to domestic tyranny; so that sons became Nihilists while fathers remained of the old faith. Carlyle

and Thoreau in their respective spheres led movements which Russian Nihilists might have approved in some respects, though apparently they had never heard of either philosopher. Among the things that the Nihilist disliked was "continual talk about beauty, the ideal, art for art's sake, aesthetics"; one of his assertions being that "a pair of boots is more important than all your refined talk about Shakspeare." This leads us back to politics through the door of socialism, for the reason why the Nihilist so disliked aesthetics seems to have been because art and literature were among the pleasures of the luxurious classes who lived on the labor of those who went barefoot.

—In *Scribner's* the "Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson," edited by Sidney Colvin, grow more interesting than heretofore. The current instalment carries Mr. Stevenson to California and gives a vivid picture of the man. The American lady whom he was afterwards to marry returned with her children to California in the autumn of 1878. He determined to follow. Asking for no supplies from home, but resolved to test his power of self-support by means of literature, he made the voyage in the steerage, and afterwards crossed the continent in an emigrant-train. He arrived at his destination with his health shaken, and later on broke down altogether. His life was saved by his future wife and the physician to whom a characteristic letter of thanks is here printed. Until his strength gave out, he led a life of great frugality, "amounting to self-imposed penury," and his letters reflect the misery and poverty which he suffered. But they reflect also the indomitable courage and determination of a man who throughout the greater part of his life faced a rapidly approaching fate with a smiling front. Almost every one remembers some book of Stevenson's (his writing was more multifarious than that of most men) the reading of which marked an epoch in his life. To one, 'Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde' is a most illuminating allegory; to another, the 'New Arabian Nights' is a memorable imaginative feat; to others, 'David Balfour' and 'Treasure Island' are never-to-be-forgotten stories of adventure. But to a critic in search of the original, singular, individual thing in his writing, the curious dominant note of death in life must constantly recur—not the *memento mori* of the moralist, but the ever-present shadow of the grave, ready to open and welcome him to an eternal rest, from which, with all his love of life, he does not flinch. To enjoy life as keenly as Stevenson did, with death at one's elbow, and yet to think of death as one's friend, may give a sense of romantic exaltation, such as certainly seems to show itself in these letters. "But death is no bad friend: a few aches and gasps, and we are done; like the truant-child, I am beginning to grow weary and timid in this big jostling city, and could run to my nurse, even though she should have to whip me before putting me to bed." This is the voice of the man whose strange face is preserved for posterity in Sargent's portrait, and whose writing, to our mind, is at its best when it deals with topics that to most of us are only to be shunned.

—The *Century* for May makes the unexpected announcement that it is getting to the end of its Spanish war series. In the current number it felicitates itself on being

able to offer to its readers "The Climax" of it—in other words, some sixty-eight pages called "The Story of the Captains"—personal narratives of the naval engagement near Santiago July 3, 1898, by nine officers of the American fleet. To these should be added "A Note on Cervera's Strategy," by Capt. Clark of the *Oregon*, in which the latter maintains the opinion that, assuming that the Spanish Admiral "had to come out," he would have done better to come out of a dark night than by day. This opinion is, we believe, widely shared by naval experts. The editor of the magazine promises an absolutely final *bonne bouche* in "a few papers, of a special character." And so this great war series passes out of sight, carrying with it into the belly of devouring time the captains and the shouting. Was it overdone? Did it verge on comic opera? Were there too many photographs and personal narratives in proportion to the casualties on the victorious side? "Intercivic Humor," by Tudor Jenks, is an account of that species of newspaper humor which flourished twenty-five years ago much more than it does now, and which consisted of gibes invented in one city, say Chicago, at the expense of another, say St. Louis. The motive of it might be rivalry or mere malice, or a fitting editorial pride, but it always seemed very American, though no doubt jokes of this sort were made before Columbus was born. Like all jokes involving a sense of personal superiority on the side of the inventor or teller, they are often less amusing in print than when repeated by word of mouth. We miss one or two invented at the expense of Boston—as that "Boston is not a place, but a state of mind," and the story of the Bostonian over whose admission to Heaven St. Peter hesitates, finally saying, "Well, you may go in—but you won't like it." Mrs. James T. Fields's illustrated article on Charles and Mary Cowden Clarke ("Two Lovers of Literature and Art") should not be overlooked.

—In *Harper's*, Henry Cabot Lodge's "Spanish-American War" holds the place of honor. What seems to have attracted most general attention in this chapter is his philosophical reflections on the causes of what he refers to as "a vast crop of delays, blunders, and what was far worse, of needless suffering, disease, and death, to the brave men in the field." The common way of explaining these is to attribute them to Alger, McKinley, Eagan, Corbin, and Shafter; but, in the eyes of the Massachusetts historian, only superficial people such as edit newspapers will be satisfied with an explanation so shallow. He plunges to the bottom—behind the "shows of things," as Bacon would have said—and brings up the following great thought: "The fundamental fact was, that the chief, predominant cause of all the failures, blunders, and needless suffering was a thoroughly bad system of military administration." Two other propositions follow which are also noticeable: "An inferior man can do well with a good system, better than a superior man with a bad system," and "The men of genius, the Pitts, the Carnots, and the Stantons, . . . are very rare." Finally, "To-day the system stands guilty of the blunders, delays, and needless sufferings and deaths of the war," and, oh, shame! "Reforms are resisted by patriots who have so little faith in the republic that they think an army of 100,000 men puts it in danger." These pregnant sentences dispose of

the matter, and dispense us from the stupid and profitless inquiry, in which so many are engaged, into the question of human responsibility for the things complained of—blunders, disease, and needless deaths. Who was to blame for the bad beef? The system. How did McKinley happen to appoint Alger? It was owing to the system. How do you account for Shafter, Corbin, and Eagan? The system stands convicted of them. This view is all the fashion with latter-day historians, but Mr. Lodge outdoes his predecessors, and may claim a place to-day at the head of the school. Curiously enough, his Massachusetts critics say that the system stands guilty, too, of Lodge; that is to say, that, so far as human will and the desire of the electorate go, Massachusetts is opposed to Lodge, but the system, working with the blind force of a machine, keeps him firmly on top of them. No wonder he is a fatalist. Julian Ralph has a readable illustrated article on "Keeping House in London," in which he discusses the question of the comparative cost of life there and here. Service and rent are admitted by everybody to be higher here, and the general verdict would probably be that "money goes further" to-day in England than in America—at least we have never heard of people coming to live in New York for the sake of economy. But when we go into the details of the cost of housekeeping, so much depends on the individual standard and habits of the housekeeper that there is room for much argument.

—Volumes iv. and v. of the Oxford English Dictionary (New York: Henry Frowde) advance together in the April quarterly double issue; Mr. Bradley carrying his G to *Grasscloth*, and Dr. Murray his H to *Horizontal*. In the one case, *get*, with seven or eight pages, and *give*, with eight or nine, are the weightiest items, both being words of Scandinavian origin or influence. Noticeable here is that while the perfect *have got* for 'have,' 'possess,' is as old as Shakspeare in the "Merchant of Venice," *have got* to in the sense of 'to have to,' 'to be obliged to,' is of recent use, in literature at least, and the earliest citation is from Ruskin in 'Fors Clavigera.' Our *get there* has found a foothold in England. Under *get over*, only transitive uses are cited, but lovers of Bewick will recall his vignette of a tombstone with the cheerful inscription, "Good times, and bad times, and all times get over." The Gallicism *give on* (as, a window upon a park) was adventured by Theodore Hook in 1840. While the rubric *giveable* retains the *e* of the verb, the only quotation is of *giveable*, and usage in analogous cases appears likely to remain fluctuating. So with *gibber*, in which soft *g* is given precedence of hard, while *gibberish* is allowed the hard only—the latter word being of earlier occurrence, and the former perhaps uniting two parallel formations. Our *gerrymander* is often erroneously spelt "jerrymander" in England, and perhaps even more commonly thus mispronounced. Caxton gave us the *h* in *ghost*, which became the established spelling in 1590. "Gipsy" is now the prevalent spelling of this protean word. The first vowel of *glacial* is preferably long, with *c* sounding *sh* in either case, however; in *glacier* the short *e* predominates, when *c* sounds *s*. Obscure is the derivation of *ghetto* (perhaps *borghetto*), and of *girl*, in connection with which Mr. Bradley remarks that "boy, lad, lass, and the numerous synonyms in the modern Scandinavian languages, are all of difficult etymology:

probably most of them arose as jocular transferred uses of words that had originally a different meaning." *Glamour*, introduced into the literary language by Scott, is a corrupt form of *grammar*, as will be explained hereafter. Carlyle invented *gigman*, the type of respectability, referring to testimony given at Thurtell's trial. Mr. Bradley goes to the *Times* for its contemporary report, which differs a little, but not materially.

—By humorous-historic or honorary commercial association, *Gladstone* denotes a portmanteau, a carriage, and a cheap French claret. The citations under *Gladstonian* show no bias on the part of the associate editor, and Dr. Murray is equally undemonstrative in defining *Home Rule*. But he cannot refrain, in the note prefaced to his portion, from this "little dig" in another field of controversy: "The article *honorificabilitudinitas* may be usefully consulted by Baconianists, who have 'discovered' that the long word (which was coaxed many centuries earlier into a Latin dactylic hexameter, 'Plenus honorificabilitudinitatibus esto!') was invented by Bacon and inserted in *Loose's Labour's Lost* (v. l., 44) as an elaborate anagram recording his authorship of Shakspeare's plays!" Hold is Dr. Murray's longest article. One of the most curious is *hadden*, a coarse woollen handmade cloth, of any color. Ramsay, in 1724, clad his shepherds in grey *hadden*, or, by poetic inversion, "*hadden grey*." Burns imitated him, and the combination became a stock phrase. Scott hyphenated it, and the ignorant world at large inferred that *hadden* qualified *grey*, and that the compound meant color only. Longfellow, Whittier, and Christina Rossetti fell into the pit. *Hogmanay*, the Scotch designation of the last day of the year ("Cake-day"), its oatmeal-cake gift, and the begging cry for it, apparently came from the highly analogous French word and custom called *aguilanncuf*. Why *hogshead* was so compounded is uncertain, but in passing over into Scandinavia and Germany the *hog* suffered a transmigration into *ox*; *hoguette* is the Old French adaptation of our English word. *Hog*, English slang for a shilling, is attributed to the United States in the sense of a dime, but without an indication that it is obsolete if not beyond living memory. There is a suggestion that to *go the whole hog* remounts to Cowper, but Galt in 1830, and Halliburton in 1837-40, first firmly led the way. Our plain *honor* is encountered beside *honour* abundantly till the seventeenth century, and is twice as frequent as *honour* in the Shakspeare Folio of 1623. *Honor bright* is traceable to Tom Moore in 1819. Dr. Murray does not overlook, under *hollow*, Lowell's "A marvellous Providence fashioned us hollow." The dialectic adjective *huddy*, "in good health and spirits," recalls the Sea Island negro *huddy*, a form of greeting which purists pronounced *howdy* (as if *how-do?*), perhaps by a false etymology. "Tell my Jesus huddy O," "Bro' Quash sen' heap o' howdy," are two examples recorded by the late Prof. W. F. Allen in 'Slave Songs of the United States.'

GREEK AND LATIN SYNTAX.

Grammaire Comparée du Grec et du Latin: Syntaxe. Par Othon Riemann et Henri Goelzer. Paris: Armand Colin & Cie. 1899.

Riemann, who died August 16, 1891, of the effects of a fall from the Morgenberg, left

behind him the name of a good grammarian, an honor much coveted by scholars, and seldom conceded by those whose opinion is worth having. He made his début with an excellent monograph on the language of Livy, and followed up his success by a number of studies in the domain of Latin grammar. In Greek, also, he showed a praiseworthy activity, chiefly, however, in connection with translations and adaptations of German work; but his personal contributions attracted attention and extorted admiration even on the right bank of the Rhine. Goelzer made his bow to the learned public with a treatise on the Latinity of St. Jerome, and is, as Riemann was, a *maître de conférences* at the École Normale Supérieure. The two scholars had long been collaborators, and Riemann's notes enter into the fabric that bears their joint names.

As a friendly sponsor of the book has said in advance of criticism, the title is a misnomer. The book is a *parallel syntax*, not a comparative syntax, and does not escape the dangers of parallel syntax. Some wrestling of the phenomena is almost always necessary in order to bring about the parallel. The same function may be performed in entirely different ways, not only in different languages but in the same language. *That* and *who* both serve as relatives, but the genesis is different, and comparative syntax has to do with genesis, and Windisch speaks harshly of those who confound Greek and Latin relatives. The cases are on especially slippery ground. Then the silences of language are as significant as the utterances. The idiomatic absence of the relative in English, the lack of the article in Latin, mean more than pages of parallel constructions. It is true that our authors do not ignore the work that has been done in comparative syntax, and the results of that new science (not always certain) are brought to bear (not always successfully) on the explanation of the phenomena; but there is too much parallelism of Kühner the Latin grammarian with Kühner the Greek grammarian for those who do not admire Kühner unreservedly.

Of course, outside of Kühner and Madvig there are school-books enough prepared for both Latin and Greek by respectable scholars, and parallel syntaxes have been brought out before Riemann and Goelzer, some of them ludicrous performances; but the work under consideration is by far the most elaborate. It is the result of years of labor, both in the Latin domain and in the Greek, and deserves and will repay respectful study. At the same time (in spite of the Greek work they have done) Riemann and Goelzer are predominantly Latinists, and the book is of unequal value on the Greek and on the Latin side. It is true that Latin studies have of late years developed a wonderful activity, due in large measure to the impulse of Wölfflin and to the pressure of the great Latin Thesaurus, the first article of which, the work of an American scholar, has already seen the light. It is also true that the *Archiv* makes the results of these studies much more accessible. The Greek syntactician has to go further afield in search of monographs, and often finds it cheaper to gather his material himself. Then, Latin has not lost its hold on real life, and though Latin versification and Latin prose composition cannot be said to flourish, and though the whole official power of the German Empire is employed to flatten and cheapen all that

pertains to the formal mastery of the classic tongues, still a knowledge of Latin has its practical side, and the handling of it in the grammars shows that the tradition of grammar as the art of writing correctly is maintained. Students are warned against certain constructions as so many evil communications. Cicero's *hoc factio, hoc ne feceris* is much more common than the corresponding Greek injunction. Hence the Latin part of Riemann and Goelzer swarms with *pecu correct* and *in correction*, whereas Greek prose is for the most part left to its unabashed naughtiness. True, the languages themselves are partly responsible. Latin is a language of conventionalities, of social observances, so to speak. It is a game which has to be played according to rules. It is an art, like fencing, like riding, like swimming. A Roman spoke Latin as he played ball, sometimes as he played dice. Cicero cheats, has always cheated, but it was very long before anybody dared expose his little game. Nowadays, however, the youngest Latinist does not hesitate to point out Cicero's misplays, and to show how he undertakes to correct Fortune like a very dice-cogger. Indeed, it is to be feared that in time he will be sent to keep company with poor Xenophon, the retired Attic bee, and that the sole merit that Mommsen found in him will be cancelled. Ciceronian Latin is no longer a phrase to conjure with.

This traditional Antibarbarus vigilance has been enhanced by historical studies. Author after author has been dissected and the facts carefully sorted. Usage after usage has been pursued throughout the centuries, and there is always a certain subconsciousness of moral delinquency in every syntactical aberration to quicken the senses of the student. Latin becomes a pathological museum, and Riemann and Goelzer abound in specimens. When we come to the question what evil communications have corrupted good manners in this or that case, we find that our authors are often unable to decide whether the Roman culprit has been playing with vulgar boys of the neighborhood or with naughty Greeklings, and, in conformity with recent tendencies, the vulgar boys are made to bear a large part of the blame.

In Greek our authors do not show the same vigilance or, at any rate, the same sensitiveness. The men who do not lump *priusquam* and *antequam* lump *ἵνα* and *ἵνα*. Meticulous Grecians would not have constructed a paradigm with *ἵνα* *ἵνα* *ἵνα* *ἵνα*. *ἵνα* with the infinitive is not a mortal sin like the *ἵνα* *ἵνα* of which a popular Greek Composition is greatly guilty; but *ἵνα* with the infinitive is, after all, exceptional, and a sensitive Hellenist would not have used it in a paradigm, just as he would prefer *ἵνα* to *ἵνα* with Demosthenes rather than *ἵνα* to *ἵνα* with Thucydides. There is too much of the obsolete ellipsis business, ellipsis of *ἵνα*, ellipsis of *ἵνα*, ellipsis of a verb of hindering. We go back to the days of Lambertus Bqs. *ἵνα* is set down in one place as a possible aorist subjunctive, but, as a prominent Grecian recently professed faith in *ἵνα*, one must be indulgent. *ἵνα* is said to be used sometimes instead of *ἵνα*. It is a very formidable rival, as might have been learned from Joost. The equivalence of *ἵνα* with accusative and *ἵνα* with genitive is supported by a traditional example, which, rightly interpreted, fails to sustain the point. The Latin reflexive is treated in conformity with

Riemann's studies in Livy, which, according to Goelzer, show "the results that may be reached by grammatical method applied with rigor as well as delicacy"; but Dyroff's elaborate monograph on the Greek reflexive, though contained in Schanz's series and cited in Goelzer's Introduction, has not been used to the same extent as Riemann's treatise. The latest sweet thing on *lect*, which we owe to the industry of a young American scholar, finds a place in the 'Syntax Comparée,' while important German studies in Greek are neglected.

French authorities are quoted freely, and it is well; but perhaps too much reverence has been shown to the teachings of Charles Thurot and his 'Notes autographées.' The nomenclature employed by Thurot, his *génitif épithète* and *génitif attributif*, seems to be purely arbitrary, and some of his recalcitrancies are amusing. Thus he maintained that the difference in the so-called kind of time, the *status actiois*, is not rigorously applicable to the infinitive. Imperfect and aorist indicative might be used with exactness, but the Greek author had occasion to use the infinitive so frequently that he did not take time to consider which tense he ought rightly to use. This "just observation," which was anticipated by Bäumlein, is applauded by Riemann and Goelzer. In fact, Riemann wrote a paper about it. The curious fallacy, of which this is an illustration, that the Greeks and the Romans were puzzled by our puzzles, haunts all grammars, but seems to be peculiarly conspicuous in this 'Comparative Syntax.' Prof. Lawton's cry of despair, in a recent number of the *Nation*, as to the future infinitive passive in Latin, comes out of the same thick darkness that shrouds for us the workings of Cicero's mind when he encountered a verb that did not form the future participle active. It is true that the Romans had to grapple with problems similar to those which confront us, for much of their literary work consisted in translating Greek into Latin; but they solved these problems in an airy way, gave the thing another turn, and did not feel the same moral responsibility that rests upon some of our modern grammarians who insist on exact English equivalents for every phase of Latin thought. We shall never know how a Roman would have rendered modern English slang any more than we shall ever know how deft Ovid solved the linguistic problems that he encountered at Tomi. We must not lose heart because we cannot be certain how Cicero would have inflected the plural of *cor*, or mourn because of the rarity of heathen supines as we mourn because of the rarity of Christian charity. Whitney's end was not hastened because a German hates to form a plural to *Mund*.

That the examples in Riemann and Goelzer lack freshness, except when we get on ground that the authors have made their own, is not to be wondered at in a grammar that is made up out of other grammars. The good examples have not all been preoccupied, but there is a certain sacredness about the standbys, and to the end of time *Pætus* will make a present to Cicero of the books that his (*Pætus*'s) brother has left him (*Pætus*). When Lane retains the old example, it is to give it a fresh rendering, and to delight us by some idiomatic or quaint English turn, but there are few Latin grammars, or Greek either, that minister to literary enjoyment. When a solitary example recurs in every grammar, one becomes suspicious, and

it is pleasant to note that some hoary sinners which have lived for generations on the corruption of manuscripts have disappeared from Riemann and Goelzer. Of course, it is not to be expected that there should be any systematic effort to record the proportion in the occurrence of the parallel phenomena in the two languages. Matching two pennies does not prove that the matchers have the same bank behind them. Occasionally a note of warning is sounded, but that is all. And yet without something of the sort the survey is necessarily imperfect. Alphonse Karr, the florist, has, in his 'Autour de mon jardin,' a jest at the botanists who leave size out of account in giving the botanical names of two plants of the same family, and he who studies a language from the artistic point of view cannot help sympathizing with Alphonse Karr. One wishes to know the relative bulk of the phenomena. "It is useless to multiply examples" is not a comforting phrase to one who has spent hour after hour in hunting after such and such a phenomenon in such and such authors.

But enough of fault-finding that must seem petty in comparison with the magnitude of the undertaking. The book is full of information, full of suggestion from beginning to end. It is a most valuable repository of facts. It bristles with sharp points to prod the sleepy student. It is a book to be owned by every one who has a professional interest in Greek and Latin, and its imperfections are those which are incident to every living sphere of human knowledge.

THE ART OF WRITING.

Elements of Rhetoric: A Course in Plain Prose Composition. By Alphonso G. Newcomer, Associate Professor of English in the Leland Stanford Junior University. Henry Holt & Co. 1898.

L'Art d'Ecrire enseigné en vingt leçons. Par Antoine Albalat. Paris: Armand Colin et Cie. 1899.

The Arte or Crafte of Rhetoryke. By Leonard Cox. A Reprint, edited, with an introduction, notes, and glossarial index, by Frederic Ives Carpenter, Ph.D. [University of Chicago, English Studies, No. V.] Chicago. 1899.

These three works have in common the quality of readability not often associated with their class, and the first two are noticeably unconventional in their mode of developing their subject. Cox's treatise is attractive both as a literary curiosity and as a good sample of the classic tradition. It is "the first Rhetoric published in the English language; . . . is one of the earliest English schoolbooks, and is significant for the history of English prose in the first half of the sixteenth century. It is, moreover, a work connected in many interesting ways with the humanistic movement and the revival of learning in England, and with Erasmus, Melancthon, and their associates." Melancthon was, in fact, Cox's main dependence, partly in direct translation from his 'Institutiones Rhetorice' and from his 'De Rhetorica,' so that Dr. Carpenter appends Mosellanus's digest of that portion of the former treatise which relates to Invention, for purposes of comparison and as a serviceable analytical table of contents for Cox. Cicero is next most largely drawn upon, with many other Greek and Latin authors, and Erasmus (Cox's friend and

correspondent) freely, with one or two other contemporaries. These illustrations are the good reading of which we spoke above, but Dr. Carpenter is far from dry in his learned account of the author and his book, for Cox resided much on the Continent, where he had a wide reputation as a scholar, and his life in England was marked by not a little vicissitude. We will quote only an instance of the use of Narration in an oration, after Livy. Hannibal is addressing Scipio:

"It had been beste for bothe parties if it had pleased the goddess to have sent our fore faders that mynde that you of Rome wolde have ben content with the Empryre of Italy & we Caraginoys with Affryke. For neyther Sissil nor Sardynya can be any suffycient amendes to eyther of vs for so many nauels so many armies so many and so excellent capitaines loste in our warres betwene vs, but thynges passed may soner be blamed than mended. We of Cartagene (as touching our parte) have so coueted other dominions that at lengthe we had busines ynough to defende our possessions."

Prof. Newcomer discards the order usual in text-books of rhetoric and composition. He begins with Invention, "with the determination of a subject and the selection and organization of material," and works down through the paragraph, the sentence and its clauses, words and phrases, to mechanical processes. Three appendices deal with disputed and faulty diction, and present selected examples of defective and of good composition. Prof. Newcomer's style is, if not vivacious, free from dulness, and he often effectively stops to criticize by revision a careless sentence hot from his own pen. From dogmatism he keeps refreshingly aloof. A characteristic remark is (p. 255): "There is much more that might be said upon this subject, but satisfactory working rules cannot be deduced, and so we must be content to let the matter rest." And this conclusion on the lax positioning of *only* is commendably liberal: "If the adjustment [of sense on the part of hearer and reader] is made unconsciously, we can hardly ask for more. The sentences are not obscure; and the rule, usually valid in rhetoric, that everything should be not only finally clear but immediately clear, can hardly be insisted upon in this case, . . . yet . . . the word will always bear watching." Fluency (Prof. Newcomer's "so easy") lies at the bottom of the general misplacing of *only*, and this (together with euphony and stress) at the bottom of the split infinitive, which Prof. Newcomer tolerates for the sake of clearness alone. His "personal equation" naturally asserts itself in the catalogue of faulty diction, and in his incidental "don'ts," e. g. (p. 211): "Do not write, 'He lives in the lower portion of the city.' *Portion* implies division, allotment. Do not write, 'He was hit by a ball.' Write *struck*, for *hit* implies aim." These prohibitions read like the street-car advertisements of a certain popular dictionary. ("Es ist ein armer Stadtheil," say our German cousins, though *Theil* "implies division, allotment.") The section on *shall* and *will* is on the whole inadequate. For the benefit of teachers especially, a reference to Sir Edmund Head's unrivalled treatise on the subject should never be omitted. The rarity of this work, of which the second edition is more than forty years old, warrants citing the author's testimony that Shakspeare is a safe guide to the proper use of the future auxiliaries. "Very few passages," says Sir Edmund, "in that writer are really at variance with mo-

dern usage in the employment of 'shall' and 'will.' I think that it would be difficult to select half-a-dozen such in the whole of the plays." Prof. Newcomer's examples are too meagre, and we miss an enumeration or suggestion of verbs which are essentially non-volitional, and which therefore cannot be coupled with *will* in the first person. Finally, we should like to rewrite the section on Restriction (pp. 163 seq.), touching the use of *that*, *which*, and *who*. And after all we find this book a very welcome addition to those already in use for practical instruction.

If the art of writing is to be taught in twenty lessons, one must expect a swift movement in the teacher conscious of his task. With M. Albalat there is, in fact, no lagging, and the reader soon catches his pace. His own literary product consists of at least two novels, and two works in line with the present 'L'Art d'Ecrire,' both critical studies of the workmanship of French writers of the present century, living and dead. What he now undertakes is a "demonstration of the art of writing from the artists' side," and he maintains that writing is as natural as speaking, and that any one who can write a letter can learn to write a piece for print. Let it be said at once that his doctrine is not exclusively or mainly for the benefit of those whose native language is French, though his examples are confined to the literature of his own country, so that, for instance, he recommends reading Homer in a translation (preferably Leconte de Lisle's), as quite sufficient for insight into the Greek poet's processes. His insistence upon the avoidance of repetitions of a given word may be French in its extremity; he is necessarily French when recommending the formation of a style upon the classic French tradition, while expecting originality to show itself in modifying the mould. But, in general, any novice writing in any language is capable of profiting by M. Albalat's guidance and encouragement.

Reading, he says, stimulates one to write, and is a wise preparation for writing, but choose the authors you can assimilate, and whose processes you can observe. Such are Homer, as above, Montaigne, Guizot, Balzac, St. Evremont (but not too much), Bossuet, Rousseau, who is very assimilable (but with an amusing moral caution that warns against the Savoyard Vicar's profession of faith in 'Emile,' while opening the gates, by implication, to the 'Confessions'), and Chateaubriand, our author's special admiration. Next, read with notes and note-books, and abandon those "banalités d'appréciation," called analyses, exacted of schoolboys. It is good discipline to translate verse into prose, and prose into verse. In judging of style, do not say the substance is good but the form defective; "that means nothing. Say rather, the substance might be excellent if the form were good, for it is the form that lends value to the substance." Avoid ready-made expressions, such as we deprecate in Mérimée, whose work is "a triumph of stereotype," in George Sand, Feuillet, and others; and the commonplace phraseology censurable in Béranger—M. Albalat gives a piquant list of "expressions banales," sometimes a little forcing the critical note. Yet do not fall into deadly periphrase and circumlocution:

"Acquaintance with Shakspeare," he remarks, "and especially the Romantic revolution inaugurated by Victor Hugo, have all but rid our literature of the self-imposed obligation not to call things by their right

names. Men hesitated to translate 'Othello' for the stage for fear of employing the word handkerchief (*mouchoir*), and Alfred de Vigny had cause to repent of having risked it in spite of Duclis. Jean Alcard alone dared to write a good translation of 'Othello.'"

Naturalness is the result of effort, witness Lafontaine recasting each fable ten or a dozen times. Originality, by the same token, is incessant effort. "It consists in saying better, in saying forcibly, in seeking the fit word, in finding the new image. If you have that quality, though you write like the devil, as did Saint-Simon, you will be a writer, in defiance of courses in literature, grammar, and orthography."

For conciseness go to Racine only for proximity to be shunned, but study Pascal, La Bruyère, and Flaubert. Seek harmony, and test what you have written by reading aloud. Here your models are Chateaubriand, Bossuet, Buffon, and Flaubert. For aid in revising the first draught, numerous standard texts are examined and criticised by texts proposed. Description receives a chapter, and while Chateaubriand is honored as the father of description in our century, Zola (who "has only a very brutal gift for writing, without elaboration") is held up as a specialist in the abuse of description. Finally we examine dialogue, literary and realistic. "Nothing," says our author, "is more difficult than the art of balancing these two extremes. Novelists like Flaubert, Daudet, and Goncourt, who have rendered very well the sound of the spoken word, have never succeeded on the stage, the scene of the triumphs of Scribe, Feuillet, Sardou, the younger Dumas, and Augier." And again:

"It is very true that the dialogue of our contemporary dramatic authors is often only a stage dialogue, in which the reply is *calculated for the effect*; in which the retort is begotten by the last word of the interlocutor, and not by the veridicity of the personage and the logic of emotion. It is a dialogue whose concatenation lies solely in *esprit*, and has regard only to *esprit*. This kind of pyrotechnic dialogue comes to us straight from Beaumarchais. It scintillates in the plays of Dumas the younger and Sardou."

We have merely skimmed this lively and informal, but not unmethodical treatise, which we recommend without reserve, as well as (by anticipation) two others announced as in preparation by the same author, 'La Formation du Style par l'assimilation des auteurs' and 'Guide critique à travers la littérature française.'

The Journal of Jacob Fowler, Narrating an Adventure from Arkansas through the Indian Territory, . . . Kansas, Colorado, and New Mexico, to the Sources of the Rio Grande del Norte, 1821-22. Edited with notes by Elliott Coues. Francis P. Harper. 1898.

Dr. Coues's tireless roundup of original sources relating to the "American" pioneering of our Far West—the literary tatters of those trappers and traders who penetrated every corner of that unprecedented wilderness in the first third of this century, thousands of miles ahead of the outposts of the civilization whose scouts and path-makers they were—shows no sign of flagging. Such competence and such momentum, honorable in any line of research, are here of the keenest value; for here, as with the ethnography of our aborigines, most of what needs doing must be done quickly or never. In both cases the human documents are dis-

appearing with a rapidity which to the student is nothing short of appalling. Even when not destroyed, the living parchment is so overwritten with civilization that the palimpsest has little worth in either sort. As to the scant records of the white plain-men of our old frontier, they are every day in greater danger; while the atmosphere of their day and circumstance—without some actual breath of which not even written journals can properly be elucidated—is already so far behind us as to be growing unreal. A little more, and the whole epoch will have receded into the Bad Lands, and we shall see it only in mirages.

Luckily, Dr. Coues is himself a veteran of that frontier—in a later generation, it is true, but still before the great change came. He is familiar with the scenes, the modes of thought and action of that vast stage upon which the lonely actors played that rude, mean, heroic drama of the opening West. Probably no one has a better understanding, too, of the players themselves, all and several. His translation of this half-forgotten idiom of a nation's youth is as unlike the paraphrasing of those who have only the documentary tools, as a translation by a man born to both tongues is unlike that by the novice who has to plough every line with a lexicon. With a hearty appetite, a keen eye for the trail, large patience, and a generous humor, Dr. Coues rides the range to good purpose. It is a dry *rodeo* in which he does not run down, "rope," and bring in some sterling unforeseen maverick of the old broadhorns, and give it the brand of print and permanence. Amid the curbstone history and myth-in-idleness which grow already in the West as the facts draw back to the horizon of fifty years, his genuineness, patience, and impulse, his sharp eye for shams—and as sharp for mislaid and buried truths—have set enduring monuments from which we can determine many a datum plane that else were lost in the sand-drift of general carelessness.

Not the most important of Dr. Coues's manuscript finds, but none the less one of distinct value (and, perhaps, most piquant of them all), is this Journal of a man hitherto unknown, but always hereafter to be reckoned with. Major Fowler was a surveyor, born in Virginia in 1765, early transplanted to Kentucky, and of service on that border. He died in Covington, Ky., in 1850. His "voige" in 1821-22 compels us to recast several formulas of Western history. From our present data we must give him the credit of building the first habitation where Pueblo now stands; of being the first American to traverse the later famous trail to Santa Fé, and to approximate the sources of the Rio Grande. His whole itinerary was, as the editor justly observes, unique; and there can be no disputing the claim that his remarkable journey had direct and potent effect in launching that picturesque and epochal traffic which soon after him began to stream along the Santa Fé Trail.

With that wilful humor which so often stands him in good stead, the editor, after deciphering Major Fowler's impossible MS., has given it to us *en bruto*. It is fairly safe to presume that no book has heretofore been printed with spelling quite so egregious as the gallant surveyor and trapper marks his trail withal. Since his eye is good for direction and distance, as well in his narrative as upon the plains, his positive genius for cacography does not obscure the story,

but rather gives it a certain homely humanity of him, thereby lending a quaint side interest to a book already of substantial worth. An example of the Major's straight story and uncurving words may be taken from his account—perhaps the earliest by an American—of a fatal encounter with a grizzly bear:

"It Sprung up and Caught Lewis doosen and Pulled Him down in an Instant Coni glanns [Col. Glenn's] gun mised fyer or He Wold Have Releved the man But a large Slut Which belongs to the Party atacted the Bare With such fury that it left the man and persued Her a few steps in Which time the man got up and Run a few steps but Was overtaken by the bare When the Coni maid a second attempt to shoot but His [gun] mised fyer again and the Slut as before Releved the man Who Run as before—but Was Son again in the grasp of the Bare . . . the Coni again Run Close up and as before His gun Wold not go off . . . the Coni . . . Run up Stopping tree—and after Him the Wounded man and Was followed by the Bare . . . but a tree standing in Rich [reach] the Coni stepped on that and let the Man and Bare pass till the Bare Caught Him [Dawson] by one leg and drew Him back-wards down the tree While this Was doing the Coni Sharpened His flint Primed His gun and Shot the Bare down."

Dawson heard his own skull crack in the bear's jaws, and so told his comrades, who thought his injuries less serious. He died on the third day and was buried there on the "Picketwire" River (Purgatoire) Nov. 16, 1821, probably the first American to find a grave in Colorado.

Dr. Coues's notes are of his usual crispness and authority, and leave little to be desired as to topographical identification and historic comment. Two unnecessary misprints—"Tenaja" for Tinaja, and "Una de Gato" for Uña de Gato—occur in footnotes to pp. 146, 147, and are repeated in the useful index. "By and large," however, Fowler's "Journal" is a distinct contribution; and Dr. Coues's services renew our long debt to him.

On the South African Frontier: The Adventures and Observations of an American in Mashonaland and Matabeleland. By William Harvey Brown. With illustrations and Maps. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1899. 8vo. Pp. xxii, 430.

A problem of surpassing importance at the present time is, how to deal with the savage or half-civilized peoples who stand in the way of our eager search for new sources of wealth. Its solution affects us all, not merely, as in our heedlessness we are tempted to believe, the persons actively concerned. The moral stamina of the whole nation is increased or diminished according as righteous dealing or selfish greed characterizes its representatives in Africa or Asia. Viewed from this standpoint only, the value of the book before us depends entirely upon the aid which it gives us towards the solution of this great problem. Some aid the author is well fitted to give. One of the pioneers who laid the foundations of a white state in the country of the most independent of South African races, he shared its fortunes for seven years as miner, farmer, sportsman, and soldier-scout. These occupations gave him a large and varied experience with the natives, and hence his observations upon the treatment best fitted to raise them from savagery are entitled to careful consideration. Their value, even though we may dissent from his conclusions, is heightened by the fact that he went to Africa, not drawn

by the thirst for gold, but in the interest of science.

Mr. Brown served as naturalist to the eclipse expedition sent out by our Government to Portuguese West Africa in 1889. On the return voyage the vessel touched at Cape Town, where the Chartered Company was recruiting an expedition for opening up the "fabulous gold-fields" of Matabeleland. With one of his companions he obtained permission to join these "Pioneers" in order to make collections in zoölogy and ethnology for the Smithsonian Institution. After the settlement of Salisbury, he hunted, prospected, tried his fortune at mining, and worked for two years on a farm, which was allotted to him in part payment for his services as pioneer. This latter occupation was interrupted by the rising, first of the Matabeles, and afterwards of the Mashonas, during which he was actively employed as a scout. After a number of exciting encounters with the savages, he was wounded, and with his removal to the hospital at Salisbury in the summer of 1896, his narrative ends.

His hunting adventures naturally occupy a large part of the book—too large for a sustained interest in them. It is to be feared that the legitimate desire to collect specimens gradually became a passion for killing. He acknowledges in one place that "fresh trophies accumulated so rapidly that it was actually impossible to preserve them all" (page 127). At another time he, with two companions, killed one hundred and fifty head of big game in a six weeks' hunting trip.

Mr. Brown writes excellent English, and if the sketches of pioneer life are not always edifying, they are graphic. His descriptive power is well illustrated by this scene in Mashonaland, perhaps the most favorable picture of native life in the book:

"As I proceeded, the path wound through fields of mealies, Kafir corn, rukwaza (a sort of millet), sweet potatoes, pumpkins, peanuts, and then across rice-beds in the marshes. The people working in the fields greeted me with 'Molla, Inyamazona,' ('Good day, Inyamazona'). Inyamazona, which means 'game' or 'wild animal,' was the name which they had given me because I had killed much game. Others were already on their way to the villages, which were at some distance, and from all about came the plaintive melodies which they sang as they trudged homeward. The men were armed with guns or assegais swung across their shoulders; while the women, each with a babe on her back, and upon her head a bundle of fire-wood or a basket of produce, carried over one shoulder a large-bladed hoe with a short curved handle. Small boys were driving homeward herds of little Mashona goats and cattle which they had been minding during the day in the meadows between the fields of grain. As we approached the villages, groups of girls and women, bearing on their heads black earthen pots, passed us on their way to the spring for water" (p. 191).

Another interesting incident is a visit to Free Town, where the *Pensacola* was

"surrounded by boats filled with men and women, shouting, jabbering, laughing, quarrelling, and even fighting. . . . Without exception it was the most confusedly excited and noisy lot of humanity I have ever seen. Not even the soft strains of music from our Italian band seemed in the least to soothe the pandemonium until 'God Save the Queen' was heard, when, like magic, the noise ceased; those who wore hats lifted them, and silence reigned until the tune was finished; then the hubbub recommenced greater than before. I said to Jack Robinson, 'Why do you lift your hats? Do you consider yourselves Englishmen?' He replied, 'Sierra Leone peoples, black Englishmen!' " (p. 8).

It is evident that Mr. Brown holds no brief for the Chartered Company, as he joins heartily in the criticisms upon its policy towards both the natives and the white settlers of Rhodesia. It is with some surprise, therefore, that in respect to the treatment of the natives we find him saying "that there has been gross mismanagement is perfectly true; but the mistakes in dealing with the Mashonas, as well as with the Matabeles, have been in the line of too great leniency and too little severity" (p. 383); and he proceeds to prove his case by an appeal to facts. During the occupation of Mashonaland the murder of whites by natives was promptly and severely punished. But, in consequence of the pressure of public sentiment in England, this treatment was changed so radically that, though there were several murders, "up to the time of the outbreak of the rebellion not a single Mashona had been sentenced for the murder of a white man! As a natural result of such lame modes of procedure, murder and robbery increased in frequency, and finally culminated in the awful massacres of 1896." In the district of Victoria alone was rigid discipline maintained for any considerable length of time, and there only were the natives loyal to the whites. There is undoubted truth in his conviction that for the government of these savages "there can be but one maxim, and that is rigorous justice. They must learn two important lessons. The first is obedience to law, and the second, the dignity of labor." To teach the latter, imperatively necessary for their development, he does not hesitate, for fear of the charge of advocating a kind of slavery, to say that he would exact forced labor—with punctually paid wages—from those who will not work voluntarily. He goes farther than this in upholding the "dignity of labor," for in view of the evil effects of the refusal of many whites to work with blacks as degrading, he would prohibit by law "the employment of black labor of any sort except in regions unhealthy to white men." To make room for the white laborers whom such a policy would bring, he would remove the natives to the Zambesi valley, where there are "immense areas of unoccupied and extremely fertile land, too unhealthy for European habitation, but where the native African can live and thrive." In closing, he contrasts the condition of the land, which in 1890 was "possessed solely by wild beasts and menacing savages," with the Rhodesia of to-day, where, "in substantial towns, which form the centres of large agricultural and mining districts, we find churches, schools, libraries, clubs, the Salvation Army, daily and weekly newspapers, courts of justice, jails—in short, all the components of modern civilization." He could add now also that it is a practically self-governing colony with a constitution and suffrage for every man, Englishman or Kafir, who works for his living and is able to write his name.

There are some interesting illustrations, two useful maps, and an excellent index.

Early Chapters in Science. By Mrs. W. Awdry, edited by Prof. W. F. Barrett. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1899. xviii, 348 pp. 8vo. Illustrated.

This book has been written by the wife of the English Bishop of Japan, and has had the careful editorial supervision of the Professor of Experimental Physics in the Royal

College of Science for Ireland. Its object is to provide young people—especially the junior classes in schools—with an introduction to natural and physical science. The first part is intended to lead the boy or girl to observe, the second to question nature. While her intention has been to bring the reader merely to the threshold of scientific knowledge, the author has aimed to make her work accurate as far as it goes, so that the student, however much there may remain for him to learn, will not in his further progress find much to unlearn. She hopes to awaken a desire to know more of the procession of life and unfolding of phenomena in the world in which we live, which it is the business of science to arrange in comprehensible order.

Eight chapters are given to the animal and two to the vegetable kingdom in the first division of the work, and eleven chapters in the second to the forces of nature. The illustrations are original, and, though their artistic merit is but moderate, they are clear and comprehensible. As in any similar manual, it would be easy to point out cases in which the desire for simplicity of diction has led to statements whose exactitude, from a scientific standpoint, is open to question. The English used is also occasionally liable to criticism; but, on the whole, the author

and editor have produced a useful little volume, well calculated to attain its object, and free from serious errors in matters of fact.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Anstey, F. Love Among the Lions. Appletons. \$1.
Aubin, Eugène. Les Anglais aux Indes et en Egypte. Paris: Colin & Cie.
Beesly, A. T. Life of Danton. Longmans, Green & Co.
Blaisdell, Etta A. and Mary F. Child Life. A First Reader. Macmillan.
Brown, Alice. Tiverton Tales. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.50.
Catherwood, Mrs. Mary H. The Queen of the Swamp, and Other Americans. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.25.
Chadwick, J. W. A Life for Liberty. Anti-Slavery and Other Letters of Balle Holley. Putnam. \$1.50.
Chubb, Percival. Dryden's Palamon and Arcite. Macmillan. 25c.
Cobban, J. M. Pursued by the Law. Appletons.
Colby, Prof. C. W. Selections from the Sources of English History. Longmans, Green & Co.
Crane, Stephen. War is Kind. F. A. Stokes Co. \$2.50.
Dexter, T. F. G. and Garlick, A. H. Psychology in the Schoolroom. Longmans, Green & Co. \$1.50.
Dickinson, Martha G. Within the Hedge: Poems. Doubleday & McClure Co. \$1.
Dodd, Anna B. In and Out of Three Normandy Inns. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.
Dodd, Anna B. Cathedral Days. A Tour in Southern England. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$1.50.
Fowler, Ellen T. A Double Thread. Appletons.
Fraser, W. A. The Eye of a God, and Other Tales of East and West. Doubleday & McClure Co. \$1.25.
Frederic, Harold. The Market-Place. F. A. Stokes Co. \$1.50.
Fruit, Prof. J. P. Coleridge's Ancient Mariner. Boston: R. H. Sanborn & Co.
Griffiths, Major Arthur. A Girl of Grit. R. F. Fenno & Co. 75c.

Gwynn, Stephen. Highways and Byways in Donegal and Antrim. Macmillan. \$2.
Hastings, Rev. James. A Dictionary of the Bible. Vol. II. Feign-Kinsman. Scribners.
Hutchinson, Horace G. The Book of Golf and Golfers. Longmans, Green & Co.
Jackson, F. G. A Thousand Days in the Arctic. Harpers. \$8.
Johnson, Jesse. Testimony of the Sonnets as to the Authorship of the Shakespearian Plays and Poems. Putnam. \$1.
Jusseraud, J. J. Shakespeare in France under the Ancien Régime. London: Unwin; New York: Putnam. \$6.
Kingsley, Rose G. A History of French Art. 1100-1890. Longmans, Green & Co. \$5.
Kipling, Rudyard. American Notes. Boston: Brown & Co. \$1.
Koren, John. Economic Aspects of the Liquor Problem. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.50.
McIntosh, Burr. The Little I Saw of Cuba. F. T. Neely.
Miel, Rev. C. F. B. A Soul's Pilgrimage. Philadelphia: G. W. Jacobs & Co.
Moulton, Prof. R. G. Bible Stories (New Testament). Macmillan. 50c.
Mumford, G. S. An Island God. Boston: Brown & Co.
Munro, John. The Story of the British Race. Appletons. 40c.
Neely's Panorama of Our New Possessions. F. T. Neely.
Parker, Gilbert. The Liar. Boston: Brown & Co.
Recollections of Lincoln and Douglas Forty Years Ago. New York: F. P. Harper.
Ritchie, Frank. Easy Latin Passages for Translation. Longmans, Green & Co. 50c.
Russell, W. C. An Atlantic Tragedy. Philadelphia: Drexel Biddle; New York: Truslove & Combs.
Salmon, David. The Art of Teaching. Longmans, Green & Co. \$1.25.
Step, Edward. By Seashore, Wood, and Moorland. Whitaker.
Symington, Prof. Stuart. Augier and Sandeau's Le Gendre de M. Poirier. Henry Holt & Co. 30c.
Todd, Prof. D. P. Stars and Telescopes. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$2.
Vachha, D. A. Key to Algebraical Factors. 3d ed. Longmans, Green & Co. 75c.
Wilkins, Mary E. The Jamesons. Doubleday & McClure Co. \$1.
Yarnall, Ellis. Wordsworth and the Coleridges, with Other Memories. Macmillan. \$3.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 25, 1899.

The Week.

The Conference at The Hague opened a week ago in a curious atmosphere of aspiration tempered by insincerity and cynicism. Every individual delegate professes himself heartily in favor of peace, of checking the terrible cost of national armaments, of meeting halfway the efforts of the most powerful ruler on earth to stay the ravages of militarism. Then why cannot something be done? Well, this is a wicked world. You wouldn't have the millennium come too suddenly, would you? But the delegates are good men in a wicked world. They may not be able to make the lion and the lamb lie down with sides actually touching, but is that any reason for their giving up trying to induce them to live peaceably in adjoining fields? If not absolutely perfect, why should we not try to make the world as good as possible? Ah, comes the hypocritical sigh, in which many of the delegates to the Conference furtively join, that is entirely impracticable! Individually, we all favor every plan for peace; but collectively, you know, the thing is impossible.

More significant, perhaps, than anything said in the first meeting of the Conference, was the Emperor William's birthday toast to the Czar at Wiesbaden. He took occasion to express the hope that the German delegates, acting with the Russian, on "identical instructions," might help to bring out of the Conference results that would "satisfy the Czar." This is of more value than many sneers. The truth is, that the ends aimed at by the Conference are so humane and enlightened that no responsible ruler dares pose before his people or the world as opposing them. They compel, like virtue, the hypocritical pretence of admiration and approval even from those who in their hearts rage against them. It has always been so. War as such has never had a frank and open defender. Even Napoleon had to protest from St. Helena that he had deluged Europe in blood reluctantly, and only in order to establish "the beautiful ideal of civilization"—peace. So stout a warrior as Moltke, before age had hardened him against his youthful ideals and hopes, expressed his belief in "the idea of a general European peace," and declared that an agreement to disarm might be reached after a few decades. So that Nicholas, just past thirty-one, commander of more troops than any other sovereign could put into the field, in turning away from war's "gloire san-

glante" to urge upon the nations a peaceful ideal, is but doing his best to bring about what the greatest military heroes have admitted to be the true end of war itself.

The one thing which everybody will believe, in Mr. McKinley's renewed and more conciliatory offers to the Filipinos, is the statement that "the President earnestly desires that bloodshed cease." In this, if in no other part of his Philippine policy, it is certain that the President faithfully represents the sentiment of Americans. In whatever else we may differ, we are a united people in the amazement, indignation, and horror with which this long-drawn torture in the Philippines has come to be regarded by all. Even the Irishman who professed his readiness to do a certain thing "even if I have to go to my grave without a single fight," would be willing to forego every unnecessary hour of such a warfare. As for the plan of government which the President now proposes, it is on its face but a stop-gap. But if it proves to be also a stop-slaughter, we shall not quarrel with its terms. Final decision must in any case rest with Congress. We might remark that the reservation to the President of the right to appoint all the judges is precisely the feature in the Spanish offer of autonomy to Cuba which called out our finest scorn two years ago; but why open old sores? We are all wiser if sadder now. Let us have peace!

It appears that the censorship which is practised by the Administration in regard to the war in the Philippines does not stop with the refusal of the authorities at Manila to send to the United States, or to deliver in the Philippines, dispatches of which they disapprove, nor with the refusal of the Post-Office Department to allow printed matter of which it disapproves to be sent by mail from this country to the Philippines. While no attempt has yet been made to prevent the transmission by mail from the Philippines to the United States of letters written by soldiers who express their disgust with the war which they have been forced to wage, there is already evidence that the volunteers have been warned not to make public any views which do not suit the Government. Mr. H. H. Van Meter, whose character is vouched for by the *Chicago Record*, publishes in that paper an open letter to President McKinley in which he quotes the protest of more than one old soldier against the publication of his letter, for these reasons:

"Some of the boys are getting into all kinds of trouble over their letters, and I hope no one will publish any of mine."

"The letters I write are for the ones to

whom they are addressed, and not for the entire public."

"Wait until we get back, and I will tell you all. Why in the world do the people publish our letters?"

"Remember that all the letters I write are for you and the folks at home only, and are not written to be published. Some of my letters to friends were published, and one of them cost me a great deal of trouble."

Such virtual censorship over the mails as this is without a precedent in the history of the United States. As Mr. Van Meter says, "It amounts to a virtual suppression of free speech among Americans." Even newspapers which support expansion feel constrained to condemn this policy. Thus, the *Detroit Tribune* remarks that "it has been more than suspected for months that the censorship of cable dispatches was being conducted in accordance with a foolish and short-sighted policy which aimed to deceive the public as to the true state of affairs," and says that now, through the communications quoted, "it is revealed that the commanding officers in the islands exercise a sort of terrorism by which it is sought to prevent soldiers from writing the truth about the campaigns and the manner of their conduct." The *Tribune* is a journal which has justified the war upon the Filipinos, but it cannot defend the suppression of the truth about the war. It says:

"The Government can gain nothing by attempting to conceal the facts. Censorship of cables and mails, and punishment of soldiers who tell the truth, will not avail when the volunteers come home and are mustered out. The truth will be made public, and even from the narrow view-point of the Administration it were wiser to have it known now than that it should come later, and nearer to the approaching campaign, which is ever uppermost in the Administration mind. That sudden and superficial sympathy which declares itself first and thinks afterward, if at all, would have time to spend itself if the facts were before the public to-day, while the very fact that strenuous endeavors have been made to curb freedom of speech, writing, and publication will, when the truth is finally known, increase its sinister significance many fold. The world is no longer wide enough to furnish a safe sepulture for facts, and the disinterred remains will smell worse and look more horrible than the fresh body, however gory."

A large proportion of the journals which advocated expansion have pronounced the stories of no quarter in the Philippine campaign "incredible," the soldiers who tell them "liars," and the *Evening Post* "treasonable" for giving circulation to what the *Chicago Times-Herald*, as recently as last Thursday, called "roorbacks," declaring that "no orders to shoot prisoners or non-resistants have been issued by American commanders in the Philippines." But this policy of denouncing as liars Kansas soldiers who have been known all their lives as truthful men, is coming to be bitterly resented by the Kansas press. The *Topeka Capital*, the leading Repub-

ican newspaper in the State, says that, "so far as the Kansas boys are concerned, the *Capital* is not prepared to admit that they exaggerate or misstate what they testify to seeing with their own eyes"; that "in stating that Capt. Bishop ordered certain Filipinos to be shot rather than to remain as prisoners during the battle of Caloccan, Private Brenner reported from personal observation"; that the testimony of Corporal Maxwell of the Topeka company, that "this led to an order to take no prisoners, but to shoot all," must be accepted as equally true; and that, therefore, "it would appear that during or before this engagement, owing to the treacherous conduct of Filipino prisoners, as described by Corporal Maxwell, costly experience having taught the General commanding that these insurgents could not be trusted, he gave an order to shoot all prisoners." The *Capital* justifies such orders to American troops under such circumstances.

We have received the original manuscript of a soldier's letter, forwarded to us for use from the town in Colorado where it was received. It is one of the most interesting and significant in the long series from which we have quoted. Written without a thought that it would ever appear in print, it gives a vivid picture of the frame of mind in which a patriotic American finds himself who enlisted to give a suffering people freedom from the supremacy of Spain, and who has been forced to fight in order to deny other former subjects of Spain the independence for which they also have long been struggling. This Colorado soldier feels the same way as the soldiers from Kansas, Nebraska, and other States, and nobody has put more forcibly the un-American character of the present war than this "thinking bayonet," who pronounces it "wrong from start to finish," says that "my heart is not in this war as it was in the one I enlisted to fight in, and I go into it simply because I have to," and concludes: "To be a soldier in such a cause as we are now engaged in, is nothing to be proud of. I am chagrined and ashamed to think of it as it is."

One thing which the censor at Manila ought to keep from reaching the Filipinos is the call just issued by Congressman Hull of Iowa, the Republican from the Des Moines district, for an examination of candidates for appointment to the Naval Academy at Annapolis. The proclamation issued by the President's Commission "guarantees an honest and efficient civil service, in which, to the fullest extent practicable, natives shall be employed." Of course, the only way that the natives have of judging what civil service we should give them is by the sort of civil service we have at home. Mr. Hull was chairman of the commit-

tee on military affairs in the last House, and must be considered an authority as to the principles which ought to govern the selection of young men as cadets. He announces that candidates for the vacancy at Annapolis must be between sixteen and twenty-one years of age, and bona-fide residents of the district; and, "in addition to this," each comer "must present credentials of his parents belonging to the Republican party." The Des Moines statesman explains that "I have limited the contest to Republicans for the reason that in all sections of the United States represented by a Democrat a Democrat is appointed, and I believe in this district the party is entitled to representation from here in the Academy." But of course the Hulls will see that non-partisanship is made the rule of the civil service in "our new possessions."

The modest, self-contained man who destroyed the Spanish fleet at Manila last year is now on his way home. The newspapers which are using his back as an advertising board for themselves, the politicians who are seeking office on his merits, and the vendors of goods and wares who are using his name on their signboards, are getting themselves in readiness for all kinds of hysterics on his arrival. One man, who manufactures tandem kites, proposes to send up the highest kite that ever was flown, with a flag mounted upon it, so that the first thing Dewey sees when he approaches the shore of his native land shall be the stars and stripes. The rival newspapers which are tolling and molling to get subscriptions for a house for Dewey in Washington, report the large sum of \$3,000 already raised by their joint and several efforts. Meanwhile, nobody knows whether Dewey wants a house, or whether he prefers Washington as a place of residence, or whether he would accept anything as a gift in any event. In such a state of dublety, we suggest that the house-buyers, if they must make a present to Dewey, make it to him in money. In that case he can dispose of it as he chooses. If he wants a house he can buy or build with the proceeds, or he can invest it, or give it away, as suits him best. All the accounts which reach us through his most intimate friends signify that he is averse to the personal display and lionizing of which he is the subject; but that fact will not deter the kite-flyers and self-advertising classes from playing the pranks they have laid out for themselves. They can make themselves ridiculous, but they cannot make Dewey so.

A dozen years ago we said of the Grand Army of the Republic that "it is no longer a benevolent institution working for unselfish ends; it has become a machine for the procuring of pensions and offices." The truth of this charac-

terization has become more clear during the interval, and is now put beyond the possibility of dispute by the raid which this machine has organized upon a thoroughly efficient Commissioner of Pensions, simply because he has enforced the laws. The New York department of the organization held its annual encampment at Syracuse last week, and on Thursday adopted a resolution declaring that "it is the sense of this department that the administration of the Pension Department by H. Clay Evans meets the emphatic disapprobation of this department and of every veteran who is entitled to a pension under the law; and we ask that he be removed and the office filled by a man who will administer the pension law according to the intent of the framers of the law, the Congress that passed it, and the President who signed it." There is absolutely no excuse for this assault. Commissioner Evans is warmly in sympathy with all just claims of the old soldiers, and he has administered the pension law with fairness alike to the deserving applicant and to the Government. But such fairness has of course compelled him often to reject claims which were neither meritorious nor justified by the law. The consequence is that he has incurred the enmity of the pension attorneys, who have grown rich upon the laxity of administration which has prevailed in the Pension Bureau in the past. These attorneys have organized a "combine" to secure the removal of Mr. Evans, and they are going to "work the Grand Army for all it is worth."

It begins to look as if Secretary Alger had been made the victim of a Heathen-Chinese trick in the Michigan Senatorial controversy. If the whole thing turns out a bit of Ohio intrigue to get him out of the Cabinet by a side wind, it would not surprise those who know the school of "smooth" politics in which the President's trusted advisers have been trained. That Mr. McKinley has been consumedly anxious to get rid of Alger in some quiet way has long been clear. Reversing Burke's maxim, he has borne with crimes till they festered into inconveniences, and that Alger is now a positive political inconvenience to the President is obvious to the wayfaring man though an office-seeker. So, it seems, the Secretary was lured out to Detroit, fooled with banquets and adulation into thinking himself the favorite son of Michigan, and flattered into announcing that he would be a candidate for the United States Senate. Then snap went the trap. Senator McMillan, whom Alger understood to wish to retire, suddenly declared himself a candidate, and cruelly added that he was the McKinley candidate. Hence Alger's dreadful predicament. He is too far committed to the Senatorial contest to withdraw except ignominiously. But, of course, Mc-

Millan will have all the patronage, and pose as the President's friend, and if Alger tries to pull a single wire, or use his department for his own ends, the impropriety of his remaining in the Cabinet will be brought forcibly to his attention. Already, in fact, Republican organs are telling him that the rules of the game now require him to resign.

The *Evening Post* published on Friday some extremely interesting correspondence which has passed between Mr. J. L. Brower of this city and the Treasury Department upon the subject of duties upon personal clothing. Mr. Brower endeavored, quite unsuccessfully, to get from the Department an exact ruling as to what, in the language of the law, *ad valorem* means. It was interpreted in various ways by the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Spaulding, and by Collector Bidwell. One said it meant cost price; the other said there would be a reduction in case the clothing showed signs of wear, and that if it were not suitable to the season, it would be dutiable at rates not specified. Mr. Brower insisted that *ad valorem* meant market value—that is, value as second-hand clothing—and that the various statements made to him by the minor officials of the Department had no authority in law, and demanded a final ruling from the Secretary himself. To this demand he received no reply whatever. Why? Surely he, as an American citizen, had a right to make the demand, for no one can read the correspondence and escape the conclusion that his contention is the only tenable one. Thousands of Americans are interested in this matter, and the Secretary of the Treasury should be impressed with the necessity of giving them a plain and intelligible answer—something his subordinates seem incapable of doing.

A Washington dispatch says that the caucus committee on the currency that has been holding sessions at Atlantic City has agreed upon a measure which provides for the redemption of all obligations of the Government in gold; also that greenbacks when once redeemed in gold shall be reissued only for gold; that national banks may issue notes to the par value of the bonds deposited by them in the Treasury, and that national banks may be established in small towns with a capital of \$25,000, the legal minimum at present being \$50,000. This is a more contracted programme than former reports from the same quarter had led us to expect, since it does not include Secretary Gage's recommendation that the currency functions of the Treasury be separated by law from its other functions. While we shall be thankful for the measure of reform now promised, it will be a cause for regret if the Secretary's recommendation has not been followed. He recommended

that an Issue and Redemption Department be established in the Treasury, to which certain funds should be transferred, and that these funds should be applied solely to the purpose of keeping the currency of all kinds at par with gold. Now if Congress is to commit itself to the principle that all the obligations of the Government are payable in gold, why should it not take the step which the Secretary deems most useful for giving effect to that principle?

It may be, as Dr. Parkhurst says, that the public conscience has not been deeply stirred by the revelations thus far made by the Mazet inquiry, but something scarcely less potential has been not only stirred but startled, and that is Platt's sense of security as a political power. He is so alarmed that he is making overtures to the independents, and is quite ready to yield to them in regard to nominations for office this fall. Part of this panic is undoubtedly due to the harm which the franchise-tax bill has done to his contribution business, but a great deal of it is due to a realization of the loss of moral standing caused by the Mazet revelations. These two influences working together are so powerful that they are likely to break him down as a political leader, and thus rid us of him and his machine. The Mazet committee and the Governor seem to be co-operating for this end, and if they succeed, they will confer a priceless boon upon the city and State. We can dispose of Croker and Tammany at the next municipal election if we can break for ever the combination between them and a corrupt Republican machine.

The sudden demise of the Sunday edition of the London *Daily Mail*, after only six weeks of unlovely existence, is a great triumph for decent public opinion in England. It shows what the British matron and the Philistine Nonconformist can do when thoroughly roused. When Mr. Harmsworth announces that he suspends his Sunday newspaper as a "frank concession to the religious feeling of the public," he means, of course, that he has found the experiment a losing venture. All the solemn talk, in England and this country, about the law of demand and supply being responsible for the Sunday newspaper, is solemn nonsense. The Sunday paper is printed simply and solely to make money for its proprietor, and if the public shows him, as the English public has so speedily shown Mr. Harmsworth, that he will, on the contrary, lose money by the operation, he will become as enamoured of a day of rest as the next man. The *Telegraph* has not been slow to follow suit in withdrawing. It is an older paper than the *Mail*, presumably with more capital behind it; and its owner is not exposed to so many flank attacks as Mr. Harms-

worth was through his other publishing interests. It had cautiously announced that it would "bow to public opinion" (i. e., pounds, shillings, and pence), and it appears to have got public opinion in such large and fatal doses that it suddenly discovered unsuspected dregs of conscience in its bosom, and abandoned the expensive experiment of a seven-day paper.

A novel suit was brought against an author by a firm of London publishers a few days ago. They had employed him to write a sort of gazetteer of Great Britain, had printed it, and then the critics had exposed so many errors in it that the sale had been practically ruined. Accordingly, they brought suit against the compiler for his manifold inaccuracy. The defendant admitted the blunders, though he ingeniously accounted for them by saying that he had read so many authorities that he had got mixed up. He confessed that there was really no valid excuse for setting down Pretoria as the capital of British Zambesia, for suppressing the Isle of Man entirely, for classing earthworms among "reptiles," and soda, arsenic, and Epsom salts among "building-stones." But his legal defence was, practically, *caveat emptor*. The publishers had taken his work, errors and all, and had printed it without any real "reading." If they had read his book they were responsible for its mistakes; if not, what right had they to complain? This view prevailed with the court, and the author got off with one shilling damages, while being awarded £25 as his due on final payment. It certainly would be a dangerous thing for historians and ready writers of dictionaries if they were to be held pecuniarily liable for their blunders.

The "British officers" arrested in Pretoria for treasonable plotting against the Transvaal Government are shown not to hold present commissions in the British army, as was asserted. But it is not at all strange that British subjects should be caught plotting the overthrow of Krüger. The thing has been in the air for a long time. There has never been any genuine repentance for the Jameson raid, except that it failed. Look at the rapid recovery of his position by Cecil Rhodes. He was the real backer of the Jameson raid, yet he is to-day negotiating with the Kaiser on equal terms, and with the City of London at his feet. Why should not this example encourage roving and reckless Englishmen in the Transvaal to believe that all they have to do to win fame and fortune is to get up an assault on the Boer Government which, this time, shall not fail? Filibustering and secret scheming against governments with which you are nominally friendly, are the natural accompaniments of Manifest Destiny and Imperialism.

SUPPRESSION.

One of the most interesting occurrences of late is the excitement created by the publication of soldiers' letters from the Philippines and by Mr. Atkinson's pamphlets. The hostility to both has its origin in the same source, and it is one of the oldest sources in history. The wonder about it is, not that it exists, but that it exists among us, as it is one of the political agencies of the Old World of which we supposed we were for ever rid. No matter how far we go back, we find that the keeping of the knowledge of certain things from the public was considered one of the most important aids to a proper management of the people. But the construction put on this reluctance to have things known, has apparently never varied among decent people.

The most familiar form of this precaution is, of course, the "censorship," which still prevails in certain despotic countries like Russia and Turkey, and which we are trying to imitate in our "conquered territories"; one of the "responsibilities" which we are apparently so eager to assume being responsibility for what our "subjects" read. Another form of the same thing was what, in the old days before the Reform Bill, used to be called in England the "taxes on knowledge"—that is, taxes avowedly intended to make the publication of cheap literature or newspapers difficult. Another with which every one is familiar is the Papal Index. The object of all these is essentially the same. The difference between them is simply one of degree. They are all intended to prevent people from knowing certain things which, if left to themselves, they would seek to know and would think they had a right to know. There lies under it all the assumption that the ruler who imposes these restrictions, is a better judge of what a man ought to read than the man himself. This is perfectly comprehensible in the Old World. All the Old World governments which still retain the censorship, are based on the hypothesis that the Government can decide better than any one who lives under it by what rules and regulations his life should be shaped. Our Government, on the contrary, is based on the hypothesis that each man is as good a judge as any other man of what our legislation and administration should be. It is from this theory that universal suffrage derives its moral authority to make war or peace, or to put the revered McKinley in the chief executive office. When, in face of this theory, either McKinley or Charles Emory Smith makes his appearance and tells large bodies of voters that he finds that they are reading a good many things which are bad for them, and, therefore, bad for the State—that he stands, *pro hac vice*, in the place of the Czar and the Pope—you can no more argue with him than with the Rev. Mr.

Jasper of Richmond, who happened to know that the sun went round the earth. Joker for joker, however, we must admit that we enjoy Smith more than McKinley.

"Oh, but," it will be said, "the eminent Smith only undertakes to proscribe the reading of soldiers in the field which advises them not to reenlist." It may be proper to withhold such literature from soldiers, but what we must point out to the learned Smith is that, advisable as this may be, our law—and we live by law—makes no provision for it, as long as the soldiers are voters. The Romans had a provision in their Constitution which enabled them, when pressed hard in war, to create a dictatorship by the simple passage of a resolution, "that the Consuls must take care that the Republic suffers no damage." McKinley and Smith evidently have the idea that there is a similar provision in our Constitution, something like this: "Smith will give notice when the country is in danger, and will act accordingly." But we have made diligent inquiry, and can find nothing of the kind. On the other hand, we find that the very first amendment made to the Constitution was that "Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press." In spite of this, Smith says it is his solemn duty to abridge Atkinson's freedom, by taking his pamphlets out of the mails; and without mails there can be no freedom, either of the press or of speech.

In fact, the Imperialists are, through the learned Smith, introducing into the American government two perfectly new doctrines. One is that even in a government which assumes the voter's freedom of speech, there can be no discussion of the expediency of a war once begun, or of the manner in which it is or has been conducted; that the conditions and time of peace have to be settled exclusively by Smith or some person of whom he shall approve; and that all persons doubting Smith's competency shall be held guilty of treason without trial by jury. No more important change has been introduced into any government since the French Revolution. But we shall maintain, nevertheless, until such time as Smith puts us in jail, that the existing provisions of our Constitution are such as to unfit us utterly for the work of conquest, that our Constitution was framed for an entirely different purpose, and that the need of getting Smith to help us in our first war of subjugation proves that we can continue on our new road only by permitting Smith to burn us or pinch us with red-hot irons.

We admit, however, that the Government is powerfully aided and stimulated in the policy of silence by the press. There is a popular impression that the best services rendered either to the Administration or to the Opposition, by a partisan press, are rendered by an open

advocacy of its views. There cannot be a greater mistake. The open articles in a partisan press rarely produce much effect. People all know in advance what a partisan newspaper will say about any question or event of the day, and thick-and-thin advocacy is a kind of work which writers of some value can rarely be induced to undertake. In fact, purely partisan writing is probably the feeblest and most ineffective writing the country produces. It generally furnishes even the party it serves with amusement, rather than instruction or justification.

The reader will then ask why so much importance is attached by politicians to party newspapers, why they give them advertising, why they distribute them widely, why they make much of the editors, why they give them offices, for which as a general rule they are totally unfit, and why they sometimes lend them money? Well, the reason is very plain, and well known to everybody connected with the press. This reason as applied to a newspaper seems a little grotesque, but it is nevertheless true. The reason why partisan newspapers are valued is for their silence. Nobody cares much for their able articles about either home or foreign policy. Nobody cares twopence what they think or say about war, or about Aguinaldo, or about peace, or about the Emperor of Russia, or about England. Their "views" generally emanate from a gentleman who would just as soon maintain the opposite if it were made worth his while.

The service they render is mainly one of suppression. That is, they refrain with care from publishing news which seems to reflect discredit on the party or man that they serve. In other words, it is their silence which makes them valuable. It is not because something is to be found in their columns, but because it is not found. Herein lies their importance. But the importance would not be so great if it were not that few Americans read more than one newspaper, so that if you succeed in shutting facts out of one newspaper even, you probably conceal them from all its readers. The chances are a hundred to one that the facts will never reach them, no matter how grave may be their bearing on some serious public question. Their appearance in other papers will make no difference, because what appears in the journals of the other side makes no impression on a good party man. He feels quite sure it is not true, even if he sees it, or his own paper would have published it. This credulity, too, is so deep-seated that it has become hereditary, and goes from father to son for generations. There are great numbers of men and women who believe everything they see in the *Tribune* to-day, for instance, simply because their fathers or grandfathers believed everything in it in the days of Horace Greeley, and for like reasons disbelieve everything which has not appeared in the *Tribune*.

It is this difficulty of getting at the American public with facts which makes it so hard to overthrow a party in power. No matter how rascally or ignorant it may be, it will take about fifty years to reach the public with the things which make this folly or ignorance manifest. In like manner, suppression favors the seizure by any Administration of powers, legal or illegal, of any kind which call for immediate exercise. The matter in hand, in such a case, might be a war with England, like the Venezuela affair, or a war with the Filipinos, calling in both cases for prompt action. There would be—there was—in neither of these cases time or opportunity to reach the people of either party through their favorite papers. In other words, there was no time to discuss the question of the day in the slow American fashion; the easiest thing, then, was to hand it over to the first man who seemed to understand it—that is, either Cleveland or McKinley. Neither of them did understand it, but it would have taken two years to prove it, and the party papers maintained that they were the only men to lead us, so we got ready to fight, or fought, without the slightest opportunity of finding out whether we were making fools of ourselves or acting wisely. All the facts which tended to show that these two Presidents were just the men for the crisis, were laid before the party in power by its newspapers every day, while the facts which proved the contrary were carefully withheld.

It will be easily seen how important suppression is. In fact, the larger part of a partisan editor's activity and usefulness to his employers consists in keeping things out of his sheet. Smith of the Post-Office Department is the editor of a newspaper of exactly this type, and it is not surprising that he was shocked at Atkinson's indiscretion, and instantly bethought him of using on his lucubrations the art which he himself has been practising for forty years. A man who put such things into the Philadelphia Press would be promptly "fired." Atkinson could not be "fired." The next best thing was to prevent his documents from reaching those for whom they were intended. But this does not look as if we were not afraid of "responsibilities" or were seeking them. On the contrary, all suppression looks as if somebody was afraid to be called to account.

GOVERNMENT.

It is greatly to be desired that the reports of the present investigation of the way in which our municipal government is administered should have a wide circulation and a wide reading. Nothing more instructive could be imagined. There is no text-book on popular government in existence which can for a moment be compared with the report of a single day's session as a source

of exact information as to what the science of government has become in a great city. We had on May 16 the Mayor and several of his most important subordinates on the witness-stand, and they gave us personal expositions of their methods and principles which were simply invaluable. The Mayor showed us himself freely, as he always does, but he showed us also much of the hidden machinery of government at the same time. Quite incidentally he betrayed how close the connection was between our two bosses, Croker and Platt, immediately after the memorable election of 1897, when Platt helped Croker to carry the city. How did he happen to think of Mr. Abell for Police Commissioner? "Mr. Lauterbach told me that Mr. Platt would like to have him appointed." Why did he look upon Mr. Platt as the man whose wishes should control in the matter? "I thought he was the boss of the Republican party. Whatever he said they all agreed to; when he took snuff they sneezed. I do not mean that as anything offensive. I have a very high regard for Mr. Platt." Again: "I appointed Mr. Murray, and what is the name of this Alderman that I made an Aqueduct Commissioner?—those two gentlemen were appointed because Mr. Quigg recommended them." These selections were all made soon after Mr. Van Wyck became Mayor, and they were justly regarded at the time as made in payment of a debt which Croker owed to Platt for the candidacy of Tracy.

After the Mayor came other witnesses scarcely less useful as instructors. We had two Tammany Police Commissioners who revealed with perfect clearness their methods of administration. Alleging ignorance of the existence of the gambling industry in the city, they manifested a callous indifference to its suppression. They admitted, in one way or another, that police officers and men who had presumed of their own accord to meddle with favored gambling-places had been "transferred" to other fields of activity. They admitted that they had deposed one man as Chief of Police and put another in his place because the latter was a Tammany man. A valuable witness was the deposed Chief of Police, Mr. McCullagh, who confirmed the reluctant admissions of the two Police Commissioners as to their conduct in protecting gamblers and other lawbreakers, and who gave us subsequently the first complete and adequate picture we have had of the extraordinary Police Commissioner, Parker, whom Mayor Strong, under the advice of Jimmy O'Brien, inflicted upon us for several years. Ex-Chief McCullagh swore that Parker had asked him to "go into a corrupt scheme with him to hold up the department, as he [Parker] had held it up for two years and three months"; and that he refused,

having looked upon Parker as "an ordinary criminal" to be "caught by a resort to all the police methods" used towards such persons.

The illustrations of our system of government given at the session of May 17 were no less valuable than those which had preceded them. Mr. Moss's most interesting witness was Jake Hess, probably the best living specimen of the famous old type of Republican Boy. Jake was one of the most conspicuous and efficient of that band of Republican leaders who were created by Chester A. Arthur, and whom we were wont to speak of as the Mikes, Jakes, and Barneys of politics. Mr. Arthur was the inventor of the species, having conceived and put in operation the idea of taking from the ranks of the Democratic party men who had learned the business of "practical politics" there, and making them pioneers in the same business in the Republican party. He succeeded so well with it that within a few years he had a Republican organization which was capable of fighting Tammany with its own weapons, and with such efficiency that Tammany was frequently compelled to "deal" with it in order to save itself from harm.

"Dealing" was, in fact, the chief business of the Boys. The old open-ballot system gave them wonderful opportunities, for they controlled all the ballots and could "bunch" them in the interest of a "deal" so effectively as to make it succeed in nearly all cases. The exploits of the Boys on election day occupied large space in our political annals for many years. Everybody familiar with those times recalls how the late Mike Cregan "took the money," \$5,000 in cash, of the editor of the *North American Review*, who was a candidate for office, under promise of working for him at the polls, and then "bunched the ballots" against him by leaving out his tickets and putting in those of his Tammany opponent. That was a famous stroke of Boy business, and added greatly to Mike's reputation. Then there was the case of the very first of all the Boys, the late Johnny O'Brien, who took Jay Gould's check for \$50,000 to be used in getting votes for Blaine in the election of 1884, and, instead of doing that, put the money into his own pocket.

These were typical instances of what, in the past, we denominated the Mikery and Jakery of politics. Most of the Boys have passed away, and we miss them sadly. An almost solitary survivor is Jake Hess, now Police Commissioner, who was on the witness-stand last week. His testimony shows that the old Boy instinct survives with him. He was selected by Mayor Van Wyck as an old-time Republican who filled completely the bi-partisan idea of a Republican official. His first act as Police Commissioner was to vote to put out a Republican Chief of Police and replace him

with a Tammany Democrat. When he was asked by Mr. Moss why he did this, he replied frankly that he needed the \$5,000 salary attached to the position of Police Commissioner, and knew that the way to secure and retain it was to vote as the Mayor wished him to. That is the traditional Boy view of public duty. Jake was formerly a butcher, and he did not leave that business and go into politics "for his health." He went into politics for what there was in it for him, and he has been acting on that principle ever since. Nothing could be more logical or regular than Jake's course. Every true bi-partisan Republican that we have ever had in the Police Board has acted in precisely the same way.

The other parts of the lesson in government on the same day were also in accordance with long-established usage. Mr. Moss produced a great volume of testimony, to which the Chief of Police listened in person, establishing beyond dispute the existence of 117 pool-rooms and gambling-houses in the city, all running at full blast under the eyes and noses of the police. It did not "faze" the Chief a particle, though he had testified only a few days before that he had no knowledge of the existence of such places. Why should he have "knowledge" of such things? Why should any of his subordinates have it? They are not on duty for such purposes as that, and every one knows they are not. If there is any well-established, general knowledge in this community, it is that under Tammany government vice and crime are not suppressed, but are fostered for purposes of revenue. This was perfectly well understood when Tammany was put back into power in 1897, and nobody was surprised to have it proved to be the fact by Mr. Moss now. It may be of some advantage to have the proof set forth so clearly that denial of it will be impossible, but what will come of the demonstration? Will Devery be deposed as Chief, and will the police be reformed? Will this old established form of government by rascals for the benefit of rascals be supplanted by real government by honest men? If so, when will the transformation be made? Certainly not till Croker and Platt and their kind pass out of our politics.

A HUNDRED YEARS OF TRACTS.

The centenary of the English Tract Society was celebrated in Exeter Hall on May 5, and statistics covering the hundred years' activity were read. A total circulation reaching the giddy figure of more than 3,000,000,000 was reported. Before such a stupendous whole the ablest affiants of newspaper circulation must pale their ineffectual lies. As a specimen, take that well-known tract, "The Swearer's Prayer." First issued in 1806, it has attained the neat circulation of 4,649,000 copies. Where's

your Wully Shakspeare now? Even in these times which are not for the tracts, the Society goes on printing 80,000,000 copies annually. But the imagination simply rebels at such meaningless magnitudes, just as it does at the ingenious calculations how many years it would take a cannon-ball express train to reach Alpha Cygni.

The end and aim of tract-distribution was never more clearly defined than in the very first tract issued by the Society. This was a tract to advocate tracts. Said the author:

"Every one has not the talent of talking to others on subjects of religion. Some have a diffidence which they cannot overcome. But it is not so hard to take a tract and say, 'My friend, read that, and tell me what you think of it.' It is a cheap way of diffusing the knowledge of religion; it is not so likely to give offence as some other methods of doing good; it is more extensive in its use than any other method, and it forms an excellent accompaniment to other methods of doing good."

The idea was taken from the admirable Hannah More. Some of her minor religious publications fell like good seed in an age barren of literature. This "most powerful versificatrix in the English language," as Dr. Johnson called her, was not more proud of her forgotten poems—"Sir Eldred of the Bower," and the rest—than of her "Moral Sketches," in each of which, she boasted, there was to be found the delineation of "an exemplary parish priest." But where her "Cheap Repository Tracts" circulated by the thousand, the Society's publications have been scattered abroad by the million; and it remains for Leslie Stephen, who is not exactly a person one would expect to meet at a May Anniversary, to give the excellent Hannah the credit due her as the originator of the modern tract.

No one can question the benevolent intentions of the founders and supporters of the Tract Society, and many of its publications are far from contemptible intellectually. Wholesale sneers are usually sneers of ignorance, and before sneering at the writings issued by the Tract Society one should pause to note the names of able scholars—including some not especially identified with religious activities, like Prof. Mahaffy and the Marquis of Lorne—whose pens have been enlisted in its service. Yet, when all is said, one cannot help a feeling as of standing in the presence of an anachronism, when one contemplates presses turning out 80,000,000 of tracts every year. The conditions of all literature and the habits of reading have been so revolutionized during the past hundred years, that the industrious manufacture of tracts in this age seems very like a huge factory whose only output should be a thousand stage-coaches a week.

At the same time we are not at all prepared to deny that there are strata of society and sections of all countries where the tract may still find readers

and do good, in its way. Some minds, even in the midst of civilization, retain a sort of heathen, or Arab, reverence for the printed page. Anything, they think, considered worthy of print, must be of great importance; and so it is that in remote and bookless cabins, in mining camps, and along mountain trails, the colporteur finds people willing not only to "take one free," but to ponder over a tract containing solemn warnings against the corruption of the fashionable and luxurious world. We suspect, however, that there is a good deal of fallacy lurking in the Tract Society's colossal figures. In the first place, their enormous circulation is practically a free circulation. Now, the passion for getting something for nothing is one of the most fundamental of human passions, but it is not strictly religious. Certainly it is not limited to orthodox religious literature. Dr. Channing's works have been extensively circulated as a free gift, and so have Swedenborg's. We are not sure that one of Ingersoll's lectures, if issued and distributed free by a great society, might not run the "Swearer's Prayer" hard. Ready acceptance of literature gratis does not necessarily imply a fondness for the particular thing given away. And the second ground for fearing that the Tract Society would do well to rejoice with trembling over the immense distribution of its publications, is that to accept a tract is one thing and to read it quite another. If a tract can be offered without offence, it can also be taken to avoid the offence of a refusal and then quietly thrown away as soon as the giver's back is turned. Thus the gratulations of a successful tract-writer may be only on a par with the boasts of a soldier who knows he has killed 150 of the enemy because he has fired 150 rounds. It may be doubted if as high a proportion of tracts as of Mauser bullets reach their billets.

THE POISON IN OUR FOOD.

An eminent French chemist wrote a book not long ago in which he made a forecast of the time when human beings would cease eating meat or vegetables, and would take all their food in the shape of compact chemical tablets of diverse flavors. It is possible that the day may come when chemists will be able to manufacture nutritious and wholesome food out of the elements; but if we are to judge the future by the present, it is to be hoped that the era of chemical food may be postponed indefinitely. It has long been known that a very large percentage of our food is more or less adulterated with substances that can be made to resemble it in appearance and flavor, and which are often harmless. If they were all innocuous, the question would be merely one of commercial honesty, competition, and price. But many of them are injurious

to health, and therefore call for more vigorous measures.

As early as 1820, attention was called in England to the dangers from adulterated food through Accum's treatise, "Death in the Pot." In 1851 the *Lancet* declared war against dishonest manufacturers, printing every week a list of culprits, with chemical analyses of their products, and continuing this for three years. Repeated legislative enactments since that time have given the English considerable protection, but that it is still far from complete may be inferred from an article in the *Lancet* of April 22, on "Meat Extract of Vile Origin," which shows that such extracts are occasionally made of putrid liver and offal. "It might be thought impossible," it remarks, "that such filthy material could be fabricated into a toothsome paste, but so it is, the use of deodorizers and subtle flavoring materials having been placed at the disposal of offal-mongers by the advances (alas, that it must be so confessed) of chemical knowledge. . . . Of course, cooking would destroy most noxious germs, but their products, the poisonous ptomaines, would remain. . . . Their presence in an extract would cause very serious symptoms of poisoning."

In this country many State legislatures have enacted laws making injurious food adulterations illegal, and Congress has set aside an annual appropriation for use in investigating such adulterations, partly for the sake of protecting honest producers. The proceedings of the War-Investigating Committee have resulted in a fiasco for the Government, but they have at least done good in calling the nation's attention in a sensational way to this subject of "Death in the Pot." By a fortunate coincidence, official reports regarding the alarming extent of food adulteration and poisoning have been recently prepared in several States, and the result is that the press all over the country is discussing this matter.

In Pennsylvania the Food and Dairy Commissioner, Levi Wells, has ascertained that chemical companies have had agents travelling regularly in the State to sell to butchers chemicals for preserving meats, the favorite being apparently boracic acid, which "is certainly deleterious to health." The packages are labelled, telling how the chemicals are to be used on meat. In Connecticut the Agricultural Experiment Station issued on May 1 its annual report on the adulteration of foods. It gives a summary of the extent to which frauds are practised on consumers, thanks to Yankee ingenuity combined with modern advances in chemistry. Of sixty-three samples of fruit jellies, two-thirds were adulterated, not only with starch and glucose, but with aniline dye and poisonous salicylic acid. Out of forty samples of marmalades and jams only three were

pure. Of forty-seven samples of beer and ale, twelve contained salicylic acid, and nineteen samples of sausages and oysters were found "embalmed" by boric acid.

"The use of antiseptics as preservatives of food is becoming alarmingly great," says Prof. Mitchell, analytical chemist of the Wisconsin Dairy and Food Commission. Farmers mix them with milk and butter, and they act disastrously on the tissues of the stomach. Nearly every butcher in Illinois, he says, makes use, especially in the preparation of "Hamburger steak," of preserving chemicals, including sulphide of soda, a compound which checks fermentation and therefore makes it difficult to digest the meat. A Government expert has testified that this chemical had been used by medical students to preserve cadavers, and by physicians to disinfect houses where there had been smallpox. At the recent sessions of the United States Pure-Food Investigating Committee in Chicago, the testimony of several other experts was taken, all of whom agreed that the antiseptic chemicals so freely used in the preservation of food and drink are deleterious, and in many cases poisonous. Dr. Wiley, chemist to the National Agricultural Department, declared, among other things, that no food which contains preservatives is fit to eat, and that probably the one most commonly used, because of its cheapness, is salicylic acid, which should be forbidden because it is very bad for the health, especially in the case of weak stomachs. A pamphlet published by the Department of Agriculture at Washington states that "the use of salicylic acid as a food preservative has been forbidden by several European governments." Here it is used to a large extent, both by native canners and by foreigners who take advantage of our situation. The Department found it in fifteen out of twenty samples of string beans, in ten out of twelve samples of baked beans, in twenty-four out of forty-one cases of corn, and so on.

This testimony, from so many expert and unbiased sources, fully justifies the heading given to our article. The chemicals used to preserve our food and drink have become a serious menace to health. There are thousands of invalids whose chances of recovery and life depend on their getting the purest drugs and food, and there can be no doubt that some of these are killed every day by the poisons in milk, butter, and meat, put there by farmers, grocers, and butchers to save trouble or avoid the risk of goods spoiling on their hands. To perfectly robust individuals these chemicals may be comparatively harmless, but Americans are a nation of dyspeptics, and salicylic acid, the favorite preservative used here, has been pronounced by the Paris Academy of Medicine especially injurious to dyspeptics. Their life is made

wretched by the systematic food poisoning for the profit of dishonest dealers; salts of zinc or copper in a dish of canned peas, for example (put there to give them a pretty green color!), may result in a sleepless night, colic, headache, loss of a day's work, and general misery; and this may go on indefinitely, rendering life a burden, without any suspicion in the victim of the real cause. Last summer a Western hotel lost hundreds of guests, who left, one after the other, because they all became ill for some mysterious reason. The water and ice were held responsible, but careful experiment showed that the illness was due to the use in the kitchen of cheap coal-tar flavoring extracts. In saving \$10 by buying this stuff the proprietor of the hotel lost \$10,000. These coal-tar extracts are used to a very great extent in confectionery, ice-cream, soda-water, etc., and to many persons they are poisonous. They deserve a special investigation.

To remedy this state of affairs it has been suggested that a national food commission should be organized with powers to examine manufactured products and testify as to their quality. The most important thing to remember, if this is done, is that fines are of little use, imprisonment of the real culprits being the only effective deterrent. This was proved in Munich, where the law that only hops and malt must be used in the manufacture of beer was ineffectual as long as the brewers were simply fined, for they found that it was more profitable to make poor beer and pay a fine than to make good beer and pay no fine. But when the Government began to imprison the rich brewers, they began to make honest beer. Pending the enactment of similar laws in this country, covering drink and food, there is a method which can be applied at once by honest manufacturers and dealers. Let them print the contents of their cans on the labels, offer rewards for discovery of adulterations, and advertise on a large scale in the newspapers, and they will become as prosperous as the Munich brewers.

THE AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION AT ATLANTA.

ATLANTA, May 15, 1899.

After holding twenty meetings in successive years in various places in the North, this Association last year selected Atlanta as its place of meeting for 1899. Two subsequent events tended to give singular interest to this gathering: first, the establishment by the Legislature of Georgia last winter of a State Library Commission, the first in the South; and second, the recent gift of \$100,000 to Atlanta by Andrew Carnegie for a library building. Mr. Carnegie's gift was made in recognition of the intention of the Young Men's Library Association to present its entire property, valued at \$100,000, to the city for a free library, and was conditioned on the city's accepting the proposition, furnishing a site, guaranteeing

municipal support to the extent of \$5,000 annually, and maintaining the institution as a free public library. All these conditions having been met, the meeting held in the Grand Opera-house on Tuesday evening, May 9, to extend a welcome to the American Library Association, was made the occasion for the formal passing of the deeds, and for felicitous speechmaking in recognition of the importance and promise of the transaction, not only to Atlanta, but to the entire South; such a movement here foreshadowing quite clearly similar efforts in the whole tier of States.

The attendance at the sessions of the Association, May 8 to 13, was a truly national one, among the places represented being Bangor and Brunswick, Me.; Lincoln, Neb.; Minneapolis (six delegates from its public library), San Francisco, Los Angeles, Denver; Austin, Texas; and New Orleans, as well as the whole intermediate country. An interesting paper on "Libraries in the Gulf States" was presented by Mr. William Beer, librarian of the Howard Memorial and Fiske Free Libraries of New Orleans. Briefly summarized, its facts are as follows:

	Libraries.	Volumes.	Free Libraries.	Circulation.
Florida	21	48,000	1	4,188
Alabama	47	128,000	0	0
Mississippi	61	180,000	0	0
Louisiana	41	220,000	1	100,000
Texas	90	158,000	0	0
Totals	260	732,000	2	104,188

By free libraries is meant those actually free for circulation. Others reported as free are free for reference only. The State libraries are nearly all in a neglected condition and of little use. The above statement does not include school and college libraries, the list being made up mainly of small subscription libraries having an average of 3,800 volumes. Only about one-half possess over 1,000 volumes each. The percentage of books in libraries to population in the group of States is about ten; in Massachusetts it is two hundred and four, counting only free public libraries. Such a statement shows that, in the Southern States, public libraries, using the term in a true sense, are practically nonexistent. Not only were they out of harmony with the institutions and conditions of life in the old South, but they could naturally gain ground but slowly in the new South. This is essentially a new country, hardly distinguishable in its modes of life from the remoter West; the population is scattered; village life, so characteristic of New England, is almost unknown; and the wealth which, through endowments, has been the mainstay of the library movement in the North, does not exist here. Hence that movement, in order to take root and have a natural growth in this soil, must adapt itself to entirely new conditions.

It is quite within bounds to say that, at this meeting of the American Library Association, it has been made apparent that such adaptation is taking place, and that already the public-library movement has made a real start in the South, in a conformity to existing conditions which augurs well for its future. It is through the women's clubs mainly that this is being done. It is not within my province to make a study of the development of the woman's-club movement in this part of the country. It is certain that it is "here, and here to stay," as the saying is; and these clubs have been led to take up as almost the first "cause" to be advanced by them that of the free library. Here in Atlanta it was largely by the work of the wo-

man's club, well directed by Miss Anne Wallace, the energetic librarian of the Young Men's Library, that the subscription library has been made free and has attracted Mr. Carnegie's handsome gift. By the same influence an act was carried through the Legislature of Georgia last winter establishing a State Library Commission. Very recently the women's clubs of South Carolina have been federated, and their first united action was the preparation of a similar law for that State, which it is hoped will be passed the coming winter. These commissions are likely to prepare and secure the passage of bills permitting towns to establish and maintain free libraries by taxation, and encouraging such action by State aid. The legislation common to the Northern States must be modified to suit Southern conditions, and these commissions represent the first effort to study those conditions and meet them.

But the women's clubs are not limiting their library work to the procurement of proper legislation. They are actively promoting the beginnings of libraries in many towns and the use of travelling libraries for the scattered population. One of the most interesting papers read at the convention was that of Mrs. Eugenie Heard, of Middleton, Ga., describing the work she has been carrying on, on behalf of the federation of women's clubs, in sending travelling libraries to stations on the Seaboard Air Line. Nine of these libraries are now out, being moved from place to place once in two months. Each contains about fifty good books, selected with special reference to the population to be reached, and they are already arousing, in the section traversed, a great interest, which will speedily be turned to the formation of local libraries for the free use of the public. Within four years just that number of free libraries have been established in South Carolina, and they are in close touch with the women's-club movement. In Texas, too, as Mr. Beer said in his paper, "the wave of library creation, under the inspiration of the State federation of women's clubs, has struck Waco, Dallas, Sherman, Abilene, Victoria, Belton, Tyler, and Denison."

I have thought it worth while to give space to this résumé of library matters in the South as preliminary to what is to be said about the meeting itself, which will doubtless give an immense stimulus to all these efforts, by bringing earnest Southern workers into acquaintance and fellowship with those from other parts of the country. The presiding officer was Mr. William C. Lane, librarian of Harvard University, to whose intelligent efforts, on behalf of the Association, was largely due the recent appointment as Librarian of Congress of Mr. Herbert Putnam. The Association passed a vote recording its gratitude that, in such an appointment, eminent fitness had been made the chief qualification, and its sense that librarianship had thus been distinctly honored. Dr. Cyrus Adler, librarian of the Smithsonian Institution, gave to the Association a summary of his report, soon to be published in *Science*, on the second international conference on the cataloguing of scientific literature, held in London in 1898. It appears that this matter has now been carried so far that it is hoped that the work contemplated, i. e., the furnishing of complete current catalogues of all scientific books and papers, through the medium of an international bureau, to be supported by

the Governments of the cooperating nations, may be begun with the twentieth century, in 1901. If prepared in the form of a card catalogue, it is estimated that 160,000 cards annually would be issued. This enormous addition to the card catalogues would, even in the largest libraries, be too great to be contemplated otherwise than with dismay, and it seems likely that the card form may be found acceptable only to those (and it is supposed there will be many such) who desire to collect the titles in some particular branch of science. Annual (possibly semi-annual, or quarterly) volumes will probably be issued as the form most acceptable to libraries. It is estimated that the book form may cost about \$80 per year, the card form (complete) over \$200. The question of classification is still undetermined by the international committee, but they are reported to have agreed upon the safe principle that no one scheme of classification shall be imposed on the whole field of science, but that each department shall be arranged with reference to its own natural categories. Meantime, the place of the proposed international catalogue is being fairly well filled in a general way by the cards furnished by the publishing board of the American Library Association, which are coöperatively prepared by five of the largest American libraries.

No remark is more commonly made about library work than that its methods are constantly changing, and in the nature of the case it is very natural that this should be so, for it is quite evident that the library system of this country is as yet in its infancy, and but just escaping from its swaddling-clothes. Nothing could better illustrate this than the result of the discussion at the Atlanta meeting of the question of free access of the readers in a public library to the shelves. This result, which certainly deserves to be called astonishing, was that of the 150 librarians present, representing the entire country, not one voted, when a show of hands was called, against the principle of "safeguarded open access" (as our English cousins have dubbed it) to at least a very considerable share of the library. The rather singular fact was also brought out that in the large cities where the system has been applied to nearly all the books in the library, e. g., in Philadelphia, Buffalo, and Cleveland, while the annual loss of books runs up to 200 or 300, their value is saved several times over in the reduced number of attendants required to serve the public.

But the most important bearing of this new principle of public library administration, which has wholly come to the front within the last fifteen years, is upon the much-mooted question of library architecture. The vaunted "stack" system for the close "storage" of books is by no means adapted to the access of the public. Especially as applied in the new building of the Boston Library, it renders such access impossible except for a small minority of the books. Such stacks as those of the Library of Congress could possibly meet the new requirement, but it will be much better met by a return to open halls and alcoves. Nothing seems clearer than that the public library building of the future must provide space enough (and a large library can do it by a succession of floors, with elevators) for most of its books to be displayed where readers can freely handle them, and make their own

selections, only a minority of the volumes, those of special value and calculated to tempt the book-thief, being "stored" away and subject to use only on special call. Even these exceptional books will be more and more collected in "special libraries" (one fine feature of the Boston building), where even they can be made quite freely accessible under supervision to those admitted as scholars to their use. Library building committees and architects must have their attention called to this new development, which makes all "model" buildings yet erected a delusion and a snare if copied in working for the future.

I cannot bring this already too long letter to a close without a few words about one peculiar aspect of library work in the South. Undoubtedly the establishment of free libraries in which all citizens are to have equal rights has been, and will still be, greatly hindered by the race difficulty. But a somewhat careful inquiry as to the way things are going in several Southern States gives me a good deal of confidence that this difficulty is a bugbear rather than a real hindrance. As a bugbear it will hinder, but it seems bound to yield to the logic of events. Southern people say, when asked about it, that the whites will not use the same books that are taken by the negroes, and that therefore the negroes cannot be admitted on equal terms. There is force in this view, and it will have to be recognized, and to some extent met by the establishment of branch libraries in those wards or those villages and hamlets where the negroes most congregate. But the better class of negroes will expect to use, for a higher kind of reading than these branches will afford, the best facilities offered by the larger and the central libraries. In some libraries in this section, where the population is about equally divided, the question seems to be settling itself along these lines. The presence of negroes in the central library excites no remark, as negro servants are constantly sent for books. Hence any difficulty that might be raised would have to turn on the question, "Are you here as messenger or on your own account?" As to the reading of the same books by the two races, there can be no real difficulty. White people whose food is prepared, and whose children are nursed, fondled, and kissed by negro servants, cannot long maintain so artificial a race separation as this of the books. As in the North, so here (and with more or less of distinction based on race), the books freely taken from the library by the "low-down" classes, and rapidly acquiring the marks of such use, will not be drawn by the more fastidious. This is very largely provided for by the natural division between classes of readers as to the authors read and the subjects on which books are consulted. With the further provision of branches and of special collections of books for use in the schools for colored children, it may be hoped and expected that any trepidation as to difficulties arising from the race problem as affecting the free-library movement will disappear in the light of common sense and enlightened public spirit.

W. I. FLETCHER,
Librarian of Amherst College.

FARCE OR TRAGEDY?

LONDON, April 29, 1899.

The conditions are changing so rapidly in

London that I have come away from the Royal Academy and the New Gallery asking myself how much longer even the conservative British public can be made to believe that these are the two great art exhibitions of the year. In the old days there was a definite reason for the existence of the New Gallery. It inherited the traditions of the older Grosvenor as the haven of refuge, the headquarters, the temple of all those artists who were distinguished, not humiliated, by the neglect of the Academy. To its managers and directors the distinguished artists meant chiefly Burne-Jones, together with all his followers and imitators and admirers. Burne-Jones had sufficient individuality to give the gallery a very decided character, and sufficient fame or notoriety to insure its popular and financial success. But now that, unfortunately, with Burne-Jones it has lost its chief attraction, its chief support, what is there left? It is not worth while to depend upon Mr. Watts and Mr. Holman Hunt, two of the Gallery's other principal upholders. Both exhibit this year, but of their contributions I shall say nothing. They are men who, in their time, have done great things or played an important part in historic movements, but they are no longer young, and it is better to remember their accomplishments in the past than to consider seriously their mere echo of them to-day. To turn from them and from the sham primitives is to find the collection made up of the sentimental banalities of one of the managers—canvases which, the chances are, would not be accepted elsewhere; the work of an occasional stray foreigner of no great note; and the overflow from the Academy. This is, absolutely and without exaggeration, all. For really great work, even for strange or striking experiment, you will search in vain.

The one canvas which appears to me worthy to be mentioned specially is Mr. Sargent's portrait of Col. Ian Hamilton, and it really is not so much a finished portrait as a good, vigorous study. In a show devoted solely to Mr. Sargent it would not call for any particular attention; it would be easily surpassed. In the New Gallery it stands out too prominently to be passed over. Where so many things are dull and lifeless, this tall, spare figure, with the gaunt, keen, bony face, and the sensitive hands, seems all alert and alive, all energy and force and character, though it seems, too, cut out of the cold, uninteresting gray background instead of forming a part of it. It is an admirable study; the picture has yet to be painted. But one Sargent, and that not a very remarkable Sargent, will not make a good or representative exhibition. If the New Gallery can do no better, it would be wiser and more dignified to bring its career to an end and rest on its laurels.

The Royal Academy, within my knowledge of that institution, has never seemed so conscious of its inefficiency. To begin with, for the first time in many years it is beginning to listen to criticism and to make at least an appearance of concession. For long, the rule regulating the sending in of work to the yearly exhibition has been found fault with. This rule is that members of the Academy can exhibit eight works of art, and outsiders submit eight. The increase in the number of contributors has also increased the task of the selecting committee—a more powerful argument than public dissatisfaction—and, by way of helping themselves, under a show of generosity, it has been suggested that,

henceforward, Academicians and Associates should exhibit six works and outsiders submit four. But though outsiders, with cheerful blindness to the fact that the new rule is a trifle more unjust than the old, have been rejoicing, I do not think the concession amounts to very much, one way or the other, but for the interpretation artists have given to it. Far more noteworthy are the signs of discouragement, of fear, or hesitation—I hardly know what—within the Academical ranks. For weeks before the opening of the Academy, one heard of the various misfortunes and accidents that would prevent Academicians from finishing their important pictures in time. Now the Academy has opened, one finds that, on the one hand, men, like Mr. Dicksee and Mr. Fildes, who, in the old days, sent what were politely called the pictures of the year—pictures that drew the crowd as surely as Mr. Frith's "Derby Day"—are apparently afraid to venture upon anything more compromising than a portrait; that, on the other hand, men, like Mr. Abbey and Mr. Herkomer, who still try to rise to the occasion, either betray their own artlessness in the effort, or else show so lamentable a falling off from a once high standard that it would be better if they did not exhibit at all.

The failure of Mr. Herkomer need not, perhaps, be taken very seriously. His work in any medium—and he has tried many—has never been distinguished for its refinement or its feeling for beauty; but this year one simply stands amazed before his huge metal shield, in form not unlike a tea-tray, covered, hardly adorned, with enamels, that in some quarters is being spoken of with bated breath as literally and in truth, "The Triumph of the Hour," which Mr. Herkomer calls it. In this, he is supposed to have carried the art of enamel farther than ever it has been carried before, and, if to do something that has never been done because it should not be done, is a merit, then Mr. Herkomer deserves all possible credit—or discredit. Elaborate pictures in strident and many colors, but quite guiltless of good drawing, each with a little text below it, are scattered over the shield, fitted into the space much as editors of illustrated papers sometimes fit in a number of drawings on the same page, without any special thought for the design or effect of the collection as a whole. For the sake of a novelty, Mr. Herkomer has disregarded all the artistic limits of an art which is lovely only within these limits. But, remembering a succession of novelties by him in the past, this last departure is, after all, not so much of a surprise.

It is when we come to Mr. Abbey that we have more genuine cause for regret. Mr. Abbey's distinction as an illustrator has led us to expect only great things from him. Whether it is, however, that the necessity of turning out a huge canvas every season has become too much of a burden, or whether he, like so many others, is not strong enough to resist the benumbing, the deadening influence of the Academy, it is not easy to say; but certainly, year by year, his painting seems more and more perfunctory, more and more a mere exercise in studio properties. In the two pictures he now shows, "Who is Sylvia?" and "O Mistress Mine, Where Are You Roaming?" figures and costumes we remember in his very beautiful pastels and drawings reappear in canvases far too large for them, telling the story they have to tell

with a grace that will probably appeal to the public taste, but with none of the qualities that would delight the painter.

As for the other Academicians and Associates, they exhibit nothing of the slightest interest if I except the portraits by Mr. Orchardson and Mr. Sargent; and, while Mr. Orchardson varies his pleasant color scheme and general treatment so little that what you say of his work one year, need only be said again the next, Mr. Sargent is not particularly good, that is, for him. In his "Lady Faudel-Phillips" he has added to his rapidly increasing gallery of Jews, the type seeming to fascinate him as it did some of the old masters; but he has scarcely repeated his success of last summer. The new portrait is not marked by the wonderful realization of character that simply appalled one in the Mr. Wertheimer, nor has it the flamboyant gayety of the Mrs. Carl Meyer. You can see that it amused him to paint this large, smiling, prosperous woman, in her gorgeous gown and jewels; but the dog with pink tongue sitting in her lap only reminds one of the finer opportunity found in Mr. Wertheimer. Mr. Sargent, for the moment, succeeds better in a very different type—the type of the elderly schoolmistress in his Miss Jane Evans, whose severe black tailor dress has given him small chance for audacious cleverness of handling and interpretation, but who herself has a dignity and sober charm he has expressed very admirably.

However, I think the best portrait is not this one by Mr. Sargent, but rather Mr. McLure Hamilton's much smaller and more unpretending presentment of Mr. Cosmo Monkhouse. It is insignificant enough in size to have been hung in the gallery devoted to the small canvases, but it is so full of character, so harmonious in its beautiful silvery grays, that it is actually the most striking portrait in the exhibition. And so it is with the landscapes. There are, it is true, two or three large, rather stately compositions by Mr. Alfred East, the new Associate, who has improved enormously within the last twelvemonth; but by far the most accomplished, by far the loveliest is a quiet little canvas by Mr. Mark Fisher that hangs in the same gallery with Mr. Hamilton's portrait—a simple stretch of green country, devoid of incident, but transfigured in the golden glow of the summer afternoon. Mr. Fisher's sunlight sometimes is too harsh in its glitter, his pastorals sometimes are too restless with many details, but this picture has a serenity, a calmness, a repose that recall the triumphs of Barbizon.

If the New Gallery contains nothing of note but a vigorous study by Mr. Sargent, the successes of the Royal Academy, it is seen, must be reduced to two small pictures, a portrait and a landscape—both, it should be remarked in passing, the work of Americans and outsiders. Of course there may possibly be other good things; the hanging is so atrocious that there is never any telling what may be hidden up under the ceiling or down by the floor, or else overshadowed by unsympathetic surroundings. But I can speak only of what is visible on the walls, and I have by no means overstated or understated the case.

All the fashionable world crowds to the Academy's private view, Royalty eats its dinner, and the Prime Minister, in fireworks of rhetoric, sings the praise of the horrors in its galleries as if he really believed them

to rival the Sir Joshuas and Gainsboroughs they have replaced. It would be farcical if it were not so tragic for the artist. But curiously, though the public faith continues unshaken, doubt seems to have sprung up within the Academy itself. As I have said, Academicians no longer have the old cheerful confidence in their own popularity that permitted them to expose, without a tremor, the vulgarity or banality of what they were pleased to call their art. There is that recent concession—concession in name at all events—to exhibitors which is significant; but more significant still is the fact that the universal condemnation of the decorations now in progress at St. Paul's has called forth the protest of the President of the Royal Academy of Arts against one of its members, Sir William B. Richmond, the decorator appointed by the Dean and Chapter. This looks as if all were not well at Burlington House, and I can understand the dismay the President's action has created among Academicians. N. N.

CHATEAUBRIAND.

PARIS, May 4, 1899.

Nobody has made a deeper mark on French literature in our century than Chateaubriand. He first may be said to have broken with the dry and conventional literature of the Empire and to have been the founder of the Romantic school. He was a poet in prose. The richness of his imagination, the ardor and violence of his passions, his incurable sadness and melancholy, gave him something of the character of a prophet. His account of his youth in the stern castle of Combourg will always be among the most impressive pages of our modern literature; his "Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe," in which these pages appear, are becoming more and more admired as they grow older. The present generation has become indifferent to the political quarrels of the Restoration; it reads in the "Mémoires" only the parts which Chateaubriand devotes to his youth, to his life during the emigration and during the Empire, which he refused to serve after the execution of the Duke d'Enghien.

M. Edmond Biré has just published in three volumes a new edition of the "Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe," with an introduction, notes, and commentaries. It may be considered as definitive, for M. Edmond Biré has made for himself a sort of specialty, which consists in the most minute and elaborate study of all the original documents and manuscripts. Nobody is better informed, more careful, more painstaking. He has published most interesting and documentary works on Victor Hugo, on Honoré de Balzac. He can be compared, for minuteness and exactitude, careful analysis of memoirs, letters, articles in old reviews or even old papers, only with M. de Spoelberch de Lovenjoul. The text of Chateaubriand's Memoirs, like that of Saint-Simon, has great need of a perpetual commentary. So many people are mentioned in them, so many figures appear simply in the background, so many events are merely alluded to, that the modern reader often needs to be instructed. M. Biré's commentary is very complete and very precise, and has been written with the care which M. de Boislisle shows in his magnificent edition of Saint-Simon now appearing, volume by volume, too slowly for our curiosity.

Chateaubriand began his Memoirs in 1809, on his return from his journey in the East.

He often afterwards retouched them, made changes, additions, not always for the better—according to the passion of the moment. The work may be said to have been written in fragments, and unfortunately we do not possess the original manuscripts of these fragments. In 1826 the first part of the Memoirs was finished, and Madame Récamier, so devoted to Chateaubriand, made a copy of the first three books from the manuscript; this copy has, in consequence, great value, and M. Biré shows by extracts that it is sometimes a little different from the text which was printed in 1848. This copy was published only in 1874, under the title, "Remembrances of the Infancy and Youth of Chateaubriand: Manuscript of 1826." Chateaubriand retired from active politics in 1831, after the Revolution, and could devote more time to his Memoirs; in 1834 seven volumes were already completed, and it became his habit to read parts of them to a chosen few at the Abbaye-aux-Bois, in the salon of Madame Récamier. The scene has often been described: Chateaubriand seated in a chair, like an old lion; Madame Récamier watching every movement of his eyes, every emotion in his face; M. Ampère and sometimes M. de Laménie reading. Sundry fragments were, at the time, given to reviews and to newspapers. They were put together in a volume, now very rare, entitled "Readings from the Memoirs of M. de Chateaubriand." Our National Library possesses some manuscript fragments of Chateaubriand which were in the possession of one of his secretaries and left by him to a friend, who made a copy of them. Both manuscripts and copies are in the Library's department of manuscripts.

"It was in Rome," says Chateaubriand, "that I conceived for the first time the 'Memoirs of My Life.'" In a letter addressed to Joubert in 1813, he explains himself on the subject in these terms:

"My only happiness is to snatch a few hours during which I can occupy myself with a work that alone can bring solace to my pain—the 'Memoirs of My Life.' . . . Be easy; there will be no confessions painful to my friends. If I am to be something hereafter, my friends will have a name as fine and respectable. I will not speak to posterity of my weaknesses in detail; I will only say of myself what is suitable to my dignity as a man, and (I dare to say) to my elevation of spirit. One should present to the world only what is beautiful; and it is not being false to God to show in our life only what may incite others to noble and generous sentiments. It is not that I have really anything to conceal; I have not caused a servant to be discharged for a stolen ribbon, nor abandoned a dying friend in the street, nor dishonored the woman who had sheltered me, nor sent my natural children to the Foundling Asylum."

You recognize the allusions to Jean Jacques Rousseau. It is clear that Chateaubriand often had him in mind when composing his Memoirs. One of the reasons why he was anxious to paint his own portrait was that he was afraid it would be painted by others in a less flattering way. In the Preface to the edition of 1834, he says on this subject: "I consider that, as my life belongs on one side to the public, I could not have escaped all the composers of memoirs, all the venal biographers who in the evening put in the papers what in the morning they have heard in the ante-rooms. . . . Every man who has played a part in the society of his time owes to the defence of his memory a monument by which he may be judged."

It was idle for Chateaubriand to give us

his reasons for writing his *Memoirs*. He was, above all, an artist, with extraordinary powers of imagination and description. The book was in him, it was his own life—he could no more help writing it than an apple-tree can help bearing apples; especially as his was a very tormented, agitated, pessimistic mind, and he had to seek in himself the cause of his perpetual melancholy. It is this pessimism, finding such varied and eloquent expression, which gave to Chateaubriand a new place in literature. The literature of the *grand siècle* is optimistic; the literature of the eighteenth is gay and frivolous. After the great drama of the Revolution, the great epic poem of the Empire, France needed a Chateaubriand; she found in him the expression of her own emotion, her own regrets, her own fears, her own admirations.

The great and in many senses magnificent movement of the Romantic school was a departure from all conventions; it was, so to speak, a leap in the dark, just as the Revolution and the Empire had been. The *Memoirs* may be considered a poem in prose. They have not the dryness, the precision of ordinary memoirs. Every event, every incident of life becomes the subject of or pretext for a lyrical effusion. Chateaubriand says truly, "My solitary, dreamy, poetical life went on through a world of realities or catastrophes, of tumult, of noise, with the sons of my dreams," Chactaw, René, Eudore, etc., "with the daughters of my chimeras," Atala, Amélie, etc. The work is so personal that George Sand calls it, in a letter to Sainte-Beuve, a work devoid of morality. But lyric poetry is perforce personal, and it is because the *Memoirs* are so personal that Chateaubriand preferred them to all his other works. He spoke of them as "this poor orphan who will remain after me in the world." He never ceased to amend them, to add, to suppress; and M. de Loménie tells us that, during the last months of his life, he gave himself the melancholy pleasure of having them read to him once more from beginning to end.

The history of Chateaubriand's reputation as a writer is instructive. It was founded at first on the 'Genius of Christianity,' a work which prepared and accompanied the revival of the Catholic religion after the implous days of the French Revolution. This work served the purposes of Bonaparte and was a sort of support for the Concordat. Though it contains some fine pages, it has no value from a theological and argumentative point of view; nevertheless, it had an immense success, as it corresponded with the state of mind of those in France (and they formed the immense majority) who regretted the excesses of the Revolution, and wished to see the churches reopened. As a work of art, its arrangement leaves much to be desired, and the Classicists of 1803 criticised it not without reason. It proved a tie between young Chateaubriand and Napoleon: the neo-Christian ambassadorial secretary was sent to Rome. We know how the tie was suddenly severed when Chateaubriand learned of the execution of the Duke d'Enghien.

Chateaubriand's first novels were as successful as the 'Genius of Christianity.' They gave to the French the first vision of the wild West, of the red Indians; they opened, also, new vistas in the land of sentiment, very different from those to which the eighteenth century had been accustomed. Chateaubriand's reputation as a writer came to

its apogee during the Restoration, not only because he was one of those for whom the Restoration was a sort of personal triumph, and because he became one of the chief political leaders of the time—minister, ambassador—and was thus brought into the focus of popular admiration; but also because he became, if not the most important, one of the most important promoters of the great literary revolution which goes under the name of Romanticism.

The Revolution of 1830 was a great blow to Chateaubriand. He had at various times been driven into the opposition under the Restoration, but his opposition was always constitutional. When the edifice which he had helped to build was overthrown, his natural sadness and melancholy became a sort of dark and aggressive misanthropy. His literary reputation could not suffer from the violence of this misanthropy; he made a great number of enemies by his diatribes, by the expression of a contempt which became almost universal. The men of 1830 whom he disliked and despised, took their revenge by trying to ignore him, or by attacking his style, his manner; they found the weak spot in the man, and denounced him as an egotist, as a charlatan of sensibility, as a comedian. All that can be said against Chateaubriand has found the cleverest expression in a work of Sainte-Beuve's. Sainte-Beuve the critic is unsparing, but Sainte-Beuve was too much of an artist also not to feel the greatness, the loftiness of the genius of Chateaubriand. We are now so far from the passions which divided the generation of the Restoration and that of 1830, the followers of the Bourbon and the followers of the Citizen King, that Chateaubriand's reputation is having a sort of revival. I will, as a proof of it, allude only to the very remarkable, sympathetic, one might almost say, enthusiastic articles written of late years on Chateaubriand by the Viscount Melchior de Vogüé, and to the publication of the new and very conscientious edition of the 'Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe' by M. Edmond Biré.

Correspondence.

BENEVOLENT ASSIMILATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: With an area of 2,500,000 square miles acquired in the last ninety-five years, we, in quest of additional territory, are butchering on their native islands in tropical seas the Filipinos, who have nearly fifteen times as many people to the square mile as we have in said area. Even with the present population of the region constituting the original thirteen States thrown in, the inhabitants of the Philippines are more than three times as many to the square mile as those of the United States. In other words, we must have 250,000,000 of people before our country will be as thickly settled as Luzon, and 500,000,000 before it is as populous as Cebu. This alone should deter us from pursuing further the course marked out by the present Administration, to say nothing of the self-evident fallacy of thinking that people of the temperate zones could long thrive in the deadly tropics of an Oriental, sea-level country—unless, indeed, it is the deliberate purpose of our Administration to exploit Asiatic labor by compulsion.

For its relevance to this point, I append the

following letter just received from a Hollander. It is the third communication of similar tenor that I have received from natives of that country:

"Your pamphlet, 'Imperial Democracy,' has attracted a great deal of attention. The United States certainly will have a great task before it to develop the Philippines as Holland developed Java, and your question as to how this can be accomplished by annexation and bringing the islands under United States laws is one that cannot be easily answered. The labor question will, I think, be the hardest problem for the government of the Philippines to solve.

"I have worked in the tropics of Africa, Surinam, and British Honduras, and conducted the most productive and valuable sugar estates in Surinam. After the emancipation of laborers to freedom in the tropics, agricultural enterprises were ruined. Calcutta and Madras labor imported into the British West Indies has brought relief to England's possessions there, but bring even negroes from Barbados and Jamaica to the mainland, Guiana, and one will see the failure. While in Surinam, we tried to get consent from the European Powers to import negroes from Africa under the same conditions as coolies are imported from Calcutta and Madras, to save our large agricultural interests there. Our petitions were endorsed by the most prominent public men in England and Holland, but we failed, and we had to see our sugar estates go to ruin. We also tried white labor from Holland, Belgium, France, and Portugal, but met with such disastrous sickness among our men that our labor accounts were more than tripled. The contract labor for Surinam under Government supervision brought some relief, especially to the small coffee and cocoa-planters, but sugar suffered, and how the United States will make the Philippines produce regular labor under American laws is a question which will take some time before it is answered. I do not think that the Americans who may embark upon agricultural enterprises in the Philippines will have the natural patience of the Hollander, which is always essential in dealing with the laboring classes of the tropics to make a success there.

"As you justly say in your paper, tropical climates, no matter where, are demoralizing. I remember well the first day I set foot in the tropics, being then very young, and how much I deplored the lack of wisdom displayed by my family in sending me to such a zone. It is not only what a man suffers physically in the tropics, but the severe moral deterioration which is sustained, and how disgusted he feels in his surroundings. Any one who has not been there and whose higher feelings are not developed cannot understand it. All the tropics are described as luxuriant as a paradise, but I wish many times I had never been in such paradises—they are a real hell on earth."

Upon this question of labor, Special Commissioner E. W. Harden says in his report on the 'Financial and Industrial Conditions of the Philippine Islands':

"The question of labor is a serious one. The natives are not to be depended upon as laborers. They work only when they see fit, and their work is far from being satisfactory. The best workers in the Philippine Islands are the Chinese coolies; most of them, however, are in and around Manila. The Spanish Government had a law in force under which Chinese coolies were allowed to land on the payment of a tax of \$50 a head. Under the military occupation of Manila no more Chinese have been allowed to land at that port. Planters and business men believe the Chinese should be allowed to come in, under proper restrictions, as they make the best servants and in many ways the best laborers that can be obtained in the islands."

The Chinese are, in fact, the best laborers that can be obtained in the Orient, but are the masses of the American people ready to invite race troubles by an influx of Asiatics—either by unrestricted immigration or as citizens of the United States under the annexation of the Philippines?

As to retaining these islands, the whole

scheme is one of forcible annexation, dictated by commercial greed. Commissioner Denby, who is popularly supposed to dominate the commission now in the Philippines (and doubtless does), after stating the proposition as a purely "business" one, has said:

"The cold, hard, practical question alone remains: Will the possession of these islands benefit us as a nation? If it will not, set them free to-morrow, and let their people, if they wish, cut each other's throats or play what pranks they please. To this complexion we must come at last, that, unless it is beneficial for us to hold these islands, we should turn them loose."

If this does not dispose of the last semblance of altruism, the last vestige of benevolence, I do not know what further evidence is needed. We cannot assimilate alien races, and the invitation, however presented, to bring Oriental peoples under the government of the United States, with freedom to come and go as citizens, means more just such happenings as have disgraced this country in the brutal murders of Chinese on the Pacific Coast and of negroes in the Western and Southern States.

JOHN J. VALENTINE.

SAN FRANCISCO, May 16, 1899.

NO ESCAPE FROM MCKINLEY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Having lately stated my firm belief that Mr. McKinley will be renominated next year without much if any opposition, let me give some arguments, drawn mainly from experience of the past, for my assertion.

Nineteen men have been elected to the Presidency before McKinley, only sixteen of whom lived out the first term. Three of these (Polk, Buchanan, Hayes) declined another term; of the other thirteen, twelve were renominated; the thirteenth (Franklin Pierce) got a majority of votes in the Cincinnati convention, and failed only through the working of the two-thirds rule—a rule which cannot be invoked against a Republican candidate. The reason why the incumbent was nearly always put up by his party for reelection, was not alone nor mainly his power to reward friends and to punish enemies compelling the action of the old Congressional caucus or of the modern convention in his favor, for John Quincy Adams was renominated without lifting a finger in the use or abuse of patronage; Van Buren, in 1844, when out of power, secured more than one-half of the delegates, and Cleveland in 1892, when out of power, was renominated by two-thirds of the delegates and elected. No, the main reason was this, that, by not putting up the last President of its choice for reelection, a party would admit not only his failure in office, but to a great extent its own error and its own failure.

Passing from the sixteen elected Presidents to the four Vice-Presidents who succeeded to power on the death of their chiefs, I admit that none was renominated; but two of the four, Tyler and Johnson, having left their old friends, put themselves out of the range of possibility. Fillmore and Arthur alone remain to be considered. The former drew on himself by one distinct act, that of signing the Fugitive Slave bill, the hatred of all the Northern Whigs, excepting a few "Silver Grays"; in one word, he was objected to not on personal but on political grounds—not for weakness, or unfitness, or dishonesty, or in-

efficiency, but simply because the majority of the Whig party disagreed with him on a fundamental question. Mr. McKinley cannot be beaten on any such ground, for the great majority of his party is with him on the only new question that has come to the front during his term. Mr. Arthur, who was on all public measures in full accord with an undivided party, was beaten in convention, but he was beaten by a man who for eight years had been the overshadowing figure in his party. Mr. Blaine had really been the choice of the majority of the delegates in 1876, and it took great skill and much manoeuvring to down him in 1880. At present there is no such figure as that of the Man from Maine threatening to thwart Mr. McKinley's ambition. There lives another and better "man from Maine," but he has voluntarily taken himself out of the path of his old successful rival.

Thus I cannot see how McKinley's enemies in the next convention (if there should be any) will find a candidate willing to sacrifice himself by a futile show of opposition. As to the faction fight in Ohio, it will result in the end in nothing more than a struggle between two or three sets of delegates, all of whom alike will claim to be original McKinley men. I have watched political play too long to ascribe any importance to the squabble between Hanna and McKisson.

D.

LOUISVILLE, KY., May 14, 1899.

YOU-ALL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of May 11, a short review of Miss Earle's stories closes with this question, "Are the 'you-all' and 'you-uns' of the South applied to a single person, as we constantly find Miss Earle using them?"

I have not seen Miss Earle's stories, and I do not know what part of the country, or, indeed, of the world, Miss Earle hails from; but I venture to say that, if she makes use of "you-all" as the reviewer says she does, she is not a Southerner by birth.

It may be stated without fear of successful contradiction, that the Southerner never says "you-all" unless he has two or more persons in mind. It is a very common mistake of the Northerner to suppose that he does, and the Northerner is not entirely without grounds for his mistake. The Southerner meets him alone and greets him: "Good morning! How are you all this morning?" The Northerner supposes the Southerner means himself alone, and he smiles; whereas the Southerner means: "How are you and your wife and children—your household?" And in every other case, when the Southerner says "you-all" to a single person, he means to include some other persons or persons associated in his mind with the one he addresses. This is a fact the Northerner never seems to learn, no matter how long he may be with Southerners; and it is so natural to the Southerner that he seems never to suspect that he is misunderstood by the Northerner.

The most curious use of the expression is in its possessive form, "you-all's"; and this I have heard cultured Southerners say. "You-all" is used by the educated as well as by the illiterate; not so "you-uns," if it is used at all at the South. I was bred and born at the South, and have lived most of my life there; yet I cannot recall that I have ever heard "you-uns" used by any one, white or black.

I do not, however, say it is not heard back in the "cracker" regions.—Respectfully,

MATTHEW F. STEELE.

ST. PAUL, May 20, 1899.

THE OLDEST HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: At the suggestion of Mr. Charles Francis Adams, I repeat to you, as of possible interest to your readers, two or three facts which I was led to mention to him by a recent query in your pages. In his recent presidential address at the opening of the new building of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Mr. Adams suggested that the Society, besides being the oldest such organization in the United States, was perhaps also the oldest in the world. He tells me that his suggestion was based upon the following passage in some remarks made by his predecessor, the late Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, at the Society's centennial celebration in January, 1891:

"Until this Society was organized a hundred years ago to-day, by our eminent and revered founder, Dr. Jeremy Belknap—prompted, as we may not forget, by Mr. John Pintard, of the St. Tammany Society of New York—no historical society existed in America. I am not sure that there was such a society in any part of the world." (Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Second Series, vi., 273.)

The facts which your query brought to remembrance were, that the Royal Academy of Portuguese History was founded in 1720, the Royal Academy of History at Madrid in 1738, the Royal Society of History and Danish Language at Copenhagen in 1744.

Very respectfully yours,

J. F. JAMESON.

PROVIDENCE, May 22, 1899.

Notes.

G. P. Putnam's Sons will publish immediately 'Vassar Studies,' by Julia A. Schwartz, A.M. ('96)—impressions of college life; also, 'Miss Cayley's Adventures,' by Grant Allen, 'Nature Studies in Berkshire,' by John Coleman Adams, with illustrations, 'Ornamental Shrubs,' by Lucius D. Davis, and 'Our Insect Friends and Foes,' by Miss Belle S. Cragin.

'The Solitary Summer,' by the author of 'Elizabeth and her German Garden,' and 'From Comte to Benjamin Kidd: the Appeal to Biology or Evolution for Human Guidance,' are in the press of Macmillan Co.

Harper & Bros. will shortly bring out 'Japan in Transition,' by J. Stafford Ransome, special correspondent in this country of the London Morning Post.

Prof. N. P. Gilman, author of 'Profit-Sharing' and 'Socialism and the American Spirit,' is preparing a volume on employers' institutions for the benefit of workmen, which will be issued by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. in the fall, under the title 'A Dividend to Labor.'

Among the Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History published by the University of Pennsylvania and set down for 1899, are 'The Early Germans,' by Arthur C. Howland, Ph.D., and 'Laws of Charles the Great,' edited by Dana Carleton Munro, M.A.

The beginning of wisdom, historically, politically, geographically, and commercially, about the Philippine Islands had been (be-

fore Dewey's exploit) the work of John Foreman, F.R.G.S. In his own language, it "is not a History, nor a Geography, nor an Account of Travels, in the strict sense of the word; it is a concise review of all that may interest the reader who seeks for a general idea of the condition of affairs in this Colony in the past and in the present." His authority caused his services to be availed of by the American Peace Commission, and he gladly joined in what he took to be "the noble efforts of a free people [pace Charles Emory Smith] to raise the weight of monastic oppression from millions of their fellow-creatures." His minutely descriptive and statistical chapters, already bulky, have now been swelled by about one-fourth, taking up the parable at the Tagalog rebellion of 1896-'98, and bringing the narrative of a change of oppressors down to date, with a map of the revolted province of Cavité and another of Dewey's engagement. This second edition bears the imprint of Charles Scribner's Sons. It has a number of excellent photographic and other illustrations, and it is in large measure readable, as relating the author's experiences.

We have already acquainted our readers with the contents of M. Jusserand's 'Shakespeare in France under the Ancien Régime,' which now comes to us in a handsome dress in English (London: Unwin; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons). The translation is anonymous, a little stiff, and questionably not extended to the notes when corroborative citations are given—though this will not seem a fault to readers who know French. There is an index and an annotated list of the valuable and curious illustrations, among which none is more interesting than Roubillac's statue of Shakespeare, ordered by Garrick, and the second one ever made.

Eight years ago we welcomed the first report of the Free Public Library Commission of Massachusetts, and now its ninth appears, a volume of nearly 500 pages. The Commission can announce a wonderful expansion to 687 secular libraries, possessing more than 6,500,000 books and pamphlets. Less than one-half of one per cent. of the population are denied free-library privileges, but there are travelling libraries even for this minority, with circulatory photographs of the world's great sights for exhibition. The report tells in alphabetic order the history of each library, and oftener than not (we should judge) gives a photographic view of the building; and this series of prints offers an extraordinary interest. For the most part the structures are permanent, carefully and often beautifully designed, but no type is evolved. A town hall or other public building is not seldom arranged to include the library. Of the many libraries which are the fruit of private benevolence, the sentiment for one's birthplace and the desire to commemorate relatives are the dominant motives in the founding. We commend the report to all would-be benefactors of this order in other States—for hints as to building models, for the text of the Massachusetts library laws, for the descriptive letter-press, and for the list of founders whose names here go down to posterity in just honor.

A limited edition has been printed, in this city, of 'General Orders of 1757, issued by the Earl of Loudoun and Phineas Lyman in the Campaign against the French.' The orderly book, here produced faithfully under the supervision of Mr. Worthington C. Ford,

was that of General Lyman of Connecticut, now in the possession of William Seward Webb, at whose expense this dainty book has issued. Dr. Webb's interest in it apparently connects itself with an ancestor, Major-Gen. Daniel Webb, who figures in it to some extent. For the rest, we have the customary mirror of camp life and discipline, with glimpses of the hell that war is. Corporal "Henry Dorman" and private "Luelen Rice" were fortunate in being sentenced, September 3, 1757, to suffer death for desertion, in comparison with "Frances [sic] Fleming" and four other privates, guilty of the same offence, and John Anderson, guilty of mutiny, who were "to receive 1,000 Lashes Each with a Cat of nine tails." Private John Rider got 500 for sleeping on his post.

A book has just been published on the 'Story of our Flag' in which Mrs. Weaver, the writer, again tells the old story of Washington's visit to Mrs. Ross, a "known expert at needlework," and the consequent evolution of the flag of the United States. Of course witnesses are produced, and they are eminently respectable—Robert Morris and George Ross, an uncle of the sewer. She is, as naturally, young and beautiful, a widow, and lives in a little house. When it came to the number of points on the stars, Washington preferred the number on the stars of his coat-of-arms, and much more is related and published by a patriotic publishing company, for consumption among the patriotic societies of the land. Legend is thus converted into history. On the other hand, Sir George Otto Trevelyan discredits the boast on Washington's part of his pleasure at the whistling of the bullets in his first encounter. "Of course," says the author, "there was nothing of the sort in the dispatch, which, in its business-like simplicity, might have been written by Wellington at six and forty." Unfortunately for this statement, the boast was actually written in a letter to his brother, and this letter, travelling across the ocean, was printed in the English magazines. It is, therefore, an authentic utterance, though never intended to be part of an official dispatch. A rather severe reviewer of Trevelyan's book in *Blackwood's* asserts that Washington used a cipher in writing to his friends because of the insecurity of the post-office. It would be impossible to name or point out a single instance in which he resorted to a cipher, except in some communications to the French allies, a precaution justified by war.

The *Renger'sche Buchhandlung* in Leipzig has just issued the first part of a 'Bismarck Lexikon,' by A. von Schladen, in which the utterances of Bismarck on various topics of public interest and his opinions of prominent persons are arranged in alphabetical order. In connection with each subject are given the sources of information, among which his conversations with Lothar Bucher, hitherto unpublished, are of special interest. The 'Lexikon' will be completed in six parts, each averaging about 125 pages and costing two marks (fifty cents).

A modest venture in the way of its literary features, but one deserving of much commendation for its illustrations, is *Dietz*, a new member of the class of magazines which are to be had at ten cents for the single copy. It starts up at the same time with the *Conservative Review*, and is an interesting indication of the intellectual activity of two Southern cities. The portraits of Clinton

Peters, most of them works of remarkable fidelity and artistic charm, with the taking sketches of the city of Charleston, make the April number the best that has yet appeared.

The May number of the *Berea* (Ky.) *Quarterly* is notable for a large number of "Hymns of the Slave and the Freedman," amassed by William E. Barton, D.D., in continuance of a similar collection contributed to the *New England Magazine* for December, 1898; and a third is yet to come. We infer that Dr. Barton may not have met with the pioneer (and still unsurpassed) collection entitled 'Slave Songs of the United States.'

That eminent authority on games, Mr. Stewart Culin, Director of the Museum of Archaeology and Palaeontology, University of Pennsylvania, addresses himself to Hawaiian Games in the April number of the *American Anthropologist*. Among those still persisting, he says, is cock-fighting, which we have suppressed in our new Spanish territory, and which the sons of the missionaries should be glad to have our assistance in putting down in Hawaii. Discussion of the origin and ethnological relation of the games in general is deferred. Both Asia and the American continent have, of course, contributed largely. Mr. Culin singles out the guessing game of *pu-ke-ne-ke-ne* for its resemblance to "certain [North American] Indian games in which a stone or other object is hidden in one of four places."

In the *Geographical Journal* for May Col. Sir T. Holdich makes an earnest plea for the more thorough study of geography, demonstrating its practical use from his own experience in determining the boundaries of India. He states his belief that the great part of the political difficulties which have arisen in connection with boundary demarcation, during the past twenty years, "have been due to a want of appreciation of the necessity for a sound geographical basis to the text of treaties and agreements." Dr. Thoroddsen gives a brief survey of the geology and geography of Iceland, together with a description of some of its remarkable physical phenomena, as, for instance, the "petrified" lava fall, consisting of "four curtains hanging one beside the other, 820 feet high, at Selvogur." This is accompanied by some illustrations and an admirable map. Under the title, "The Eastern Gateway of the United States," Prof. A. P. Brigham of Colgate University gives a physiographical description of the Mohawk Valley, together with the principal facts of its commercial development through canal and railways. There is also a note upon the recent Anglo-French agreement, with a useful map, showing approximately the line of delimitation of British and French spheres in Central Africa.

The first number for the year of the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* contains a detailed review of the progress of geographical research during 1898, accompanied by fourteen useful sketch maps, showing the most important explorations, and a description of some valuable geographical antiquities, globes, and maps, in Zurich and Basle. Of more general interest is M. Loiseleur de Lobel's lively account of a journey to the Klondike last summer by way of the Chilkoot Pass. He confirms the testimony of other travellers as to the order which prevails on this route through the admirable service of the mounted police. In this region, he says, "there is more security than in

some districts of Seine-et-Oise." But of Manok, a town of 1,500 inhabitants on the Yukon in Alaska, he makes this surprising statement: "It has a church, a hospital, some stores; but there is neither police nor authorities. The miners govern themselves. A man condemned for murder or theft is put on a raft in the middle of the river, which is equivalent to a sentence of death, for the unfortunate wretch can but perish of hunger or otherwise." It is evident that he found few, if any, of his countrymen in the gold fields, for he exhorts them not to neglect their opportunities, as they did in the Transvaal, to make their fortunes and at the same time to extend the commerce of France. We may add that he says he preferred to land in Montreal "in order to avoid the annoyances of the American custom-house."

Prof. Angioletti, Director of the Observatory at Naples, has recently shown, by minute and careful computations, that the astronomical conditions described by Dante as prevailing at the time of his imaginary journey through the three worlds beyond the grave, correspond perfectly with those which existed on March 25, 1301, and, further, that in no other month than March either of the year 1301 or of the years immediately preceding or following, could these conditions have been fulfilled.

The rapidity with which the comparatively new ideas of university extension and summer sessions in higher institutions of learning are gaining ground, on both sides of the Atlantic, may well engage the thought of the sociologist as well as of the educator. Both these movements are the outgrowth of the modern tendency to lessen the inequalities of social conditions by bringing the advantages of higher education within the reach of the largest possible number. More and more European and American universities are making the midsummer session a regular feature of their annual programmes, extending thereby the use of their plants and costly educational outfits to many whose circumstances debar them from following courses during the established academic year. In Germany, university extension courses—*collegiumliche Hochschulkurse*—are of more recent origin than in England and America, but several have for some years been successfully carried on; and, during the Easter vacation, representatives of all the universities met at Berlin and unanimously recognized the new institution as a necessity. Another meeting for the furtherance of the movement will be held at Easter, 1900.

—A correspondent writes:

"The volumes which have thus far been published in the Temple Classics series by J. M. Dent & Co. are so uniformly pleasing and attractive, that it is especially unfortunate that they should offend in any one particular. But the marginalia with which they are provided do seem to furnish this one particular, for on a small 12mo page, where the print is necessarily fine and close, it cannot prove otherwise than tiring for the eye to have constantly before it three or four marginal words in very black type. There are instances where marginalia are doubtless a very definite aid, but surely they are out of place in such a book as 'Henry Edmund.' In a novel where we follow the progress of the hero from early boyhood to his prime, there must be very many pages which record the merest trivialities of daily life, and for which marginalia seem entirely superfluous even when of the best character. How much more so, then, must they prove when they are seldom put and often

the grave she will see him no more'; and again, when his lady reproves him, 'Better dead.'"

—It is stated in *Science* that money has been secured for a second expedition by Mr. J. M. S. Moore to Lake Tanganyika. Some ten years ago a true medusa, similar to some of the marine jelly-fishes, was discovered in the waters of this lake, and naturalists were thus led to believe that it might contain other evidences of a former connection with the ocean. The result of Mr. Moore's first expedition is to show that, in fact, this vast and remote inland sea holds, side by side with an ordinary freshwater lake fauna, a second fauna of purely marine character. Moreover, the molluscs of this fauna show an extraordinary resemblance to forms occurring in the fossil condition in the inferior coelites of Europe. Twenty-six of the fishes brought home by Mr. Moore were wholly new to science. One is led to believe that an expedition more thoroughly equipped, and provided especially with a steamer (which Mr. Moore had not the chance to obtain), will yield results of proportionally increased importance. In particular, it is expected that light will be thrown on the great geological problems of the history of this lake basin, and of its connection possibly with the Nile or a northward sea, and possibly with an estuarine Congo.

—'Danish Fairy and Folk Tales' (Harpers) is a translation, by J. Christian Bay, of stories from the collections of Svend Grundtvig, Tang-Kristensen, Ingvor Bondeson, Molbech, and others, with here and there, the author says, a personal memory. With but one or two exceptions, this is a thoroughly representative selection from a singularly rich store. It is always one of the most fascinating phases of the comparative study of folk-lore to trace the specific national embodiment of material which fundamentally is common to the Indo-Germanic people. Most of these tales, from the inherent nature of the case, are but old friends with new faces: "Greyfoot," for instance, is the "König Drosselbart" of Grimm; "Brave against his Will" is "Das tapfere Schneiderlein"; "Saucy Jesper" is "Die goldene Gans"; the "Coffee-mill which Grinds Salt" is King Frodi's mill Grotti of the Edda, which, it is interesting to note, also localizes the story in Denmark; and there are many others of more or less striking similarity to the well-known stories of other nations. One and all they have taken on in Denmark, however, their own distinctive shape, that is born of the soil in which they have grown and flourished as they have come down from generation to generation. It would not be possible, it may be, to reconstruct along very close lines actual Danish life at any single period of its history from "this train of Danish kings and queens, wise men and fools, princes and beggars, peasants and burghers, soldiers, fairies, and trolls," as the translator describes his *dramatic persons* in his preface; but there is here such an undeniable record of the nation's stage of culture as a whole that he who runs may read it. "What the Christmas Star Sees," although a good story well told, does not belong in this collection of folk-tales, where it is a disturbing element. The book makes no scientific pretensions as a contribution to folk-lore, but

its mission. The translation, be it said, is well done, and the numerous illustrations are spirited.

—A brief sojourn, say in the Carrillos mining district, may enable but can hardly entitle one to put forth another book on New Mexico—particularly one which claims to be "a true picture of life among the Pueblos." R. B. Townshend's 'Lone Pine' (Putnam) hinges on a "lost silver mine" secreted by the Indians. There are precisely as many lost mines or hidden mines among the Pueblos as diamond diggings in the Onondaga Community. After this, it is not surprising to learn from Mr. Townshend that "Cortez slaughtered Montezuma," and that Cabeza de Vaca was "a comrade of Ponce de Leon." The American prospector, "Stephens," is not a bad type; "Backus," the Indian trader, and logical villain, is still truer. The Mexican characters are drawn with creditable tolerance if scant intimacy. It is when he comes to the Indians, upon whom his book is built, that the author becomes hopelessly involved. Not one of his aboriginal types, Navajo or Pueblo, is real; most of them are congenital absurdities, like the cacique anxious to make his "term" popular, and the Pueblo boy and girl who alope. Certain verisimilitudes encourage the belief that Mr. Townshend has read—sometimes wisely and sometimes too well—and that he has also become somewhat acculturated in some part of New Mexico remote from Indians. That he has ever been among the Pueblos is denied by his own pages all unconsciously. That he has ever set eyes on them is made most unlikely by the statement (p. 39) that the women "cut their hair short," because, if it were not trimmed, "the care of it would take too long from household duties." Fray Marcos did not see in 1539, nor has any one since seen, a Pueblo woman with her hair cut. The story, not altogether ill-conceived, and in general run interesting, is told in stark journalism.

—Prof. G. H. Palmer's rendering of the 'Odyssey,' while it cannot be said to rival that of Messrs. Butcher and Lang, secured him a respectful hearing as a translator. In his 'Antigone of Sophocles' (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) he has repeated the experiment which he made with his 'Odyssey,' i. e., the employment of iambic rhythm in a "prose" translation. His aim is "to suggest to the ear that we are traversing a region of poetry and not of prose." We confess to a strong prejudice against his "rhythmic chant." In reading this version of the "Antigone" we are reminded more than once of Longinus's objection to an over-rhythmical style—that it does not communicate the feeling of the words, but rather the feeling of the rhythm. The introduction of verse rhythm into prose was a favorite rhetorical device of the later Greek sophists, who chanted rather than spoke their flowery declamations. Their excuse was that in their displays the subject-matter was of the least importance—the form and the setting being nicely calculated to divert the attention of the audience from the inanity of the theme. Prof. Palmer's version is not addressed to scholars, who will remain faithful to Prof. Jebb's simple and accurate translation into plain prose, with no attempt, in Prof. Palmer's phrase, to "thin out Sophocles." The present version, from the un-English order of

ter effect might have been obtained if, here and there, the long Greek periods had been broken up. For instance, the sentence, "For to my thinking he who ordering a great State catches at plans not through their being best, and then through fear holds his lips locked, appears and ever has appeared most base" (p. 35), has little rhythm to lose, and in its present shape is precisely as it would be construed by a schoolboy into translation English. It is impossible to translate Sophocles. His love of allusion, his psychology, his complexity, when transferred from the subtle medium that he used, inevitably give a bald or stilted effect. Prof. Jebb, in his versions, wisely made no attempt to reproduce the poetic effect of the plays of Sophocles. Let those, therefore, who wish to appreciate the Greek masterpieces realize that, though they may gain some grasp of Plato's philosophy (not of his exquisite prose) in Jowett, or of Homer's imaginative powers (not of his poetry) in Butcher and Lang, for Sophocles and Æschylus, as for Pindar, they must go to the originals. Those, however, who are content with knowing something of the characters of the "Antigone" and of the action and structure of the play, will find in Prof. Palmer a useful and sympathetic interpreter.

—The fourth series of M. Adolphe Brisson's "Portraits Intimes" (Paris: Armand Collin) offers its readers a glimpse into the private lives of several persons of diverse ranks and pursuits obliging enough to grant an interview to the editor of the *Annales Politiques et Littéraires*. In the search for "copy," the author's range is wide—from princes of royal blood down to bull-fighters and soothsayers of various kinds—and much is doubtless of merely passing interest; but M. Brisson's information obtained in person from such distinguished contemporaries as Henri Lavedan, Mme. Michelet, Joris-Karl Huysmans, and several *sociétaires*, of both sexes, of the Comédie-Française, will have permanent value for future biographers. The portraiture possesses the further advantage of being presented in light and chaty form, with here and there touches of characterization that show the practised hand of the journalist. For example, at the conclusion of his visit to Huysmans, M. Brisson exclaims: "D'une part, ce qui rappelle les bas-fonds du vice, et tout à côté les envolées de la vie spirituelle. . . . Ce sont bien là, en effet—étroitement unis l'un à l'autre—les deux Huysmans"; and readers of the *Annales* can certainly see the ethical lacuna for themselves. In addition to these sketches of persons, are pictures of German and other travel, and one noteworthy excursion into a well-trodden field of literary research, where an enthusiastic Moliériste glories in finding what he believes to be the veritable human original of "Tartufe." Le sieur Charpy de Sainte-Croix, says M. Bonnet, was the celebrated model of seventeenth-century hypocrisy; ingeniously adding, however, that moral proofs alone are forthcoming, but these are sometimes sufficient to clinch a question. M. Brisson cautiously recommends the demonstration of their validity to the exercise of professional critics, and charitably omits reminding M. Charles Bonnet that his great Swiss namesake would probably have called for evidence of another order.

—Mr. Louis Dyer's third and last lecture at the Royal Institution on Machiavelli dealt

with that author's idea of Morals. Correspondence with his son Guido and his nephew Vernaccia was cited and contrasted with Machiavelli's letters to Vettori and Guicciardini. In the former there is a somewhat simple-minded conformity to the average workaday morals of the Florentine people of that time; in the latter a somewhat uneasy and rather unconvincing assumption of the rakishness of the grandee. The first was more characteristic, but neither of these moods was in any close relation to the idea of morals implied and expressed in Machiavelli's writings. He was not in his own opinion a person of sufficient consequence to dream of being aggressively vicious. A more constant and energetic interest on his part might perhaps have made his family concerns more complicated and also more successful, but it is probably unfair to hold him responsible for the violent and unsavory careers of his two oldest sons. As he conceived them, Machiavelli's family concerns left him exceptionally untrammelled, and his chief energies were concentrated upon the study of his new Science of State. Such attention as he there gave to morals was closely allied to a medical metaphor of which he is everywhere inordinately fond. He never tires of considering what he calls the corruption of the body politic, conceived of as a disease, to cure which cautery and the knife must be used by the Prince. In Mr. Chaupernowne's skilfully wrought and workmanlike parody on the "Prince," entitled "The Boss," we chiefly discover that the Boss in American politics is not the analogue of the Prince, but personifies rather that corrupting disease which the Prince was predestined to cure. The eighteenth chapter of the first book of Machiavelli's Discourses on Livy contains a passage strikingly applicable to the problem of American municipal government. Our author maintained that there was political soundness in Germany, Switzerland, and England; but France, Italy, and Spain, he said, were the "dry rot of the world"—*la corruela del mondo*. Religion of the right sort for strengthening political power was a cornerstone in Machiavelli's Science of State. For good reasons given, he objected to Savonarola's political behavior, but was nevertheless more influenced by the friar than he knew. His picture of the Duke of Athens shows the Prince as an avenger of the moral law, and implies a vague semi-religious mysticism. Like Dante, Machiavelli and Guicciardini denied that the meek could inherit the earth. Our author's "paganism" has, however, been overstated. We of the Anglo-Saxon brotherhood must heed Machiavelli's express warning that the "Prince" does not specifically concern us. Our debt to Machiavelli, as the founder and framer of the modern Science of State, can hardly be overestimated, but we must remember, most especially in these millenary years, that King Alfred, the father and founder of the body politic of our Saxon race, lived 500 years before Machiavelli's "Prince" was written.

A POPULAR HISTORY OF FRANCE.

The Story of France: From the Earliest Times to the Consulate of Napoleon Bonaparte. By Thomas E. Watson. 2 vols. Vol. I. To the End of the Reign of Louis the Fifteenth. The Macmillan Co. 1899. There is a well-known but instructive story

of Oxford and Cambridge combination-rooms which runs as follows: Some years ago, a convinced and voluble Englishman began publicly to prove certain paradoxes in argument with mathematicians and students of physical science. Among his theses were several of the old friends which Mr. Fiske first catalogued in Harvard Library under the head of "Insane Literature," and then under the gentler title of "Eccentric Literature," e. g., perpetual motion, the flatness of the earth, and the possibility of squaring the circle. By dint of plausible and copious words the English apostle of these views succeeded in convincing several large audiences, despite the protest of his scientific opponents. Finally he reached Cambridge, challenged the dons to a contest, and found his antagonist in William Garnett. On previous occasions the champions of correct ideas had neglected to analyze the propositions of the debater with sufficient care. They knew, of course, that his results in each case were wrong, but they could not lay finger on the precise flaw in his reasoning. Garnett proceeded in a different manner. He stipulated that point by point should be discussed and settled in due sequence; the circle-squarer consented, and the argument began. Very soon Garnett disputed an assumption in the catena of syllogisms, and drove the challenger into a corner on it. "Well, after all, that's quite immaterial," said the circle-squarer. "Then you don't mind, I suppose," rejoined Garnett, "if I write on the blackboard opposite the point. 'Given up.'" "Not in the least," said the challenger, and the result was duly registered. At each step Garnett succeeded in confuting the heretic until a long table of entries, "Given up," appeared in full view. After a while Garnett asked the stranger if he didn't feel checkmated. "Oh, no," he said cheerfully, "there is much more to be urged," and he at once resumed the line which he had originally taken. "But," exclaimed Garnett, "you have given that up once," and he eventually downed his man by dint of pointing to the propositions which had been one after another surrendered.

The processes of historical and mathematical demonstration are so different that the illustrious De Morgan has placed them in direct contrast, yet we have been strongly reminded of the above story in reading Mr. Watson's book on France. If, for instance, the author were to engage in public debate with those French scholars who have contributed articles on their national past to the 'Histoire Générale' (e. g., MM. Langlois, Luchaire, Giry, Coville, and Pingaud), we imagine that "Given up" would be written after many of his facts, and therefore that his inferences might suffer. Unfortunately, in history, one cannot, as a rule, prove a fallacy to the public by ocular or other equally cogent test, but professional students can quickly distinguish what is well grounded from what may be termed, in scholastic language, *fusus vocis*. Tried by the standard of solid erudition, Mr. Watson's work is decidedly lacking, and this we shall now try to show by several examples, leaving aside for the moment one or two other important matters which must be noted before we close.

P. 20. Lactantius, "the Christian Cicero," author of the 'Institutiones Divinæ,' and a universally celebrated writer on apologetics, lived in the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine, but that does not prevent Mr. Watson from making him a contemporary of Au-

gustus. P. 21. Nero is styled "the last of the twelve Roman emperors called 'the Cæsars.'" P. 25. "After a while, some Goth, like Odoacer, will tire of the farce; and he will take the crown off the head of the worthless Roman, and put it on his own." We waive the question which might arise here over the statement concerning Odoacer's origin, to point out the notorious fact that, when Romulus Augustulus abdicated, the imperial crown was sent to Constantinople. Odoacer never assumed it. P. 96. Charles Martel did not turn back the onset of Mohammedanism "for all time," as the careers of John Hunniades and Scanderbeg, the battle of Lepanto, and the sieges of Vienna testify. P. 104, *et seq.* Mr. Watson calls Charlemagne's son and successor "Louis the Handsome," as though the common English term "Pious" were not the equivalent of the French "Débonnaire" and the German "Fromm." P. 110. The statement that Charles the Bald got his kingdom only at the cost of "a million of men butchered in battle," is utterly extravagant. Mr. Watson places a maximum estimate on the losses at Fontenay (p. 109) when he numbers the dead at 100,000, and were there ten Fontenays or their equivalent? P. 110. The Northmen did not "pillage Paris" during the Frankish civil wars prior to 843. P. 118. "The long period of time stretching from the death of Charlemagne to the reign of Louis the Fat is known in history as the 'Dark Ages.'" We imagine that there are few historians who begin the Dark Ages so late as 814. Certainly Maitland, the author of the most celebrated book in English on the Dark Ages, runs back to at least the period of Dagobert. P. 180. Jacques du Molay summoned Clement V. to meet him "before the judgment-bar of God" within forty days, not within a year (Ferretus Vicentinus). P. 199. Referring to the way in which the Salic law affected the claims of Robert of Artois, Philip of Valois, and Edward III., Mr. Watson observes: "If the law applied to the case of Robert of Artois was good, then Isabella's son was rightful heir to his grandfather's throne." On the contrary, Edward III. had no right to the French crown whatever. Louis X., Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair had all left daughters, and, even assuming that females might transmit where they could not succeed, Jane of Navarre's son came before Edward III. P. 204. Mr. Watson assigns the origin of the Flagellants to the period of the Black Death. Here he is not far from a century astray in his computation. P. 234, *et seq.* The account of Joan of Arc contains at least five striking mistakes, of which we may mention two. P. 247. "The man who took her, carried her to his master, a noble called the 'Bastard of Vendome.'" Here the Bastard of Wandonne (a very different matter) should be written; and, besides, Joan was not carried to him by her captor. A Picard archer seized the Maid and pulled her from her horse; Wandonne himself secured her. P. 248. Mr. Watson says that John of Luxembourg sold Joan to the English for "two thousand dollars." He received £10,000, a sum which then represented anything but \$2,000. P. 318. Mr. Watson thus alludes to the claims of Louis XII. on Milan: "However, Louis thought that he had at least as good a title as that of Ludovico Sforza, who had usurped the duchy after poisoning a nephew who had usurped it previously." Gian Galeazzo Sforza, Ludovico's nephew, was a usurper only in the general sense that every Italian despot ruled unjust-

ly. His father and grandfather had reigned before him. P. 372. Savonarola was not a priest, but a Dominican friar. P. 373. Albert of Brandenburg was Elector of Mainz, not Metz. P. 392. William III. of England was not a grandson of William the Silent, nor, p. 503, was Louis XIII. the "great-great-grandfather" of Louis XVI.

Such errors as these seem to us characteristic and not to be mistaken for slips of the pen. Of the latter, too, we could draw up a fairly long list: e. g., p. 4, Hannibal's passage of the Alps in 278; p. 300, the ascription of independence to Brittany in 1586; p. 325, the location of Leo IX. in the sixteenth century; p. 369, the date of 1438 for Wyclif; p. 373, the arrangement between Albert of Brandenburg and "Pope Julius" to share the proceeds of Tetzels indulgence; p. 387, the statement that William the Silent gained his title by keeping quiet when Henry III. of France by accident disclosed the plot against the Protestants. Verbal slips count for little unless their number becomes unreasonable, but mistakes of the kind which we first registered prove, in the aggregate, a want of sound historical information.

Now we should not have been at the pains to discover so many shortcomings in point of accurate statement as we have done (for we have by no means exhausted our list in the foregoing recital), were Mr. Watson less cocksure and declamatory in style than he is. What shall be said of the writer who, at this time of day, declares that he stands against the world in maintaining the greatness of Louis XI.? P. 238: "Historians have denied that Louis was a great man. With one accord they decry him as a beast unclean. I judge this monarch by the work he did, and I dare to say that I find him great." Is not Commynes a historian? And he credits Louis with having possessed more of good and less of evil than any prince of his age. Martin calls him "ce redoutable génie," and M. Pingaud (in recently recapitulating the opinion which has been held of him at different periods), says that while the moralists have uniformly attacked him, "les politiques, plus indulgents, depuis Commynes jusqu'à Duclos, ont dit de Louis sous diverses formes, sans oser ni l'estimer ni le haïr, que c'était vraiment un roi." Mr. Watson has made no discovery and has vindicated no paradox. He simply indulges himself in what to a large majority of modern historians will seem a noisy platitude. Louis XI. was confessedly a cruel and perfidious man, but he did much to unify France. If Mr. Watson were really seeking for novelty, he might defend the morals of this sovereign. Elsewhere there is no chance of working out fresh conclusions.

An author who is by no means sure of his own footing should not be gratuitously anxious to set his predecessors right. We have cited one passage wherein Mr. Watson discovers a mare's nest. Other examples of the same tone towards former historians might be easily brought together. For instance, apropos of the battle of Crecy, p. 202: "Those writers who fight battles in their libraries tell us that Philip should have surrounded Edward and starved him out. They tell us that in two days the English would have been so reduced by famine that they would have sued for peace. The present writer does not know so well about that." We are less concerned with the particular view advocated in each passage of

this sort than with the attitude of mind which such a tone implies. It would appear as though Mr. Watson were quite dissatisfied with our present conception of French history, and is bent on dispelling the night of ignorance. One cannot, however, afford to be jaunty unless he is very secure of his own position.

Mr. Watson's obvious aim is the quickening of popular interest in history, and a praiseworthy one it must seem in the eyes of all, but there surely must be more effective as well as more artistic ways of reaching this end than through the use of intense language varied by satire and colloquialisms. Here is a comment on Jean Bart's presentation at court, p. 545: "How my Lord of Frogwallow and the Duke of Battercakes must have winked to the Marquis of Poodle-doodle as they noted the appalling fact that Jean Bart did not wear the proper thing in laces, nor the latest elegance in wigs, nor the choicest tint in ribbons!" The toilet of Louis XIV. evokes the following observation: "The Duke of Duck-puttle contended eagerly with the Marquis of Bootlick, and the Baron of Boesh for the precious privilege of holding the candle while some other proud scions of the nobility pulled off the imperial breeches." We are far from defending Louis XIV. or "the dignity of history" when we withhold our praise from such history of the hustings. The essence of a narrative which is bent on being "popular" must always be exaggeration. No true friend of historical studies can let pass uncensured such attempts to be graphic at the cost of moderation.

Up to the present point we have been passing rather severe judgment on Mr. Watson's book without describing its scope or outline. It begins at the earliest period and ends with the death of Louis XV. According to the preface, it represents "enormous labor," and among other acknowledged motives it seeks "to illustrate once more the blighting effects of superstition, ignorance, blind obedience, unjust laws, confiscation under the disguise of unequal taxes, and the systematic plunder, year by year, of the weaker classes by the stronger." The Merovingian period illustrates some of these sombre features admirably, and so the progeny of Clovis, plus their wives and families, from 561 forward, get forty-two pages of notice, while the reign of Louis XIII. gets only sixteen—a singular proportion, considering the relative importance of Brunhilda *et al.* on the one hand, and of Richelieu on the other. The survey is almost entirely political, with a few glimpses of social and commercial conditions interspersed here and there. For literature and art Mr. Watson has no space, and of historical geography he thinks so little that, p. 109, he can define Lothar's portion after the Treaty of Verdun as "Italy and the Low Countries."

There is no denying the fact that the history of France abounds with object-lessons of cruelty, wretchedness, and systematic oppression, but these are not the only things which a writer in telling the story of the country should accentuate. Mr. Watson finds his

"music centred in a doleful song
Steaming up, a lamentation and an ancient tale of wrong.

Chanted from an ill-used race of men that cleave
the soil,
Sow the seed, and reap the harvest with enduring
toll."

But, even under the feudal system and dynastic despotism, the French people had a

great deal of liveliness and spontaneity. Mr. Watson, by keeping this consideration in the background and harping constantly on the sins, vices, and follies of the ruling classes, makes his work seem (to quote the line omitted above) "like a tale of little meaning tho' the words are strong." At rare intervals he presents a hero or heroine who is struggling valiantly for righteousness or progress amid baffling obstacles, and of such he does not stint his praise, but the impression which he leaves is one of extreme misery, broken at times by an act of bravery or sacrifice. One would think that, under the conditions which he describes, the French must have come to hate life, yet Renan was probably right when he said:

"La France n'est, par son caractère essentiel, ni poétique ni mystique; l'essence de la poésie et de la mysticité consiste à dépasser le monde; or l'esprit français est de tous le plus parfaitement en harmonie avec les proportions de notre planète; il en a mesuré les dimensions d'un coup d'œil, et ne va pas au delà."

There are few traces of this elastic, mundane spirit in Mr. Watson's "story."

We are prevented by our limits from saying more, although several striking points still remain unnoticed. We shall endeavor, in conclusion, to give a brief account of the chief impressions which we retain after a careful revision of the book before us. Mr. Watson is not an accomplished historian, his lights and shadows are too sharp, his style is too declamatory on the one hand and too "racy" on the other, he is too much bent on emphasizing a single aspect of his vast subject, and he is over-anxious to establish new conclusions. Nevertheless, he has read widely, and infuses a vigorous personality throughout his pages. He is an enthusiastic friend of liberal ideas and humane actions, he has a considerable share of that valuable quality, the historical imagination, and he knows his own mind. Perhaps we should show less antagonism towards some of his palpable mannerisms if we did not feel the presence of personal power behind them. At any rate, we have followed his narrative with greater interest than has been awakened in us by more solid and more sober volumes.

FIVE BOOKS ON MUSIC AND MUSICIANS.

The Perfect Wagnerite. By Bernard Shaw. Chicago: H. S. Stone & Co.

La Musique à Paris. Par Gustave Robert. Paris: Ch. Delagrave.

The Orchestra and Orchestral Music. By W. J. Henderson. Scribners.

Music and Musicians. By Albert Lavignac. Henry Holt & Co.

Voice and Violin. By T. L. Phipson. London: Chatto & Windus.

A reader unfamiliar with Mr. Shaw's personality and record might suspect here and there that his "Perfect Wagnerite" is to be taken as a *jeu d'esprit*. But from a man who has been for fifteen years or more a political pamphleteer and active socialist agitator, it is natural enough to expect a book the thesis of which is that Wagner's "Ring of the Nibelung," "with all its gods and giants and dwarfs, its water maidens and Valkyries, its wishing-cap, magic ring, enchanted sword, and miraculous treasure, is a drama of today, and not of a remote and fabulous antiquity." The Rhine Gold is an allegory, as the author illustrates with reference to the Klondike. Such dwarfs as Alberich, he de-

clares, are common in London. His story is frightfully real, frightfully present, frightfully modern. "You can see the process for yourself in every civilized country to-day, where millions of people toil in want and disease to heap up more wealth for our Alberichs." The dwarf's cave need not be a mine; "it might just as well be a match-factory, with yellow phosphorus, phossy jaw, a large dividend, and plenty of clergymen shareholders." As for the magic helmet, it is a very common article in our streets, where it generally takes the form of a tall hat. "It makes a man invisible as a shareholder, and changes him into various shapes, such as a pious Christian, a subscriber to hospitals, a benefactor of the poor, a model husband and father, a shrewd, practical, independent Englishman, and what not, when he is really a pitiful parasite on the commonwealth," etc.

To those who demur to this theory of the "Ring," Mr. Shaw responds by pointing to the fact that Wagner was a socialist agitator, "a politically dangerous person," as he was officially stigmatized, and that he wrote a number of pamphlets and manifestoes on social evolution, religion, life, art, and the influence of riches. All this is true, and Mr. Shaw might have added that Wagner's own unfortunate tendency to find allegorical or mystical meanings in his plots and characters justified the present attempt. Luckily, Wagner was too great a dramatist to allow much of this sort of thing to creep into his dramatic poems themselves. Mr. Shaw, as he proceeds with the "Walküre," "Siegfried," and "Götterdämmerung," finds fewer and fewer props for his fancies, and in the last-named he collapses entirely, though he takes his revenge by declaring that work to be an opera pure and simple, having been begun before Wagner had become an agitator, and ended after he had ceased to be one.

There is much that is ingenious and entertaining in Mr. Shaw's little book, and perhaps it will help his commercial and philistine countrymen to an appreciation of the great Tetralogy if they look at it as a modern allegory. Apart from that, Mr. Shaw illumines some of the dark corners of the plot, and many of his incidental observations are excellent, as, for example, on page 155, where he shows how impersonal were Wagner's attacks on Meyerbeer, and on p. 159, where he estimates Brahms as a man "whose absolute musical endowment was as extraordinary as his thought was commonplace." Wagner had for him the contempt of the original thinker for the man of second-hand ideas." It may be added that Mr. Shaw thinks Shelley's "Prometheus Unbound" is an English attempt at a "Ring of the Nibelung."

M. Gustave Robert's "La Musique à Paris" is a very useful little annual for those who wish to keep informed regarding the musical movement in the French capital, but have no opportunity to read the journals. The volume now before us is the fourth, and it comprises no less than 360 pages, including a good index, a bibliography of new musical books and pamphlets, and complete sets of programmes of the principal societies. Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the present volume is the large amount of attention and space given to orchestral conductors. This is due partly to the fact that the conductor has taken the prima donna's place, partly to the large number of visiting musicians. Richard Strauss, Mottl, Wein-

gartner, and Hans Richter in succession gave Parisians a chance to judge their interpretative genius. Without manifesting any chauvinism, our author nevertheless subjects these Germans—or rather Austro-Hungarians—to a thorough scrutiny, and does not hesitate to express his occasional disapproval. He does not indulge in the mere "I like this" and "I don't like that," to which so many critics resort, but gives the reasons for his censure, displaying at the same time a thorough knowledge of the scores under discussion.

While granting supremacy to the other side of the Rhine in this field, M. Robert is convinced that Paris is quite able to hold its own as far as conductors are concerned. Lamoureux, unfortunately, gave up his orchestra, partly, it seems, because of troublesome criticisms, partly because he wanted to devote all his energies to the furtherance of his pet project, the production of Wagner's Tetralogy and "Parsifal" in the Exhibition year. The orchestra, luckily, did not disband, but chose for its leader M. Camille Chevillard, of whom our author has a high opinion. The new conductor has aimed at greater variety in the programmes, and has paid more attention to the new French school and the Russians. As for Colonne, he made it a point to put in each programme specimens of Beethoven, Schumann, and Wagner; nor did he neglect the Russians. M. Robert devotes considerable attention to Rimsky-Korsakoff, analysing two of his symphonies, "Sadko" and "Antar," in detail, with musical type. It seems that another Russian—the youngest of them, Rachmaninoff—has captured Paris as well as London and New York with his "Prelude" and other works. M. Robert notes, in two places, the surprise expressed in the *Nation* that he does not like Tchaikovsky's "Pathetic Symphony," but he confesses that he is still sceptical after hearing it as interpreted by Winogradsky, Lamoureux, and Richter. For Brahms, he has no sympathy at all. He finds *d'énormes banalités* in his songs, and, as regards his symphonies, he agrees with Weingartner that they "produce the same impression as a man who says the simplest things in the world with an air of great importance"; they are learned but artificial, and do not move our feelings.

Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons, who have for some years made a specialty of musical publications, announced some time ago their plan of issuing a "Music Lover's Library," comprising works by W. J. Henderson on the orchestra, H. E. Krehbiel on the piano, W. F. Apthorp on the opera, H. T. Finck on songs and song-writers, and Arthur Mees on choirs and choral singing. The first of these has appeared, a volume of 233 pages. The author says that all other books on the orchestra which he has seen are for the professional musician, while his is for the amateur. As a matter of fact, there are pages in the book which an amateur will find difficult to comprehend unless he knows at least as much about the subject as Mr. Henderson does. On the whole, however, he has succeeded in his attempt, his clear style being an important factor in his favor. He has studied his Berlioz, Gevaert, and Corder faithfully, and has industriously gathered together many interesting facts not known to ninety-nine per cent. of concert-goers. The last chapters contain a number of dry details, which will hardly interest amateurs. In the opening chapters the

instruments constituting the orchestra are treated separately. Our author seems to have a special predilection for the viola, concerning which he writes with enthusiasm. He thinks that "it may be fairly said that first-rate writing for the strings, which is the foundation of orchestration, depends largely upon the treatment of the viola part." When he says (71) that Méhul used the viola so much that Gretry exclaimed, "I'd give a guinea to hear a fiddle-string" (not first string, as a printer's error makes it), he is evidently quoting from an English writer who forgot to add that it was only in one of his operas, 'Uthal,' that Méhul used the violas so much, excluding the violins entirely.

The French school is duly appreciated from the point of view of orchestration, not only in the case of Berlioz, but of Gounod and of Saint-Saëns, who is pronounced "at once the model and the despair of young composers." Of Brahms we read that "he is one of the moderns who did not master the technic of orchestration. He wrote heavy parts low in the bass in his piano music, and he carried this practice into his orchestration, with the result that his scoring is almost always thick and heavy in the middle voices. Wagner, on the other hand, knew how to write deep and sonorous basses without disturbing the clarity of his work." The author thinks that while Wagner is the great model as regards writing for numerous voices in the strings, etc., he occasionally abused the practice. "In the accompaniment to Brangäne's song of warning in the second act of 'Tristan und Isolde,' he divides the strings into fifteen parts, but I am quite sure that no human ear can hear all of them." This remark shows a queer lack of insight into the very essentials of orchestration. What is aimed at (and secured) in such a case is a general emotional atmosphere. It is no more necessary for a hearer to distinguish all the separate voices than it is for him to know just what colors Turner mixed on his palette to produce the air or sea tints in his pictures.

For the chapter on the "Evolution of the Conductor" Mr. Henderson has culled a number of interesting facts from various sources. We cannot agree with him, however, in the opinion that there is a tendency to exaggerate the conductor's function as interpreter. It cannot be exaggerated, any more than the actor's. Time-beaters have had their day. Nor is it true that the conductor "works entirely on the technics of the performance, and leaves the temperament and enthusiasm of his men to do the rest." No matter how much or how little may have been done at rehearsal, the success of an orchestral concert depends on the conductor's magnetism, or power to sway his players, which varies with his mood. To leave the performance at the mercy of the "temperament and enthusiasm" of the mere mechanics who constitute the bulk of every orchestra, would be to invite sure disaster.

M. Albert Lavignac, whose book on the music dramas of Wagner was reviewed in these columns a few months ago, has again been made accessible to English readers in a translation, by William Marchant, of his 'Music and Musicians.' The title is comprehensive, but so is the book, which aims at being practically a condensed cyclopædia of every branch of music, including even 66 pages on acoustics—the production, transmission, and perception of sound, tonality,

acoustic qualities of halls, relations between acoustics and rhythm, etc. Under the head of "The Materials of Sound" he describes the voice and all the orchestral instruments, from the violin to the triangle and castanets. Orchestration is then discussed, and about 200 pages are devoted to harmony, counterpoint, fugue, composition, and improvisation. That this work is correctly done (in spite of a few slips) need not be said, for M. Lavignac is professor of harmony at the Paris Conservatoire and a well-known expert. The last hundred pages of his book discuss the music of ancient nations and the composers to the present day, with very brief biographic sketches of the more important ones. An appendix contains a disquisition, with brief biographies, of the leading American composers, by Mr. H. E. Krehbiel. The value of the book is much increased by 94 illustrations and 510 examples in musical type. For students of music who want to know something about all branches of the art and can afford to buy only one book, this is the thing.

While M. Lavignac's book is thoroughly up to date, the final one on our list would arouse the suspicion of having been brought out forty years ago were it not for the date attached to the title-page and the preface. Dr. Phipson must have been keeping company with Rip Van Winkle, or Brünnhilde, or the Sleeping Beauty. He gravely informs the inhabitants of London, who, in these degenerate Wagnerian days, do not have a chance to hear three of Rossini's, Bellini's, or Donizetti's operas a year, that the best way for young people to acquire a good style is to attend these operas as often as possible. "La Sonnambula," he declares, is "the most beautiful by far of all lyric dramas," which it would be as foolish to eulogize as Shakspeare. Its popularity, he says—and here he transgresses the rules of morality—"is greater than that of any other lyric composition," and "the greatest singers never fail to make choice of it when they are anxious to produce an extraordinary sensation." Fortunately, not all of Dr. Phipson's book is as antediluvian and unreliable as these specimens. He writes entertainingly, though naively, of a multitude of matters of interest to violin-players particularly, for he is the author of a book on 'Famous Violinists and Fine Violins'; indeed, the present volume contains, chiefly, episodes and reminiscences for which he had not space in that book. Of the jokes interspersed, the best is Rossini's remark to a violinist who persisted in playing F sharp instead of F: "I should prefer to hear the F there, my friend. Your F sharp, it is true, is also very beautiful, and no doubt we can find a place for it elsewhere in the opera."

Excavations at Jerusalem, 1894-'97. By Frederick Jones Bliss, Ph.D. London: The Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

Dr. Bliss's scientific work at Tell el-Hesi, and his admirable publication of the results of that work, under the title, 'A Mound of Many Cities,' rendered it morally certain that he would make the most possible out of the dry and unpromising material at his disposal in excavating for the south wall of the city of Jerusalem. That was practically the work of these three years—to trace the old wall or rather walls of Jerusalem from the Protes-

tant Cemetery, south of the southwestern extremity of the city, around almost to the Haram enclosure at the southeastern corner. It was a laborious and uninteresting task, pursued with scientific conscientiousness. Beyond a wall and its towers, a couple of streets, aqueducts, and sewers, the Pool of Siloam, a church or two, and some rock-cut chambers, it may be said that nothing was found. There was no statuary, practically no inscribed objects, and of pottery and tools very little. It is amazing with what success out of this barren-seeming material Dr. Bliss has contrived to reconstruct the southern walls of the city and to trace their history through many destructions, reconstructions, and changes of position. By careful comparison of historical notices of the walls and their vicissitudes with the remains found *in situ*, he has been able to fix period after period, beginning with the prehistoric Jebusite city and its rock-cut dwellings, and to determine the position of the walls and the limits of the city southward in each of these periods so conclusively that it will probably never be necessary to do the work again. Incidentally, and in a most modest and civil manner, he has upset not a few pet theories. Thus, in regard to the determination of date by masonry, he shows that backsetting, which had been considered an indication of very high antiquity, is actually found in some of the late Turkish work; that while "boss and margin work may have been used in early Jewish times," they were certainly used in "Roman times and afterwards"; that "comb-pick margin with pick-centred dressing was certainly used contemporarily with the boss and margin, and may have been used before," etc. His conclusion is that "dressing is an indication; combined with particulars of setting or joining, its evidence becomes most valuable; but unless backed by some such auxiliary as inscriptions, pottery, or the like, simple masonry is a frail basis on which to found archaeological deductions in Jerusalem."

It was probably necessary that this particular work of excavation should be done at some time, and yet whoever reads the book and sees how much money and labor have been spent here for very small returns, while much more important ones might have been obtained elsewhere in the way of inscriptions, pottery remains, and other objects capable of throwing light on the early life and history of Palestine, cannot but feel a sense of disappointment and regret. But Dr. Bliss is not to blame because the Palestine Exploration Fund decided to devote itself to determining the exact boundaries of Jerusalem on the southward at different periods of its history, and he certainly accomplished the work assigned him, both in excavating and in interpreting and publishing his results, in an exemplary manner. It is, nevertheless, a pity that the Fund did not choose a site more interesting and a work of larger scope.

One criticism on Dr. Bliss's excavations has been made, and apparently justly, by Clermont-Ganneau, namely, that he failed to search in the most probable locality for the ancient tombs of the kings. The discovery of those tombs would have been so vastly more important than anything actually accomplished that one cannot but criticize Dr. Bliss for not having devoted more time and effort to the search. What he did in that direction was insignificant, and he did

not excavate at all at the spot which such an archaeologist as Clermont-Ganneau had suggested as the most likely one.

The maps and drawings executed by Mr. Dickie, Dr. Bliss's companion in the excavations, are numerous and illustrate admirably the work done.

The Gambling World. By Rouge et Noir. Dodd, Mead & Co. 1898. 8vo, pp. 373.

The History of Gambling in England. By John Ashton. London: Duckworth & Co.; Chicago: Herbert S. Stone & Co. 1899. 8vo, pp. 286.

Good for their kind are the several chapters of 'The Gambling World,' and that on the London Stock Exchange may even bring some persons to their senses. But, at the best, books that, without being works of art, have no higher aim than to amuse, almost regardless of the exact truth, are dreary things, especially when they address themselves to a class of readers who are not fond of reading. "Rouge et Noir" may imagine that he aims to instruct; and indeed he declares that gamblers are morally certain to lose in the long run. But when an author stuffs a volume with stories that verge on the incredible, without vouchsafing any authority whatever—not even his own name—the reader is driven to judge of his seriousness by such of his statements as he is himself in a situation to test. Now, exclusive of facts that might be culled from any good encyclopedia and of facts that have been thoroughly ventilated in the newspapers, we have found other assertions here so frequently erroneous as to indicate a very jauntily attitude towards accuracy. The number 1,592,814,947,068,800 is given as "the number of combinations possible by the distribution of fifty-two cards." That it is not the number of arrangements of a full pack any person acquainted with probabilities will instantly see, from the short row of figures and because that number ends with twelve zeros. In order to find out whether it is the true answer to any problem, we have separated it into its factors, and can testify that it is the scrupulously exact number of distributions of a piquet pack among the two hands and the two parts of the *talon*; but it has nothing to do with fifty-two cards.

The innate simplicity of the gamester appears in the statement that Government lotteries and great gambling casinos are honestly conducted. Will any man of sound judgment who knows how affairs connected with Government go on in Spain and Italy, hold their lotteries to be materially more trustworthy than if Croker or Quay or Platt managed them? Or will any expert in legerdemain say that it is impossible by a combination of interests to secure the drawings of predetermined numbers? As for keepers of roulette, they are not intelligent enough to be honest; for they have themselves risen from the ranks of gamesters, and no gamesters are sound reasoners. A private gentleman who ordered a roulette from a house in New York whose business it is to make such things, found that, without special directions to the contrary, it would be furnished, as a matter of course, with a contrivance for correcting the luck. A man who was, and had for many years been, employed in a well-known gambling-house near Madison Square, confessed that in all his experience he had never known a player to carry away \$200 of winnings. The limit which is every-

where put upon the martingale shows the stupidity of the management. A comparatively low limit upon initial bets may be set down to extreme conservative caution, if this seems compatible with the gambler's nature. But a limit upon the continuation of martingales is simply ridiculous, since the bank is perfectly secured against any heavy loss, and the higher the martingale is pressed the greater the proportionate winning of the bank. At an ordinary roulette-table with a double zero, against a player whose fortune is 1,023 times his initial bet, and who doubles his bet whenever he loses, the bank wins 411 francs for every 613 francs risked; while if the player's fortune is 1,048,575 times his initial bet, the bank will in the long run make a profit of 672,676 francs on every 375,900 francs risked. The banker ought, therefore, to encourage martingales as much as possible; for at ordinary betting the bank's profits amount only to one franc on every eighteen risked. Yet even if the player bets the same amount every time on a simple chance, which is his most advantageous course if he will play, it is unlikely that he will ever be able to net a gain of seven times that amount, though he have the fortune of Rothschild at his back. Even if there is but a single zero, he is not likely ever to net a gain of thirteen times his bet; so that should he lose thirteen times his bet, he had better give up all hope of regaining it.

The most advantageous course of all is not to play at all, and the next to that is to make but a single bet. Thus, for every hundred players who should each make a single bet of 100 francs on a color at single zero roulette, 48.65 would gain 4,865 francs in all, while 51.35 would lose 5,135 francs. If, however, each player were to make one-franc bets until he had either won 12 francs or lost 100 francs, 52.15 players would win their 12 francs, making 626 francs, while 47.85 would lose their hundred francs, putting 4,785 francs to the other side of the account. We need hardly say that "Rouge et Noir" falls into most of the usual pitfalls which the doctrine of chances has prepared for those who have but a slight acquaintance with it.

The book is very prettily got up, and does not weigh a kilo, which ought to be the limit for a book to be read continuously.

Mr. Ashton's 'History of Gambling in England' is a beautifully printed volume and a work of sufficient research. Of its host of anecdotes, almost all are supported by contemporary testimony and the majority by good testimony. This is the only branch of history that is in an entirely satisfactory condition or about which we know all that a reasonable curiosity could, for the present, desire to know. But there is no other so blank for those who seek in history some consolatory or elevating aspects of human nature. Of the two classes that walk its stage, the sharpers are engaged in a business a good deal like other sorts of business in which great fortunes are amassed, and some readers may accord them some measure of esteem for not founding hospitals and universities or otherwise advertising their compassionate hearts. But there can be no doubt they would do so if it could in any way further their interests. They are really as unestimable and uninteresting a class of bankers as can be found. On the other hand, the pigeon is a simpleton so intent upon gaining some inequitable advantage that his small stock of good sense completely deserts him—a creature who seems put into the

world by a beneficent Providence in order to serve as prey for business men, without offering any handle for benevolent regard.

The book will divert us all with its pictures of the manners and morals of worlds not too remote from our own, and by contrast brings into view the greater self-control to which modern conditions of middle-class life are training men. One regrets that the history should break off at the year 1845; but Mr. Ashton has rightly judged that it would be "inexpedient to give any modern instances." It would, indeed, be exceedingly inconvenient to publish an unvarnished picture of life in a high gambling circle.

The Dawn of Reason, or Mental Traits in the Lower Animals. By James Weir, Jr., M.D. Macmillan. 1899. 12mo, pp. xiv, 234.

This is a modest little book which will interest many persons besides professional naturalists, and may instruct some of the latter. The title raised in our mind some vague fears that we might find physiology and psychology mixed up inexpertly with metaphysics; but we see in the writer a close observer, who takes his stand on firm ground, and goes into the objective world of animals for his facts. The "lower animals" are all animals except man; but how "low" some of them are in the scale of organization is fully appreciated by few persons. Insects and worms are lowly creatures in comparison with man, but vastly complex organisms in view of such animated simplicities as infusorians or protozoans. Mind is regarded by Dr. Weir as a resultant of nerve action, or neuropsychic action, "through which and by which animal life in all its phases is consciously and unconsciously, directly and indirectly, maintained, sustained, governed, and directed" (p. 1). No one denies an amoeba the sense of touch at least, and it would be rash to deny this animalcule a kind of conscious volition, as in the choice of food. If we accept Dr. Coues's definition of nerve in the widest sense as "a line of least resistance to molecular motion in any organism," an amoeba has some sort of a nervous system, apparently what Dr. Weir calls neuropsychic, and thus a mind. True nerve tissue is demonstrable in all metazoa, from coelenterates upward, and the author is inclined to believe that it is present in some animals below the hydrozoans, having verified H. James Clark's observations ('Mind in Nature,' p. 64) regarding the protozoan *Stentor polyphemus*, and seen "unquestionable acts of conscious determination" on the part of this little creature (p. 41). However the case may be in the border land of nascent nerve, no doubt of mind enters the regions, however lowly, where a nervous system, however simple, is an accomplished fact; and Dr. Weir's book proceeds to explore this whole region to discover, if possible, what sort of minds are possessed and utilized by animals lower than man.

This distinctly raises the question of instinct versus reason, and Dr. Weir's strongly supported contention is, that the two faculties differ only in degree, not in kind. We say strongly supported, for the author adduces an array of facts, derived from actual observation, which are alike indisputable and astonishing. Just possibly, here and there, he reads into the actions of some insect or other humble fellow-creature something that such an animal never thought of and could not understand; but the evidences

of dawning reason are clearly, concisely, and forcibly presented, so that the reader may evaluate them for himself. The chapter on the senses in jellyfishes, mollusks, insects, etc., gives some curious facts not generally known. "Conscious determination" is defined, its evolution from sensory impressions illustrated, and it is attributed even to protozoans. Memory is discussed under four heads of recollection of locality, of friends, of strangers or enemies, and of events; it is attributed to almost all animals. The emotions are as recognizable and identifiable in insects as in monkeys or men. A chapter on aestheticism shows us spiders susceptible to music; and many another curious case of like significance. Reason itself is discussed in connection with insects. Once more, our lowly fellow-beings have some faculties we have lost, such as one which Dr. Weir rather queerly calls "tinctumutation," or the faculty of adapting one's coloration to surroundings, like the chameleon; and another term he seems to have coined is "letismulation," or the feigning of death, which he finds not confined to well-known cases, but extending even to rhizopods. The homing sense is another faculty but feebly retained by man, few individuals being able to orient themselves satisfactorily.

The author's main conclusion may be stated in his own words (p. 215):

"Judging wholly from the evidence, I think that it can be safely asserted and successfully maintained that mind in the lower animals is the same in kind as in man; that, though instinct undoubtedly controls and directs many of the psychical and physical manifestations which are to be observed in the lower animals, intelligent ratiocination also performs an important rôle in the drama of their lives."

We advise those who may differ with Dr. Weir in this conclusion to read his book carefully; and we are sure that any one who cares to recognize our "poor relations" will be interested in the stories Dr. Weir tells in support of his views, whether they agree with him or not. He writes in admirable temper, and his writing is extremely suggestive.

A Short History of the Saracens. By Ameer Ali. Macmillan. 1899. Pp. xix, 627.

Nowadays we hear much of the other sides of things, and many very queer other sides are asserting themselves. The patient East is shaking off its lethargy and deep disdain, and the supposedly self-righteous West is becoming introspective and developing a conscience. The Oriental Congresses have brought to us apologies written by reverend Muslim Shaykhs—some of them amusing enough—for Islam and its institutions. Mr. Kipling's "demonstration products" of the educational system of the English government in India are learning that there are people in the West eager to hear any new thing and ready to pay for it. Not long ago we were told by Prof. Arnold in several hundred pages that Islam was a religion relying on peaceful missionaries, and that it had spread by their efforts only. Now "Syed" Ameer Ali, M.A., C.I.E., Judge of her Majesty's High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal, has written 'A Short History of the Saracens' to eulogize the conquests, civilization, and science of the Arabs. His book is most curious and interesting; but as a scientific contribution to history it is worthless. Regarded even as a popular compila-

tion, it is misleading to a dangerous degree. The "Syed" holds a brief for the Arabs, and he easily outdoes in partisanship the early European books on Muslim history—which is saying a good deal. He has read Dozy, Von Kremer, and others of the modern school who strive after facts and objectivity, but they have had slight influence on his methods. Indeed, his naïve onesidedness affords a curious commentary on the success of European education as applied to the Oriental mind.

A very few examples will suffice: 'Ali did his best to protect 'Uthmân against his assassins; the constitution of 'Umar was based on solicitude for agriculture; the Mu'tazilite Test Act of al-Ma'mûn and its consequences for Ahmad Ibn Hanbal are passed over; the Fâtîmids were certainly descended from 'Ali; it was only the Tartar invasion which prevented the ultimate success of Rationalism in Islam; all the science and civilization of Islam is Arabian (yet the great majority of its scientific men were not of Arab blood); if the Saracen conquest had included Europe, civilization would have appeared there eight centuries earlier than it did. These are somewhat dubious propositions to set before the English-reading population of India, for which the book is principally intended. European readers will take them at more nearly their true value. Nevertheless, to the student of the East, the book is exceedingly interesting. It is not only an apology for Islam; it is an apology also for the House of Muhammad. The author is a "Syed," a descendant of Muhammad, and thus a Shi'ite; and that dictates his attitude throughout. The twelve "Apostolical Imams" were saints and philosophers and the true lights of their times. This is all in most curious contrast with the views reached by modern European historians. To them the greatest influence for evil in Muslim history lay in the unending endless revolts got up by the 'Alids or by others in their name.

This spirit, then, is the real kernel of the book, and the only thing that gives it a claim to any notice. But if we are to have a defence of the House of Muhammad, under the guise of a history of Islam, why should the thing not go further? Will not some educated descendant of the old Khârijites in the Mazab or in Oman hurl back the aspersions of the "Syed," and write for us a history from the point of view of the Puritans and Republicans of the Muslim world? We would listen to such a one gladly. Then we might also hear from some member of the community descended from the Assassins, which still survives in India. A history written from their point of view could not fail to be interesting; the history of the Assassins generally is still very imperfectly known, and perhaps they could be whitewashed. All this would afford, at the least, lively reading. But it may be that after all the European historians are on a better path.

The Redemption of Africa; A Story of Civilization. With maps, statistical tables, and select bibliography of the literature of African missions. By Frederic Perry Noble. In two volumes. Fleming H. Revell Co. 1899. Portraits. Pp. xxv, 856, 8vo.

The debt which the Christian world owes to Africa is incalculable by any human methods of computation. It is a debt incurred by centuries of the slave-trade and the liquor traffic, and is still added to daily by the

greed of the European nations and of multitudes of traders for territory and for gold. Is the Christian world which owes so much also of its material wealth and well-being to the negro doing anything to pay off its indebtedness? An answer can be found in this volume with its hopeful title. Mr. Noble has here brought together, in a compact form, the material facts in regard to modern missions in that continent, so that his work is at once a chronological history and an encyclopædia. In introducing his main theme, he describes the influence of Africa on the ancient world, and gives a brief sketch of the early and mediæval Christian history of North Africa, and of the advent and progress of Mohammedanism. Then follows a condensed account, bristling with statistics, dates, names, and incidents, of modern missions, grouped, not according to nationality, "but by kinship in creed or polity." Separate chapters are devoted to the missions of Anglicans, Baptists, Congregationalists, Lutherans, Methodists, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, Moravians, and undenominational societies. Our author sums up the entire work in the following statement:

"Over two hundred agencies are carrying on African missions; neither China nor India, though each have a vaster population, receiving more attention. Some of these organizations work only in one quarter of Africa, but most of them in two and a few in all. Their forces consist of twenty-five hundred Protestant missionaries, including ordained ministers, laymen, wives, and other women, with ten thousand native helpers; and of seven hundred and fifty Romish priests, with a number of other papal missionaries whose statistics are not given."

In addition to these particulars we are told briefly of the work among negroes in the United States, and have enumerated the principal obstacles (especially from climate and disease) with which the missionary must contend. The founding of a station is illustrated by Mackay's experience in Uganda, and there are graphic pen portraits of representative men, such as Robert Moffat and Cardinal Lavigerie, and devoted women like Mary Livingstone.

Not the least valuable part of Mr. Noble's work—evidently a true labor of love—is the appendixes, containing educational, literary, medical, philanthropic, and cultural statistics. Among the most cheering of these are the lists of versions of the Scriptures in more than a hundred African languages and dialects, and of the one hundred and thirteen industrial schools in all parts of the continent, in addition to the still more numerous colleges and training-schools. There can be no question of the author's painstaking and untiring efforts to obtain accurate information, and, so far as it has been possible to verify his statements, we have done so without finding him in error. We do not always agree with his conclusions, as, for instance, in the encouragement which he derives from Abyssinian Christianity. He takes, in our opinion, a too roseate view of the condition of the Uganda church, and is too confident of the speedy downfall of Mohammedanism, as indeed in regard to the civilization of all Africa. We fear that evil days are yet in store for the black continent at the hands of Christian peoples. With Mr. Noble's criticisms of Roman Catholic methods, especially as illustrated by the mission to Uganda, we heartily agree.

The spelling of African proper names in this book—the scientific accuracy of which

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 1, 1899.

The Week.

The worst blow administered to the cause of reform in the Federal civil service since the enactment of the law of 1883 was dealt by President McKinley on Monday, when he issued the long-talked-of amendments to the civil-service rules. That some places which might wisely have remained outside the classified service were brought under the operation of the rules by the sweeping order issued by Mr. Cleveland in 1896, has been frankly admitted by the Civil-Service Commissioners and other candid students of the subject. There would have been no ground for criticism if Mr. McKinley, after careful canvassing of all the questions involved with the Commissioners, had withdrawn the comparatively small number of such positions from the scope of the competitive system. But he has gone very much further than this. He has released from the operation of the rules more than 4,000 places, and, in far the greater proportion of cases, no defence whatever is possible. Especially reprehensible is the amendment of rule ten, so that transfers may be made without any limitation, and a harness-maker be given a position as physician, or a laborer the salary of a high-grade clerk. The only restriction is the requirement that a man shall pass a non-competitive examination, which will be no obstacle to the change. Thus, instead of only 4,000 places being exempted, the way is opened for putting several times as many outside the operation of the rules.

The most shameful feature of this order is the fact that Mr. McKinley issued it without any conference whatever with the Civil-Service Commissioners. "In June last," said President Proctor on Monday, "the Civil-Service Commission recommended to President McKinley that certain exceptions be made to the classified service and certain amendments to the rules. Since that recommendation was made, the Commission have not been called into consultation, and the Executive order made to-day was without previous reference to the Commission." President McKinley has violated the most solemn pledges given by his party and himself. The platform upon which he was elected declared that "the civil-service law was placed on the statute-book by the Republican party, which has always sustained it, and we renew our repeated declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable." His own letter of acceptance quoted this engagement, declared that it "will be

faithfully observed," and announced that "the Republican party will take no backward step upon this question. It will seek to improve, but never degrade the public service." The whole performance is disheartening. At the very time that we are taking in "new possessions," and attempting to carry the blessings of civilization to "inferior races" abroad, we remove safeguards from an inferior race at home, we turn over the government of Alaska entirely to the spoilsmen, and we make the proclamation of the Philippine Commission, which "guarantees an honest and effective civil service," a laughing-stock.

The determination of a committee of importers to bring suit against the Treasury Department, in order to test the legality of the removal of Mr. Shurtleff from the office of General Appraiser, is a patriotic and most commendable proceeding. It is precisely the same in principle as the proceedings which have been carried on successively in our city courts against the illegal efforts of Tammany heads of municipal departments to get possession of places which are under civil-service-law control. President McKinley's course in regard to Mr. Shurtleff is not one whit better in morals than that of the Tammany Commissioners of Accounts, or that of the Tammany Fire Commissioner, Scannell, in relation to their objectionable subordinates. He removed Mr. Shurtleff without cause, without giving a reason even, in the same way that these Tammany officials removed employees. He wanted the "place" for Platt to fill; they wanted the "places" for Coker to fill. The courts have condemned them for their conduct and have ordered the reinstatement of the removed employees. It remains to be seen whether the President's course has any more legal justification than that of the Tammany officials, but it certainly has no more moral justification. The only difference between the two is that the President pretends to be a friend of civil-service reform, and consequently an upholder of good government; whereas no Tammany man ever pretends anything of the kind. Mr. Shurtleff was put out because he insisted upon doing his duty without regard to the wishes of Platt, and because, in the performance of his duty, he ran counter to the doings of Appraiser Wakeman. If this fact can be established in court, thus showing the true nature of the President's conduct in the matter, an object-lesson of much value will be afforded to the country.

The report of the Commission of Special Treasury Agents on the conduct of Appraiser Wakeman towards the import-

ers of Swiss embroideries convicts him on all the charges brought against him. The report says that he acted honestly. It was never charged that he had acted dishonestly, but merely that he had acted oppressively, illegally, and wantonly, causing heavy losses to merchants, without any justifiable excuse. It was charged that he had taken as a basis of the appraisement of embroideries the selling price of such goods in the United States, whereas the law requires him to take either the selling price abroad or the cost of production abroad. On this count he was found guilty. He was charged with unjust discrimination, and he was found guilty on that count also. He was charged with unreasonable delay in coming to a decision upon certain invoices, and was found guilty upon that point also. It was proved that the invoices of one importer had been exposed to another importer by an assistant appraiser, and that business secrets had been revealed, in violation of the rules of the department. In short, the Appraiser's office had been perverted to an instrument of tyranny and oppression against citizens who are engaged in a lawful calling, and who contribute largely to the support of the government. In any other civilized country such a report would be followed by the removal from office of the person who had committed the offences. But since Wakeman represents the Protective Tariff League, which holds the act of importing to be little short of criminal, even when conforming strictly to law, he will probably be "vindicated" by retention in office, if not promoted to a higher position.

Every now and then the censorship at Manila lifts the veil a little and lets us see the disagreeable facts. Just when all seemed fairest, and the fraudulent peace jubilee at Washington was but well over, came the dispatch saying that "a much larger army" was needed; that the Filipinos were fighting, in their way, with as much spirit as ever, in spite of their heavy losses, and in spite of the fact that a majority of their wounded die through lack of medical care. All this is but confirmatory of what those best informed about the situation have told us from the first. Gen. Lawton has said that it would take 100,000 men to conquer the islands. We happen to know that officers of the *Raleigh* declared in this city that 150,000 soldiers would be needed to subjugate and hold the Philippines. But we can do it! Of course we can—we can make fools of ourselves if we want to. But what a delightful preparation for Mr. McKinley's campaign in Ohio this fall it would be for him to be obliged to call out 35,000 volunteers to fill more Filipino graves. In

no other way, however, can the President get his "much larger army." Every regiment of regulars which can be spared from this country and Cuba is now en route or under orders for the Philippines. Just one other alternative is open to the President. Let him promise to treat the Filipinos as we have promised to treat the Cubans, and instead of having to double his army he could at once reduce it one-half. He professes to be anxious for Congressional guidance. Let him recall that the Bacon resolution, guaranteeing the Filipinos parity of treatment with the Cubans, was defeated in the Senate only by the casting vote of the Vice-President. There is the guidance, not only of Congress, but of common sense. Mr. McKinley has been gradually sliding down from the conqueror's throne which he mounted last December. He has grown more conciliatory as he has grown more anxious. Now let him get off of that throne altogether, stand on his feet like a man and a brother, tell the natives that they may have their independence as soon as they show they can maintain it, and offer to help them to maintain it.

Even the Washington Mark Tapleys no longer find the Philippine situation so extremely jolly. Newspaper correspondents in the confidence of the Administration admit that the President is not so cock-sure of speedy peace as he was a few days ago. He is hopeful that Aguinaldo's delegates will soon come back for more banquets and palavering, but it begins to look now as if those gentlemen meant to stick to the jungle. But Mr. McKinley is in no slight jungle of his own. He wants results, but is unwilling to use the necessary means. "Push things," he orders Gen. Otis, but Otis replies, "Give me troops enough and I will." This brings the President squarely up to the need of calling for volunteers, but he tells his friends that he is most averse to issuing such a call. In the first place, there is the "pang" involved of ordering more graves to be decorated; then there is the cost; finally, there are "political reasons." Yet, more troops there must be if more fighting there must be. Every military authority asserts that. There is reason to think that Otis let the statement that a much larger army is urgently needed pass the censor at Manila, in order to force the President to act one way or another.

Senator Davis of Minnesota has taken an early stand in favor of perpetual retention of the Philippines. In a speech at St. Paul week before last, he said that he considered it the duty of the United States towards the Philippine archipelago "to retain sovereignty over there permanently and not provisionally." This sentiment he qualified by saying: "I would give to the Philippines, just as

I would any other people, as complete autonomy as, from time to time, they show themselves capable of exercising." This plan leaves no place or room for the Filipinos to become American citizens. It offers them no opportunity for becoming a part of the American republic, or for forming a republic of their own. However much they may rise in the social scale under our guidance, they are to be held permanently and not provisionally. That Mr. Davis's proposal does not contemplate their escape from our control at any future time is plain from the context, in which he says that we must have our share in the commerce of China, and that "the nation which hopes to be a factor in China has no right to relinquish possession of the Philippines." That is, we must hold them because there is money to be made by doing so. We have expected to see the pretences which have hitherto masked our policy in the Philippines dropped after the next election, but hardly before. The chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations is to be commended for his frankness. It leaves no room for skulking or for half measures. We apprehend that it leaves no room for the revered McKinley. Any policy which is clear-cut and decisive will have terrors for him till after the next election. What he wants to play continuously is the waiting game. He ought not to be allowed to play it longer. He ought to be compelled to show his hand, and we are glad that Senator Davis means to force his hand. The greatest political need of the day is a sharp division between Imperialism and its opposite. The greatest danger is the undefined policy and the fatalistic tendency of the Republican party, coupled with the silverism and the Bryanism of the Democratic party. Perhaps Senator Davis's speech may help to bring both parties to their bearings on the main question of the day, and save us from going into the next campaign on dead issues.

Judge Gray, in his reluctant defence of the Philippine policy in Philadelphia last Thursday, spoke contemptuously of the political aspirations of the Filipinos, and sneered at the idea of applying the doctrine of the consent of the governed in their case. Government, he said, is a practical affair, and "not a thing of phrases." No mistake could be greater. A phrase which embodies the dearest traditions and sentiments of a nation is mightier than laws or constitutions. Is Judge Gray, is President McKinley, willing to turn over all the watchwords of liberty to Mr. Bryan? Shall he, or some other agitator with a great popular following, be permitted to traverse the country next year, declaring that the Administration has forsaken the American principle of government, and that the rough riding down of the Filipinos is only the preliminary to the

shooting down of American laboring men? The Filipino delegate who said in Manila, on the day of Judge Gray's deliverance, that McKinley's offers were all very fine, but were, after all, in the teeth of all boasted American doctrine, used an argument which it is easy to sneer at in his mouth, but which, heard on the stump in every American State next year, and made an instrument in the hands of political passion and political ambition, is capable of shaking this nation, and of leaving the bewildered McKinley at the bottom of a gorgeous wreck.

Senator Platt praises Mr. McKinley's "wonderful foresight," and gives it as one of the reasons why he is "the only possible Republican candidate for the Presidency in 1900." We commend the saying to the prominent New York merchants who recently visited the White House to protest against a Platt appointee as General Appraiser. The President said he was very anxious to consult their wishes, but, of course, "foresight" would not allow him to do so. He clearly foresaw that Mr. Platt would have the seventy-two delegates from New York in the hollow of his hand, and what were seventy-two, or seventy-two hundred, merchants in comparison? So the merchants got the fine words and Platt got the appointment. His proclaiming that McKinley is certain to be renominated and reelected is only common gratitude for favors received, into which an extra amount of fervor is thrown as a reminder that he also expects favors to come. A Platt Speaker of the House and a lot more of Platt postmasters and appraisers would be uncommonly handy to the boss just now when he is getting such ugly blows at Albany and in New York. President McKinley's wonderful foresight will teach him, no doubt, that this Platt interview will have to be paid for with more patronage. Disraeli said of Peel that his whole political life had been "one vast appropriation clause"; but that is a feeble phrase for describing the way in which Platt appropriates every office in sight. The more evident it is to him that McKinley is the only possible candidate, the more clear he must make it to his machine, by his control of Federal patronage, that he is the only possible boss.

Mr. Bryan is quoted, in an interview at St. Louis on Thursday, as saying that silver must be kept in the forefront of the battle next year, yet in his public speech he distinctly put it in the background. He gave the first place to the anti-Trust doctrine, and he brought in the silver question as one variation of the Trust, which he designated the "Money Trust." What he said on this branch of the subject was very meagre and very

unsubstantial. It shows plainly that silver will not be the paramount issue of the next campaign. The only comment needful to be made upon Mr. Bryan's definition of the "standard money Trust," which he declares to be the parent Trust, is to point out that, in his estimation, "it is in the hands of foreigners." If that is true, how are we going to hit it? We can reach all other Trusts with one kind of club or another, because they are subject to the jurisdiction of our courts and legislatures. But we cannot reach a Trust that is in the hands of foreigners except by conquering the foreign countries where the "parent Trust" has its domicile and lurking-place. The State of Texas is now attacking Trusts by prohibiting the sale of goods manufactured or produced by Trusts; but nobody, not even Mr. Bryan, would think of prohibiting the introduction of money into this country from abroad, however hateful may be the Trust which controls it.

Gov. Pingree of Michigan is not only the author of sensations himself, but the cause of sensations on the part of others. Last week he took action which led to the refusal by the legislative department of the Government to receive a message from the Executive. There had been an investigation by a committee of the House into the expenditure of the State's war funds, and majority and minority reports were submitted from the committee a few days ago. Gov. Pingree was disgusted with the findings of the minority, and sent a special message to the House to express his feelings. After the clerk had finished reading it, the Speaker ruled the message out of order, and directed that it be returned to the Governor. He pointed out that the Constitution provides that the Governor "shall give to the Legislature information by message of the condition of the State, and recommend such measures to them as he shall deem expedient," but declared that this message did not pretend to set forth the condition of the State, or to make any recommendation, and consequently maintained that the document had no proper standing, and ought not to be received. "Parliamentary authorities" are quoted as supporting the Speaker's contention.

The new Franchise-Tax bill has passed the New York Legislature and will become law on the 1st of October next. The amendments made since its introduction are few and slight. One of these exempts from taxation the property of municipal corporations. As a municipal corporation is a minor part of the State government, it is not to be supposed that the franchise tax would have been levied upon such corporations in any event, but it is as well that the exemption should be made in express terms. Another amendment prescribes a new form

of oath to be taken by local assessors, making them swear more solemnly than before that they have assessed the real estate in their respective districts "at the full value thereof, according to our best judgment and belief." The intent of this probably is to jog the consciences of the assessors, and intimate to them that the practice of assessing real estate at 50 or 60 per cent. of its value must now come to an end. This will be necessary unless grave injustice is to be done to the corporations subject to the franchise tax. Since the franchisees are now to be taxed as real estate, and the valuation of them is to be put as nearly as possible at their actual value, all other real estate should be assessed at its actual value. The amount of tax to be paid by the owner will be no greater by reason of the raising of the valuation. It ought to be less by reason of the new law and of the swelling of the general list.

By a process of natural selection, Prof. Arthur T. Hadley has come to the top of the candidates to the succession of Yale's presidency. His age and health hold out every promise that, at forty-three, he may look forward to an administration of a quarter of a century. He has had twenty years' experience as tutor, lecturer, and professor. He has won recognition, both in this country and abroad, in his specialty of political economy; but he has an inherited breadth of knowledge and of view consonant with the whole range of learning in a great modern university. He combines with the scholar's tastes much of the equipment for a successful man of affairs. He supplements his other qualifications with that most valuable of all, the ability to interest young men in serious work. Finally, he understands that the highest obligation laid upon the educated man is to serve the republic, and that the best tribute which can be paid to an educational institution is the fact that its graduates are good citizens. Yale University is to be congratulated upon what we believe to have been the best possible solution of a grave problem.

The New England Free-Trade League some time ago offered prizes of \$100 and \$50 each to the competition of students in our educational institutions, for essays on the subject, "If all foreign products should be admitted into this country free of duty, what proportion of persons would suffer direct injury?" When announcement of the awards was made the other day, it came out that a first prize and a second prize had gone to students in the University of Pennsylvania. This news has caused a shock in Philadelphia, and the press of the city is beginning to protest. The *Inquirer*, the chief supporter of Quay, "doubts the economic and moral honesty of the offer of such a prize," and it also

"doubts whether university authorities should permit the name of their institution to be brought in this way for the booming of a dead issue, which should never have been a political issue, and never would have been, since the death of slavery, but for the importunities of the importers." It excuses the offending young men, on the ground that "the student will hardly stop to consider that this particular prize is in the nature of a business bribe, and that the offer has a shady appearance," but it holds that "there is evidently a point where the college authorities should step in to say whether such an offer can properly be considered." The truth is, that altogether too much freedom of thought has been allowed students in the past, and it is time to put on the screws. The next thing we know, somebody will be offering them prizes for essays "On the Importance of Maintaining the Principles of the Republic," and getting them to write stuff which Charles Emory Smith will have to keep out of the mails because of its "incendiary" nature.

Reluctance, amounting to dread lest it get another "case" on its hands, is what most strikes one in the Presbyterian General Assembly's treatment of Prof. McGiffert, Prof. Briggs's colleague. The whole procedure has been most hesitant and gingerly. Last year the Assembly besought Prof. McGiffert either to revise his theological opinions or withdraw from the church. The Professor, in a very manly letter to the Assembly, intimated that its method was entirely irregular (as it certainly was), but said that his brethren must have gravely misunderstood his views, and that he had no intention of withdrawing from a church in which he was born and bred and to the interests of which he is devoted. Of course, the only way in which a man's theology can be decided to be heretical is by a formal trial. Opinions of other clergymen, however dogmatically proclaimed, are only their opinions and have not the slightest effect in ecclesiastical law. This seems to have dawned on the Assembly, which last week ordered the New York Presbytery to take up Prof. McGiffert's case. But many voices are saying that there will be no heresy trial. Prof. McGiffert, they aver, is too much of a gentleman to stay where he is not wanted. He will peaceably withdraw. But that depends. He maintains that his views are consistent with the Presbyterian standards. Why, then, should he withdraw? Why is he not wanted? He may also feel it a duty to make a test of the question whether there is room in the church for men of progressive liberality and scholarship like his own. Altogether, therefore, we think that the New York Presbytery will either have a heresy trial on its hands, or else will have to go on tolerating Prof. McGiffert and other suspected heretics among its membership.

ARBITRATION AND DISARMAMENT.

A decided advance towards an international agreement of some sort in favor of international arbitration was made at The Hague Conference on Friday, when Sir Julian Pauncefote laid before the delegates a proposal for the formal establishment of a permanent arbitration tribunal. The suggestion is not a new one, writers on international law having discussed it before now; its chief recommendation is that it seems at first sight easier to introduce arbitration in this way than by a general treaty. Critics of the plan, however, dispute this.

When the attempt is made to establish a general system of arbitration by treaty, the difficulty must arise, as we found two years ago, (1) that every country is reluctant to agree in advance to arbitrate all disputes, and (2) that no line of division can be found to separate those which seem fit for arbitration from those which do not seem so. Each country imagines that there are some things which must be fought for, but what they are, no man can precisely define in advance. They are usually said to be questions involving the national honor and the integrity of the national territory; but any boundary dispute involves the national integrity, and any dispute whatever involves "honor," if those who have the decision of peace or war happen to think so or to be willing to say so. Down to the year 1898, it never occurred to any one that an injury to the vessel of one nation in the harbor of another with whom it was at peace, by persons unknown, was a ground for war between the two nations. Yet it became a *casus belli* with Spain last year, in spite of an offer by the Spanish Government to arbitrate the question of responsibility, which the President in his message on the subject admitted "remained to be fixed."

Two generations ago, a large party in this country wanted to go to war with England over the Northwest boundary; to-day most people see no objection to arbitrating the Alaska boundary. No means of settling what a question of "honor and integrity" is, exists, and consequently an "honor and integrity" clause inserted in an arbitration treaty would be nugatory. To us it seems obvious that such a clause is of no sort of use, because it means nothing more than that there are always cases in which, no matter how nations bind themselves, they will fight, and this will be true whether it is put in a treaty or not. But, for some reason which is not very intelligible, it seems to be thought in many quarters that an agreement of two or more countries to settle all their differences amicably would involve the dreadful risk that it might lead to a peaceful settlement of some controversy which, for the credit of one side or the other, required a war. Demonstrate as you will that treaties by the

score have been torn up for the sake of war, there seems to be still a lurking suspicion that it would be really dangerous to agree to arbitrate everything. Yet no one can point out in advance what should not be arbitrated.

To get over these and other difficulties, it is suggested that two or more nations establish a permanent Court of Arbitration, to which any nations may refer disputes. The court would derive its authority from the repute of its members, who would be judges or legal writers of high rank; and it would be always ready for any business which might be referred to it.

The first criticism of this suggestion that occurs is, that the plan meets and overcomes a difficulty which does not exist. No two countries which wanted to arbitrate ever had much difficulty in forming a court. The great difficulty is in agreeing to refer the question in dispute to arbitrators, not in finding the arbitrators. No doubt the conferees at The Hague might take steps which would lead to the creation of such a court, and, if good salaries were given, no difficulty would be found in getting judges. Indeed, it would be easy to get them, because they would, until something was referred to them, which might not be for some time, have nothing to do. But the obstacles in the way of referring to this court any new international question which might arise, would be very much what they are now. The mere existence of a court does not remove them.

Again, admitting that the plan of creating a permanent international court is good, as far as it goes, its existence alone does not give it power. Its powers it can derive only from an international agreement to submit questions to it, and the creation of the court must, therefore, either be supplemented, after its creation, by an agreement of two or more nations to submit disputes to it, or reinforced by such an agreement among two or more nations in advance.

Those who take this view of the matter contend that if The Hague Conference results in the establishment of an arbitral tribunal alone, the real difficulties surrounding arbitration will be masked rather than removed. But they, as well as all interested in the matter, admit that if it results in the establishment of an arbitral tribunal, reinforced by an international agreement, signed by even two leading Powers, it will have accomplished the most beneficent work of the age.

The question of disarmament is more closely connected with that of arbitration than many people suppose. The introduction of a really effective system of arbitration would do more to make disarmament permanently feasible than even a present reduction of land and naval forces. A reduction of these diminishes the number of persons to

whom war may be profitable; an arbitration treaty removes the main causes which lead to armament, *i. e.*, the constant expectation of war as the usual means of settling international differences. When two or more nations have provided a peaceful means of settling all quarrels, there must seem less and less reason for keeping themselves armed to the teeth in order to settle them by violent means. With every new arbitration, the reasons for disarming would grow. Historically, arbitration and disarmament have gone hand in hand. Some sixty instances of arbitration have occurred since the close of the Napoleonic wars, and to more than half of these the United States has been a party, Great Britain coming next with twenty cases. Now, the United States and Great Britain happen to be the two countries in the world which have refrained from arming their entire male population.

We are not among those who are sceptical as to good coming of The Hague Conference. But we trust to see it go much further than the mere creation of an arbitral tribunal, ready for business which might never come to it. We hope to see this reinforced by a determined effort at an international agreement to make use of the tribunal as constituted. It is on such an agreement that the introduction of arbitration will hinge at The Hague in 1899, exactly as it did at Washington in 1897. The suggestion has been made that, besides the arbitral tribunal and the agreement to use it (binding on any nations which choose to make themselves parties to it), there should be a third feature—that of compulsion. This was the idea advanced by Mr. D. D. Field in his proposals for an international code in 1872. He would have had not only a permanent arbitration agreement, but a provision that if any nation, which was a party to it, should fail to arbitrate, all the other nations should at once make war upon it. In theory there is, perhaps, no objection to this, but practical reasons for not endeavoring to go so far will readily suggest themselves.

CIVILIZATION VS. BARBARISM.

There was one passage in the serene and sane and thoroughly wise speech of Admiral Sampson last week, at the celebration of Queen Victoria's eightieth birthday, which we commend to the thoughtful consideration of Gov. Roosevelt. In paying a personal tribute to Admiral Dewey, he said:

"But does sea power or any other power promote a fraternal bond? I think not. Sea power suggests a fight, the exercise of destructive force. It is naturally in order to question whether exercise of power of any kind promotes brotherly love. It may be for the well-being of the naughty small boy to be whipped by his larger brother. It may be for the good of the bullying senior to get a drubbing at the hands of his little but valiant junior; but it is not brotherly love that is built upon this fight, though I do not deny that brotherly love may result from the bet-

ter state of mind engendered thereby. The boys become men, their points of view alter with their growth. Respect and faith once established, they can afford to forget small differences of earlier days; their mutual good depends upon their being on the best of terms. And I believe the day is fast coming when England and America—no longer boys, but grown-up men—shall lead the voice of peace, of grown-up experience, to the opinion now being represented by the Peace Conference at The Hague. Not fighting, but peace among nations, is to bring the world on fastest toward the millennium of prosperity and true living which we all long for."

Let us contrast this with some of the many passages in Gov. Roosevelt's recent speech in Chicago, in which, as is his wont, he glorified war and fighting as the only remedies of a nation against what he is fond of calling on all occasions "ignoble peace." This phrase is repeated again and again with tiresome iteration, which shows the hold it has upon his mind and the deep contempt that he feels for all opponents of war as war. We quote a few samples:

"I wish to preach, not the doctrine of ignoble ease, but the doctrine of the strenuous life."

"A life of ignoble ease, a life of that peace which springs merely from lack either of desire or of power to strive after great things, is as little worthy of a nation as of an individual."

"We cannot sit huddled within our borders and avow ourselves merely an assemblage of well-to-do hucksters, who care nothing for what happens beyond."

"A war, too [the present one in the Philippines], in which our brave men who follow the flag must pay with their blood for the silly mock-humanitarianism of the prattlers who sit at home in peace."

"I preach to you, then, my countrymen, that our country calls not for the life of ease, but for the life of strenuous endeavor. The twentieth century looms before us big with the fate of many nations. If we stand idly by, if we seek merely swollen, slothful ease and ignoble peace, if we shrink from the hard contests where men must win at hazard of their lives, and at the risk of all they hold dear, then the bolder and stronger peoples will pass us by, and will win for themselves the domination of the world."

This is the gospel of war for the sake of war, of fighting, not merely or necessarily for a just and righteous and inevitable cause, but for the effect upon your own virility. Whatever you do, you must fight. The worst thing that can happen to a man or a nation is to remain long in peace. That is to become "despicable," "ignoble," "slothful," an object of contempt to yourself and to the world. This is the view of the savage, the barbarian. If Governor Roosevelt had lived seven centuries ago, Richard the Lion-hearted and his associate Crusaders would have had an effective and congenial ally. His sentiments about war and peace are precisely those which Richard and his contemporaries had, and one wonders every time our bellicose Governor makes his now so familiar speech on the subject, how it happens that he was born so late in the world's progress, how it happens that he is so belated a "left-over." One searches in vain through his utterances for any recognition of despised peace as the promoter of civilization. Peace is well enough in his eyes if it be not too long maintained. A world in permanent

peace, to his mind, is a world peopled with cowards, sloths, weaklings, and silly prattlers.

As against a view of life like this, the calm utterances of a professional and veteran warrior—a man of high courage and valiant deeds—such as we quote from Admiral Sampson, are timely and reassuring. No nation ever needed such words more than we need them now. We have passed through a thoroughly childish war, and have been in a condition of childish exultation over it since its close. The time has come when, as the Admiral says, we should be, as a nation, "no longer boys, but grown-up men," should "lead the voice of peace, of grown-up experience." The Roosevelt view of life is essentially a boy's view, and if it were to become the permanent basis of a national policy, would make us the most turbulent people the world has ever seen. Our national life would become one perpetual Donnybrook Fair, with "rows" with every Power that got within range of us, for no other purpose than the development of our "virile strength," lest we become a nation of sloths.

Happily there is no danger of such a future for us. Our Governor is not taken seriously by anybody except himself when he talks "war." He has so many useful qualities as a political force that people condone the barbarian side of him, and try to keep faith in him as an effective agent for the reform of political abuses. It is, nevertheless, a great pity that he is so constructed mentally as to be unable to see the harm which this boyish glorification of war does to his own reputation as a sane and safe public leader and administrator. Already it may be said that he has a political future of great promise, perhaps greater than his ambition. But will the people of this country ever trust him in a station in which he can carry out his views of war as the great instrument of human progress?

A GOLD CURRENCY.

There has been a shortage of paper currency in the United States for more than a year, and the question how the deficiency should be made good has engaged a great deal of discussion. The reason why the shortage exists is that there has been an increase of business, which has called for a larger number of instruments of exchange. These instruments are of various kinds, but mainly two, bank checks and circulating notes. The latter consist of national banknotes and several kinds of Government notes. There is no limit to the amount of bank checks except the amount of bank deposits and bank credits. Consequently, any increased demand for this kind of instruments of exchange is immediately and automatically supplied. Not so with the other kind of circulating medium.

This is rigid and unchangeable. Government notes cannot be issued in any larger amount than now exists, nor is it desirable that they should be. Banknotes might be issued in larger amounts, but evidently there is no profit in such issues. If there were, the bankers would put them out. The only remaining resource is gold. This is always available and we have plenty of it in stock. We have imported \$217,000,000 within three years, and have produced at least \$100,000,000 more. But we are not fond of carrying gold in our pockets or in belts strapped around our waists. Its weight is an inconvenience. The need of a paper medium to take its place is strongly felt.

Leaving aside for the present the larger and more scientific plan of the Indianapolis Currency Commission, which has the approval of the leading economists of the country, we invite attention to a mode of relief already available, which can be put in force without new legislation and at a moment's notice. It is embraced in section 12 of the act of July 12, 1882, in these words:

"That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to receive deposits of gold coin with the Treasurer or Assistant Treasurers of the United States in sums not less than twenty dollars, and to issue certificates therefor, corresponding with the denominations of United States notes. . . . Provided, that the Secretary of the Treasury shall suspend the issue of such gold certificates whenever the amount of gold coin and gold bullion in the Treasury reserved for the redemption of United States notes falls below \$100,000,000."

The first clause of this law was enacted in 1863, and was in continuous operation until April, 1893. The second clause (the proviso requiring its suspension whenever the gold reserve should fall below \$100,000,000) was enacted in 1882 and was put in practical operation for the first time in 1893, under Secretary Carlisle, when the gold reserve in the Treasury did fall below the sum named. Previously any holder of gold could take it to the Treasury, deposit it, and receive gold certificates in denominations not less than twenty dollars. The Bank of England is under the same requirement to receive gold in any amount and at any time, and issue its notes therefor in denominations not less than £5.

Secretary Carlisle suspended the operation of the law when the gold reserve fell below \$100,000,000, but he did not resume it when the reserve rose above that sum. During the greater part of his term of office, being engaged in an almost daily struggle "to keep his head above water," he might have been excused for construing the word "suspend" as though it were the equivalent of "discontinue" or "cease." As a matter of fact, he did so construe it. He made an order that the issue of gold certificates of deposit should not be resumed, no matter how high the gold reserve should rise. His successor, Mr. Gage, finding that order in force, has sim-

ply left it in force, although he might change it if he should see fit to do so.

If Congress had intended that the issue of gold certificates should, in the contingency named, cease and determine, it would doubtless have said so. The word "suspend" does not convey such meaning. The Century Dictionary defines it, "To cause to cease for a time." This is the common acceptation of it. The time during which it should cease was clearly fixed, *i. e.*, until the gold reserve should again be above \$100,000,000. Anybody who will take the trouble to read the debate in the Senate (June 21, 1882) when the proviso in question was adopted, will find not a word implying that the suspension of the issue of gold certificates was to be continuous and final.

If citizens have a legal right to deposit gold in the Treasury and to receive certificates therefor in certain denominations, endowed with certain attributes, and if this right has been taken from them without the authority of law, there is not much more to be said. It will be well, however, to glance at the matter in its financial and economical aspects. The Treasury Department, like all other departments of the government, exists for the benefit of the people. Its first duty is to conform to the law. Its second is to construe the law in any case of doubt for the benefit of the people. It would be a great public advantage if there were some way of converting our superfluous gold into a more convenient medium of exchange. The goodness of the gold certificates is not in question. Indeed, one of the arguments advanced against them is that they will be considered better than greenbacks, and that there will be a tendency to draw gold from the Treasury by means of greenbacks and to redeposit it in exchange for gold certificates, the latter being considered a preferred claim upon the Treasury.

This view savors of timidity. It bears the contagion of panic and is calculated to create the very distrust which it apprehends. All experience teaches that the banker or financier who shows perfect readiness to redeem his paper, is the one least likely to be called upon to do so. On the other hand, the one who betrays any doubt as to his own solvency, breeds distrust instead of allaying it. It took a long time to educate the American people and their rulers to the knowledge that all kinds of currency, including silver certificates, stand on the same broad, infallible basis, and must be maintained at par with gold, but that fact is now so well understood that no discrimination is made between them in the minds of the people. Everybody is glad to get the certificates because everybody knows they will be kept at par. It is impossible that any form of Government issues should be better than any other form, except in case of complete national

bankruptcy and financial ruin. It is impossible that gold certificates should be better than greenbacks or any other kind of circulating medium unless the Government itself encourages the opinion that they are so. At the present time the amount of gold in the Treasury (\$228,398,312) is so enormous that nobody can imagine any preference being given to gold certificates over greenbacks in the estimation of depositors, or of bankers, or of the public generally.

It may be said that if we relieve the pinching of the shoe now by reopening the door for gold certificates, we shall postpone the time for a thorough reform of the currency like that proposed by the Indianapolis Commission. We believe in the Indianapolis plan, but we see other dangers to arise from the pinching of the shoe. Public impatience may take the form of a demand for a worse kind of currency instead of a better—for more greenbacks, or the free coinage of silver, or the "sub-treasury plan," or any other specious folly. Gold certificates are always as good as gold. There is no danger of having too many of them. They are not an element of inflation or of distrust. They can never create a panic. Of all forms of paper currency they are the least open to criticism. General reform of the currency will take place when all shoe-pinching has been eased and forgotten, and probably not before.

MORE ANTI-TRUST LAWS.

As thorough-going an anti-Trust law as any that we have seen since the legislative anti-property craze set in, is that passed by the Texas Legislature, by an overwhelming vote, and just signed by the Governor. The following are some of its provisions: Section 1 provides that any corporation which becomes a member of a pool or Trust designed to regulate or even to fix and maintain the prices of anything whatever, including insurance premiums, shall be deemed guilty of a conspiracy. Section 2 defines a "monopoly" as any "union" of anything, including "acts" by anybody, whereby the "results described are calculated to be produced"; any one "engaged in" a monopoly is to be deemed guilty of a conspiracy to defraud. By sections 3 and 4 any manufacturer who sells at less than cost, or gives away, for the purpose of driving out competitors, is to be deemed guilty of a conspiracy to form a monopoly or Trust. Section 5 fixes the penalty for violating the act at not less than \$200, and not more than \$5,000, for any such offence, and for every day of its continuance. By section 6, if two or more merchants agree to limit trade or competition by refusing to buy from or sell to any person or corporation because corporations are not members of the "combination," they are subject to the penalties of the

act. Section 7 provides for the forfeiture of the charter of any concern violating the act. Other sections provide that any corporation which, owning a manufacturing patent, shall use it and at the same time fail to put it on the market for sale, "shall be adjudged a monopoly." Section 12 provides that the sale of anything in violation of the act shall be void, and the purchasers shall not be liable for payment. Section 13 makes any business such as that carried on by the Associated Press a monopoly. The act goes into effect on January 31, 1900.

This is far more drastic than the Donnelly bill, just passed by our Legislature, and signed by the Governor, which merely makes agreements creating a monopoly or restraining competition illegal, and provides machinery to secure evidence.

The Texas law is no doubt all the more relished in Texas because an Arkansas statute, based on similar principles, has just broken down in the courts. The Arkansas statute provided—so the Attorney-General maintained—that any foreign insurance company doing business in Arkansas which became, anywhere in the wide world, a member of a pool or Trust to fix the price of insurance, should be subject to a penalty of \$5,000. This act promised well, for on the day it was signed sixty-three insurance companies in Arkansas suspended business. But the Supreme Court has now handed down a decision to the effect that the Legislature could not have intended that an agreement made by an English or German Insurance Company in Hong Kong to fix the rate of insurance in that locality should create a liability to pay \$5,000, as a penalty for the act, in Little Rock. This decision may be right, and was followed by the immediate resumption of business by the sixty-three insurance companies; while the Attorney-General is led by it to a gloomy view of the future, and to declare that he will at once—if costs are paid—dismiss all pending suits, and will not in future prosecute a Trust, "if it should organize in front of the State-house with a brass band." It remains to be seen whether the Texas law, which also includes a provision against crimes committed by insurance companies, will fare any better.

One section of the Texas anti-Trust law is aimed at the Roller Baling Machine. This is one of the most important inventions of recent years. Instead of taking a great mass of cotton and squeezing it, and the air contained in it, into a small but very elastic cubical bale, and then binding it with iron or steel hoops, the machine draws the fibre between rollers, which squeeze all the air out of it, and then delivers the cotton itself in the form of a tight roll, with no more elasticity than a roll of calico, and requiring no iron clamps to

hold it. The chief advantage of this method of handling cotton is that the liability to fire is greatly reduced. The owners of the Roller patent seek to make their profit out of the invention by leasing machines, or by rolling the cotton themselves, instead of selling the machines. In other words, they "sell territory." The Texas Legislature wants them to sell machines, and accordingly puts the following section into the anti-Trust law:

"Every corporation, copartnership, firm, or individual who may be the owner or lessee of a patent to any machinery, intended, used, or designed for manufacturing any raw materials or preparing the same for market by any wrapping, baling, or other process, who shall lease, rent, or operate the same in their own name and refuse or fail to put the same on the market for sale, shall be adjudged a monopoly and subject to all the pains and penalties provided in this act."

It is scarcely necessary to say that no State can override or alter in any manner the patent laws of Congress, or limit or curtail their operation. The subject of patents was committed to Congress by the Constitution in Article I, section 8, clause 8, which says that "Congress shall have power to . . . promote the progress of science and the useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the *exclusive right* to their respective writings and discoveries." Congress has legislated on this subject. It has not restricted the rights of patentees to the sale of the machines invented by them. It has not required them to put machines on the market. That would not be an exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries. The only restriction imposed by Congress is that a patent shall not continue in force more than seventeen years. While it is in force, the holders of the patent can use it in whatever way they please in New York or Texas, and no State Government can molest them or make them afraid. Moreover, the law of Congress says that the courts of the United States shall have exclusive jurisdiction of patent cases. So the courts of Texas could not be invoked to pass judgment on any case arising under the section quoted above.

Thus far, the campaign against the Trusts in the State courts cannot be said to have been marked by much success. Nor has it triumphed, except in a barren way, in the Federal courts. The recent decisions of the United State Supreme Court to the effect that railway combinations to maintain rates are illegal, as in "restraint of trade," were made under a Federal anti-Trust statute, and the judges went as far as they could in latitudinarian construction to bring cases affecting railway rates under it at all. But the decisions have been almost without practical effect. They did indeed break up the existing agreements, but this simply made some new means of fixing and maintaining railway rates more necessary than ever; and consequently a new era of railway consolidation has set in.

which promises to end in a dozen "combinations" owning the whole railway system of the country. It is also a fact worth noticing that never in the history of the country have such stupendous combinations of industrial capital been made as in the present heyday of anti-Trust legislation.

Such facts as these ought to be carefully considered by those who imagine that "anti-Trust" can be made an effective battle-cry in a Presidential campaign. Hitherto the anti-Trust legislation has been, in great measure, non-partisan—even the Donnelly act, though a Tammany measure, was passed by a Republican Legislature, and signed by a Republican Governor—and has generally proved futile. It would be difficult to divide the country over an issue in which each party seems anxious to outbid the other. And it will probably be still more difficult to arouse enthusiasm over it, unless you can show that legislation, where laws have been passed, has been effective. As we have often pointed out, some Trusts are bolstered up by the Tariff; but those who are managing the present campaign against Trusts seem always disposed to avoid this question. Their idea, so far as they have one, seems to be that "combinations" of capital exist only for purposes of oppression, and, therefore, ought to be broken up. The economic ideas of a Populist agitator and legislator are not very different from those of the mob he dupes with platforms and laws.

THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA.

NEW YORK, May 25, 1899.

About two years ago it was arranged that the Council of the Archæological Institute and the Managing Committee of the American Schools of Classical Studies at Athens and in Rome should hold their annual meetings at the same time. The two committees, while *de jure* creatures of the Institute, were not such *de facto*, and it was felt that all the organizations would be more closely drawn together and would receive mutual benefit if their officers could meet together at stated intervals for the interchange of ideas. The plan has proved a success, and now, each year, the three last days of the second week in May witness the gathering of a goodly number of persons from different quarters to discuss the condition of the Institute and to provide for the needs of the coming season. The meetings of the present year were held on May 11, 12, and 13, in the rooms of the Department of Architecture, Columbia University, and I venture to hope that some account of the proceedings will be of general interest to those who care for the study of antiquity.

The session held on Thursday, May 11, was that of the Managing Committee of the School in Rome, and Prof. Hale of Chicago, the chairman, presided over the deliberations. The most serious difficulties for those who have had this school in charge since it was founded in 1896 have been of a financial nature. Enough money was gathered through a general subscription to start work and to

keep the School in operation for three years, but the hope that before this time had passed a permanent fund might be established has not been realized, and it has become necessary to raise the annual income by subscription. Another year of prosperous life has indeed been assured the School under this system, but of course no such method of gathering resources can give that feeling of permanence which is necessary to a lasting success. The officers of the School are seeking, with characteristic enthusiasm and energy, to raise the needed funds, and various colleges and universities are beginning to lend aid by making small annual subscriptions, as they have done in the case of the School at Athens. Such support through the coöperation of various colleges is truly an admirable thing from many points of view, for it establishes very close relations between the foreign school and the educational system at home, and it at the same time brings the colleges together to work for a common end; but, as the experience of the School at Athens has proved, it is permanently valuable more as an auxiliary than as a main source of income. The subscriptions are not always easy to raise, and few boards of trustees feel justified in assuming responsibility for the annual contribution.

But, even if the Roman School is forced for the moment to depend on faith as its banker rather more than is quite comfortable, this has not deterred its active managers from taking the much-needed step of establishing a more permanent directorate, and they have wisely elected Prof. Richard Norton Director of the School for five years. Prof. Norton has already been for two years a professor in the School; he has studied at the Athenian School for as long a period, and, besides this, he has passed some time at the University of Munich in archæological work. In this country he has had experience in teaching at the Harvard Summer School and at Bryn Mawr College. Certainly the Roman School is fortunate that he is so situated as to be able to accept its directorship. It is, however, very desirable that the School should be kept closely in touch with the colleges and universities at home, and to this end an annually appointed professor will be sent out as heretofore. For 1899-1900 the committee elected Prof. Platner of Western Reserve University; for 1900-1901, Prof. Kelsey of the University of Michigan; and for 1901-1902, Prof. Abbott of Chicago.

After providing for the archæological and educational work of the School, the committee proceeded to the no less important duty of electing a Chairman of the Managing Committee. Prof. Hale has occupied this responsible position since the foundation of the School, and has expended time and energy without stint in responding to its exacting demands upon him. For a year or more past, however, he has felt that he could not carry the burden much longer, and he therefore presented his formal resignation. To succeed him the committee chose Prof. Minton Warren, formerly of Johns Hopkins, now of Harvard, and as acting Chairman and Secretary, Prof. E. T. Merrill of Wesleyan. Both of these gentlemen have been actively engaged in the conduct of the School from its beginning, and both have had a term of service in Rome. The resignation of the Treasurer of the School, Mr. C. C. Cuyler, was referred to a committee, and the hope was most ear-

nestly expressed that he might consent to reconsider it. Mr. Cuyler's energy and unflagging interest have already placed the friends of the School under great obligations to him, but that only makes them the more loath to dispense with his generous services at this critical period.

In the case of the meeting of the Managing Committee of the School at Athens, which took place on Friday, the second day of the sessions, there is perhaps less of immediate importance to chronicle. This school is now nearly twenty years old, its Director, Professor R. B. Richardson, is completing his sixth year of continuous residence, and tradition, therefore, tends to regulate the deliberations of its officers. Prof. Seymour of Yale, the chairman, was able to report a very successful year of work. The number of students has been larger than ever before, and the evidence of their better preparation for work in Athens is becoming increasingly apparent. Smith College has joined the league of supporting colleges during the past year, and the Agnes Hoppin Fellowship for women, which was recently established for a period of three years by Mrs. Courtland Hoppin, Miss Sarah Hoppin, and Dr. J. C. Hoppin, has been continued during the lifetime of the donors. The School may therefore hope for the present to award the fellowships annually, a School fellowship of \$600, one maintained by the Archaeological Institute of the same value, and the Hoppin fellowship of \$1,000. The chairman also reported another successful season at the excavations in Corinth, where the location of the chief centres for topographical research seems established with certainty. It is greatly to be hoped that, with this much accomplished, the work may not be brought to a standstill through lack of money.

Prof. B. I. Wheeler of Cornell, as chairman of the committee on fellowships, announced that the fellowships for the ensuing year had been awarded to Mr. Benjamin Powell (Cornell, 1896), Mr. James Tucker, jr. (Brown, 1897), and the Agnes Hoppin fellowship to Miss H. A. Boyd (Smith, 1892), who has previously held one of the other fellowships. Miss Leach, professor of Greek at Vassar, succeeds Prof. Wheeler as the head of the committee on fellowships. As annually appointed professors, Prof. Smyth of Bryn Mawr will go out next year, and in 1900-1901 Prof. E. D. Perry of Columbia.

The financial condition of the School at Athens, even though this school is older and more firmly established than the sister institution in Rome, is still a source of some solicitude to its managers. Its current income is very largely derived from the contribution of the various supporting universities and colleges, and, as such contributions are to a great extent made up of small subscriptions by individuals, the permanence of the revenue may at any time be put in jeopardy. Through economy and careful financing, and by the readiness of many to work for the School without remuneration, it has been possible to begin gathering a permanent fund, but the increase of this fund is each year becoming a more pressing necessity to the School. Surely these two American institutions in foreign lands may reasonably appeal to the many benefactors of learning in our country for help in raising the comparatively small endowments which are needful to their success. They have become

really a part of our educational system, and they have already markedly affected the study of classical antiquity in the colleges; they are about the only educational undertakings which have called forth a real co-operation between different institutions, thus helping to counteract the unfortunate tendency of our colleges and universities to let local interests and prejudices interfere with that which is for the benefit of all; they often lend a hand also to the chance traveller, and give him the little guidance in two of the world's great centres of civilization which makes to him all the difference between the profitable employment of his time and mere aimless sightseeing. As a possible form of endowment it might perhaps be suggested that the two School libraries, or either one of them, could for no very large sum be made to perpetuate the name of some friend of sound learning.

Saturday morning, the final day of the sessions, witnessed the assembling of the Council of the Archaeological Institute, under the presidency of Prof. John Williams White of Harvard. Some thirty members were present, and ten more were represented by proxies. The President opened the meeting by giving an account of his management of the affairs of the Institute during the last year. This was followed by the regular reports of the chairmen of the two School committees, and by the interesting report of Prof. Seymour, as chairman of the committee which has in charge the publication of the results of the excavations at the Argive Heraeum. This promises to be much the most important publication which the Institute and the Athenian School have yet issued. For the general oversight of the work, Prof. Charles Waldstein, under whose direction the excavations in Argos were conducted, is responsible, but he is to have a company of worthy helpers associated with him. The different topics will be distributed as follows: Mr. Tilton, Topography and Architecture; Prof. Waldstein, Sculpture; Mr. Chase, Terracottas; Mr. DeCou, Bronzes; Prof. Richardson, Inscriptions; Dr. Hoppin, Vases; Prof. R. Norton, Gems; Mr. Lythgoe, Scarabs. There will be, in all, more than a hundred plates, and between three and four hundred illustrations in the text. A pleasant event of the morning session was the graceful speech of Prof. Waldstein, proposing that this Heraeum publication should be dedicated to Prof. C. E. Norton, as the founder and first President of the Archaeological Institute. Prof. Norton made an appreciative and sympathetic reply.

It had been hoped that this year would see the establishment of a school in Palestine by the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, under the auspices of the Institute, but the necessary preparations are not yet complete, and final action awaits the return of Prof. J. H. Thayer, who has the matter much at heart, but who is now absent in Europe. The report on this plan was made by the Rev. Dr. John P. Peters.

There is also another direction in which the Institute desires to extend its activity, this time not to seek "fresh woods and pastures new," but to resume a temporarily neglected line of work—that of the archaeological study of this continent. Since the publication of the series of investigations by Mr. Bandler, nothing, or almost nothing, of this kind has been done, and when President White came into office two years ago he rightly felt that it was a great mistake

for the Institute to be turning its attention so exclusively to classic work. A committee was therefore appointed to consider the question, and its first step was to recommend that the board of editors of the *Journal of Archaeology* be increased by the addition of an editor who should represent the study of American antiquity. Prof. Henry W. Haynes of Boston was accordingly chosen to this office. The committee next recommended the election of a councillor whose special interest was in the archaeology of America. The Executive Committee of the Council at once adopted the recommendation and elected Mr. Charles P. Bowditch of Boston as a Vice-President of the Institute to succeed the late Dr. Pepper of Philadelphia. No one who knows of the work that Mr. Bowditch has done in Honduras—his own work and that which he has made it possible for others to do—can doubt the wisdom of the committee's selection. Mr. Bowditch made a vigorous speech before the Council, urging the revival of interest in American work, and it was voted that a special committee on this subject be appointed by the President in consultation with Mr. Bowditch. Mr. Edward Robinson of Boston also spoke urging the essential unity of the study of prehistoric antiquity in all countries, and pointing out its value to classical archaeology in throwing light upon the Mycenaean and pre-Mycenaean periods.

The report of Prof. Wright as editor-in-chief of the *American Journal of Archaeology* showed that publication to be in a prosperous condition. When he took charge of it the issue was much behindhand; now, however, the first number for 1899 has appeared, and by the end of the year there is every prospect that all numbers will be issued on time. President White asked that he be authorized to arrange in the name of the Institute for the reproduction in facsimile of the *Codes Ravennas* of Aristophanes. The work, he said, was likely to pay for itself, as the facsimiles of the Laurentian Sophocles and Aeschylus published respectively by the English and Italians had done, and in any case he was himself willing to assume the financial risk. The authorization was, of course, promptly given, and we may now expect that the Institute will add another noteworthy publication to its lengthening list. The old officers were re-elected for the ensuing year, with one or two slight changes in the roll of Vice-Presidents, which now reads as follows: President Gilman of Baltimore, Mr. C. P. Bowditch of Boston, Mr. M. A. Ryerson of Chicago, Prof. Seymour of New Haven, Mr. Talcott Williams of Philadelphia.

The day was now far spent, and the session was appropriately brought to a close by the passage of a resolution that the Archaeological Institute should make arrangements to hold, during the next Christmas recess, its first meeting for scientific discussion and for the reading of papers.

J. R. WHEELER.

THE MERIT SYSTEM IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.

BRUNSWICK, Me., May 9, 1899.

In a former letter to the *Nation*, I called attention to some of the characteristics of the merit system as exemplified in the consular and diplomatic service of Great Britain. The details of the system there noted have application, of course, mainly to so much of

the foreign service as is conducted by officials sent from England and holding direct relations with the Colonial Department. In the purely internal affairs of the respective colonies, however, the primary conditions are different. Most of the colonies have a preponderant native population of but a moderate degree of civilisation, while the diversity of situation, interests, and natural resources is very great. On the surface, the British possessions might seem to promise a rich harvest for the spoilsmen. How far the promise is fulfilled may be seen from an examination of the 'Colonial Office List,' an annual official publication similar to the 'Foreign Office List,' and of which the volume for 1899 is just to hand.

The portion of the colonial empire of Great Britain under the immediate supervision of the Secretary of State for the Colonies (India has a separate administration, and is not considered here) comprises forty distinct and independent governments. Eleven of these have elective assemblies and responsible governments; sixteen have a legislative council nominated by the Crown, with the power reserved to the Crown, save in British Honduras, of legislating by orders in council; nine have legislative councils partly elected and partly appointed; and four have no legislative council, the law-making power being delegated to the officer administering the government. In the responsible or self-governing colonies, the concurrence of the home Government in appointments is not necessary, administrative control being vested in officials dependent upon the support of representative assemblies. There is an executive council, appointed by the Governor, with whose approval appointments are made. This form of administration, familiar in our own country, calls for no further comment.

The governor of a British colony—known also as governor-in-chief or governor-general if his jurisdiction embraces several distinct colonies—is appointed during the pleasure of the Crown, but the term of office is usually six years. Besides general executive functions, the Governor has such powers and duties, and is subject to such restrictions, as are laid down in rules emanating from England, or in the laws of the colony which he serves. Where there is no representative assembly, the initiation of laws belongs in general to him, and in all cases his veto power is absolute.

The appointing power of the Governor is modified by the local circumstances of the colony and by the nature of the office. In the self-governing colonies, as has been said, appointments to public office are made by the Governor with the advice of the executive council, and are neither authorized nor confirmed by commission or warrant from the Queen. Elsewhere, offices are generally bestowed in the name and during the pleasure of the Crown; but in some cases local law confers the appointing power upon the Governor, with or without the concurrence of the council, while a few places are held during good behavior. As a general rule, however, all public offices "of considerable rank, trust, and emoluments" are granted, either provisionally or absolutely, under royal commission. For the purpose of determining what are and what are not places "of considerable rank, trust, and emoluments," offices are divided into three classes. The first includes those whose emoluments do not exceed £100 per annum; the second,

those in excess of £100 but not over £200; and the third, those worth more than £200. Places in the first or lowest class are usually at the disposal of the Governor, who must, however, make report of the appointment at the earliest opportunity. Vacancies in the second class are filled by the Colonial Secretary on the recommendation of the Governor, the recommendation being almost uniformly followed. In the case of a vacancy in the third class, the Governor may, as in the second, make a provisional appointment and a recommendation; but the latter has less weight with the Secretary than in cases of the second class.

While no attempt is made to state in advance the precise circumstances under which the recommendations of the Governor will or will not be followed, certain principles are, nevertheless, observed. In general, recommendations in the way of promotion are more favorably regarded than suggestions of persons new to the service; but appointments to new offices are likely to be made directly from England. Appointments of relatives of the Governor, and even of private secretaries and other intimate associates, are rarely confirmed. In all matters of appointment each colony is considered by itself; and while the filling of vacancies by promotion is the rule observed wherever practicable, only the higher officials are likely to be transferred from one colony to another. Further, regard is had to the general state of the colony—its population, wealth, and political condition—as affecting the probable number of persons from whom the local authorities may make selection. Especial importance is attached to local qualifications and experience; and in order that the Colonial Office may have proper knowledge in the premises, the Governor is required to make annually a confidential report on the claims of candidates, whether in the service or not. An exception to the rule of local preference occurs in the cases of chief judicial and financial officers, where "local connection with the colony by birth, family ties, or otherwise, will be considered, generally speaking, to render a candidate ineligible."

In practice, therefore, the patronage of the Colonial Secretary is very small. Minor offices are filled by the appointment of local candidates, where such can be found, and higher offices by promotion, so far as practicable. Only in the case of new offices, high positions, or positions demanding technical or professional qualifications not to be found in the colony, are appointments likely to be made from England. While persons already in the service, accordingly, have a chance to rise, those who wish to enter must commonly do so by way of a minor place. In Ceylon, Hong Kong, and the Straits Settlements, including the Malay States, cadetships have been established, with competitive examinations, for the training of officials for the higher posts; subordinate positions being filled by local appointment, as in the other colonies. There are a few cadetships—non-competitive, but with preference given to graduates of the universities—in the Gold Coast colony, and a few in Fiji; these, with an occasional clerkship in the customs service on the west coast of Africa, complete the list of so-called "junior" clerical positions open to candidates in England. Occasional educational appointments, if of lower grade, are made by advertising for applicants, or through a teachers' agency; higher positions are filled by promotion. Higher

medical places, also, are usually filled by transfer or promotion, save in the case of positions calling for administrative as well as professional ability, when selections from outside the service are sometimes made. It is announced that eventually all candidates for medical places will be required to undergo a course of training at the School of Tropical Medicine, now in process of establishment in England.

The power of dismissal is not quite co-extensive with the power of appointment. In the self-governing colonies, the power, like that of appointment, is vested in the Governor and executive council, if the office be held, as nearly all are, at the pleasure of the Crown. The executive council itself, in these colonies, holds office at the pleasure of the Governor; but it is "understood that councillors who have lost the confidence of the local Legislature will tender their resignation to the Governor, or discontinue the practical exercise of their functions, in analogy with the usage prevailing in the United Kingdom." In the Crown colonies, the power of dismissal is much restricted, although temporary suspension is allowed, pending inquiry and decision by the Colonial Office. Dismissals of officials receiving £100 or less a year, however, do not require the approval of the Colonial Secretary; but the official is, in every case, entitled to a written statement of the charges against him, and an opportunity to clear himself; and there is also a right of appeal.

A few general provisions, designed to insure honest and effective administration, should also be noted. All salaried public officers are forbidden to engage in trade or commerce without permission from the Governor and the approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. In cases where the salary or emoluments of the office are fixed on the assumption that the official gives his entire time to the Government service, the prohibition is usually absolute. Further, no public officer may act as private agent in any matter connected with his official duties. He may not be the editor of a newspaper, nor actively concerned in its management. He is at liberty to discuss in print, over his own signature, matters of general interest, but he must avoid political topics, and refrain from criticising either the Government or its agents. No official may receive gifts or presents from the natives of the colony in which he is serving, save where a refusal would give offence, in which case the present is to be turned over to the Government. Ceremonial presents from natives, whether chiefs or others, become the property of the Government, and return presents are at Government expense.

Even this brief sketch is, I think, sufficient to show the general principles governing British colonial administration. So far as the civil service is concerned, each colony is treated as a unit, and its administrative service is organized to meet its special needs. Wherever possible, offices are filled by the appointment of local candidates, who, though holding nominally at the pleasure of the Crown, enjoy in practice a permanent tenure during good behavior, and are advanced to higher stations as vacancies occur. With rare exceptions, only such officials as are charged with duties touching broad lines of policy, or whose positions demand a training which the colony cannot provide, are sent from England; and, even here, transfers from other colonies are fre-

quent. Where a system of competitive examinations has been introduced, as in Ceylon, Hong Kong, and the Straits Settlements, the tests are the same as in England, and are under the charge of the Civil-Service Commissioners. Finally, the use of official position as a means to private gain is absolutely prohibited. It is because the colonial service aims at an intelligent, judicious, and stable conduct of affairs, and not because of its novelty or its "spoils," that it has become, for English subjects, an attractive and worthy career. WILLIAM MACDONALD.

Correspondence.

"PIAZZA."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In a letter written August 20, 1867, J. L. Motley said to a friend that "he has put a broad verandah (what we so comically call a piazza) all around the house." Our use of the word is certainly singular, and the present is the first attempt that has been made to account for it.

The word *piazza* has, by English-speaking people, been used in three senses. First, for over three centuries, it has been employed by writers and travellers in the sense of a square or open place. To the examples of this, its proper Italian meaning, given in the Stanford Dictionary, could be added other early ones from J. Florio (1598), T. Coryat (1611), and Sir D. Carleton (1616).

Secondly, in England the word has for over two centuries been used to mean an arcade or portico. The explanation of this usage is as follows: Between 1631 and 1634, Inigo Jones laid out Covent Garden for the Earl of Bedford in the form of a square, with an arcade running along the north and the east sides. The square was called Covent Garden Piazza, a term which first occurs in 1634. Writing from Leghorn under date of October 21, 1644, J. Evelyn said: "The piazza is very fair and commodious, and, with the church, . . . gave the first hint to the building both of the church and piazza in Covent Garden with us, though very imperfectly pursued" (Diary, 1889, i., 96). If this is correct, it doubtless explains why a square in London came to be called by an Italian name. But the word *piazza*, at first a designation of the square, was soon applied to the arcades; that on the north side being called the Great Piazza, and that on the east side the Little Piazza. Hence the word came to mean any arcade or portico under which one could walk, and has long been a well-recognized term in English architecture. This change in meaning was accompanied by a change in pronunciation, and *piazza* was corrupted into *piache*, pronounced like the letters *p* + *h*. The following examples illustrate this particular usage.

"Piazza (Ital.) a Market-place or chief street; such as that in *Covent-Garden*, which the vulgar corruptly call the *P.H.* The close Walks are not so properly the *Piazza*, as the ground inclosed within the Rail." 1661, T. Blount, *Glossographia* (3d ed.).

"Well, Madam, I'll take one turn here i' th' *Piazza's*. 1667, J. Dryden, *Sir Martin Mar-all*, Act i., *Comedies, Tragedies, & Operas* (1701), i. 191.

"I have quitted my old lodging, and desire you to direct your letter to be left for me with Mr. Smibert, painter, next door to the King's Arms tavern, in the little piazza, Covent Garden." 1796, G. Berkeley, *Life & Letters, Works* (1871), iv. 183.

"London is really dangerous at this season; the

pickpockets, formerly content with mere *flicking*, make no scruple to knock people down with bludgeons in *Fleet-street* and the *Strand*, and that at no later hour than eight o'clock at night; but in the *Piazas*, *Covent-garden*, they come in large bodies, armed with cutaneous, and attack whole parties." 1743, W. Shenstone, *Letters, Works* (1769), iii. 83.

"He [C. G. Cibber] carved most of the statues of kings round the Royal-exchange, as far as king Charles, and that of Sir Thomas Gresham in the piazza beneath." 1763, H. Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (1789), iii. 147.

"Elgin has what in England are called piazzas, that run in many places on each side of the street. It must have been a much better place formerly. Probably it had piazzas all along the town, as I have seen at Bologna. I approve much of such structures in a town, on account of their convenience in wet weather." 1785, J. Boswell, *Tour to the Hebrides* (2d ed.), 122.

"Piache, a, for a piazza, or more properly, an arcade. Though this is now a mere vulgarism of the lowest order, it seems to have been formerly deemed more respectable, since Coles has admitted it into his Dictionary [1723]. Those who now use it pronounce it like *p* and *h*." 1822, R. Nares, *Glossary*, 375.

"We proceeded by the magnificent aqueduct bridge of the Elismere Canal, along which Sir W. and I walked,—I think the greatest human edifice I have seen,—and so to Chester, in which ancient city we had barely time to stare a little at the galleries and piazzas of which we have all heard or read." 1835, J. G. Lockhart, in Sir W. Scott's *Familiar Letters* (1894), ii. 335.

In the same sense the word was also employed by J. Macky (1724), J. Ralph (1734), D. Defoe (1753), H. Fielding (1754), B. Franklin (1770), R. Southey (1795), and others. It may be added that St. James's Square, planned about 1663 by the Earl of St. Albans, was alluded to in 1676 as "the Piazza" (H. B. Wheatley's 'Round about Piccadilly,' 1870, p. 356); but it soon lost this name. It has also been stated (in *Notes and Queries*, 7th Ser., i. 463) that to Soho Square, built in 1681, was originally applied the term Piazza; but of this I find no confirmation.

Thirdly, in this country the word *piazza* has undergone another change, both in meaning and in pronunciation. It was introduced here two centuries ago, and was at first employed in its English architectural sense. It soon, however, was used to designate any gallery on the exterior of a building, and so a veranda, either with or without an overhead covering. Exactly when our common pronunciation of the word came into vogue it is impossible to say; but the examples which follow show the history of the term in this country before 1800. First used in the Southern colonies, it apparently did not reach New England until late in the eighteenth century.

"And be it further enacted . . . That the said building shall be made in this form, and figure H, . . . That the two parts of the building shall be joined by a cross gallery of thirty foot long, and fifteen foot wide each way, according to the figure herein before specified, raised upon piazzas, and built as high as the other parts of the building; and in the middle thereof, a cupola to surmount the rest of the building." 1699, *Virginia Statutes at Large* (1823), iii. 420-421.

"And for the further encouragement of the owners of the front lots, *Be it also enacted*, That every owner that hath or shall hereafter build a brick house at least two stories high, are hereby permitted and empowered to build piazzas, not exceeding six foot, in the said wharff or front lots, with steps in the said piazzas up to the said house." 1700, *South Carolina Statutes at Large* (1840), vii. 17.

"[The College of William and Mary] is a lofty Pile of Brick Building adorn'd with a Cupola. At the North End runs back a large Wing, which is a handsome Hall, answerable to which the Chapel is

to be built; and there is a spacious Piazza on the West Side, from one Wing to the other." 1794, H. Jones, *Present State of Virginia*, 26.

"It [an Orphanage in Georgia] is now weather-boarded and shingled, and a piazza of ten feet wide built all around it: which will be wonderfully convenient in the heat of summer." 1741, G. Whitefield, *Works* (1771), iii. 483.

"The publick Works in this Town [Savannah] are 1st, A Court-house, being one handsome Room with a Piache on three Sides: This likewise serves for a Church for divine Service, none having ever been built." 1741, P. Talifer, &c., *True & Hist. Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, 104.

"There are also on the Premises a neat handsome Brick House, a large Frame Kitchen, Piazza, &c., with a fine Avenue of English Cherry Trees, leading to the Road." 1761, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 24 Sept., p. 1-3.

"There are about eleven hundred dwelling-houses in the town [Charleston], built with wood or brick; many of them have a genteel appearance, though generally incumbered with balconies or piazzas; and are always decently, and often elegantly, furnished." 1763, *Short Description of the Province of S. Carolina*, in B. R. Carroll's *Hist. Colls. of S. Carolina* (1836), ii. 484.

"[Indians] can also distinguish the different ways of making camps and fires; for instance; . . . a Chactaw makes his camp in travelling in form of a sugar loaf; a Chickasaw makes it in form of our arbours; a Creek like to our sheds, or piazzas, to a timber house." 1776, B. Romans, *Natural History of Florida*, 65.

"From the back piazza of our habitation, we command a truly picturesque view into several fertile counties." 1776, W. Eddis, *Letters from America* (1792), 334.

"The tavern . . . stands on the bank of the Delaware, and has a most delightful piazza on the side next the river, which extends the whole length of the house, and is entirely over the water, affording a most beautiful prospect up and down the majestic river." 1787, M. Cutler, in *Life, Journals & Corr.* (1888), i. 261.

"I was in the forenoon busy in my apartment in the council-house, drawing some curious flowers; when, on a sudden, my attention was taken off by a tumult without, at the Indian camp; I stepped to the door opening to the piazza, where I met my friend the old interpreter." 1791, W. Bartram, *Travels through North & South Carolina, &c.*, 260.

In its American sense, the word is unknown in England, while its English meaning apparently long ago became obsolete in this country. Finally, attention may be called to two instances of the use of the term in a figurative sense. In 1644 Milton spoke of "the Piazza of one Title page" (Stanford Dictionary); while about 1862 Thoreau wrote: "This was a part of the furniture of Cape Cod. We had for days walked up and down the long and bleak piazza which runs along her Atlantic side, then over the sanded floors of her halls, and now we were being introduced into her boudoir" (*Cape Cod*, 1894, p. 233).

ALBERT MATTHEWS.

Boston, May 9, 1899.

Notes.

'A Short History of Freethought,' by John M. Robertson, will be published immediately by Macmillan Co., along with 'The Development of the English Novel,' by Prof. W. L. Cross, of Yale. Also, a new edition of the 'Handbook of British, Continental and Canadian Universities, with special mention of the courses open to Women,' compiled for the Graduate Club of Bryn Mawr College by Dr. Isabel Maddison. The object of this book is to give in brief form all the information necessary to assist men or women students intending to study abroad, in the choice of a university or college.

G. P. Putnam's Sons have nearly ready 'How to Swim,' by Capt. Davis Dalton, chief inspector of the United States Volunteer Life-saving Corps.

Brentano's announce 'A Silent Singer,' by Clara Morris, the actress.

J. B. Lippincott Co. have in press a "History of America before Columbus," by P. De Roo, in two volumes; a Life of Bismarck, by Frank Preston Stearns; and 'Lessons in Graphic Shorthand (Gabelberger),' prepared for the American public by C. R. Lippman.

A new edition of De Morgan's 'Elementary Illustrations of the Differential and Integral Calculus' will be issued by the Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago.

Lawrence & Bullen, London, are about to publish 'Bearers of the Burden: Being Stories of Land and Sea,' by Major W. P. Drury of the Royal Marines.

'Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia' for 1898 will long be a volume set apart for reference. In it, under the rubric *United States*, is to be found a succinct account of the war with Spain, and an alphabetic-numerical statement of the "progress and participation of every regiment, battery, and vessel." Cuba has no long article to itself, but Porto Rico and the Philippines are treated by themselves, with maps and illustrations. The larger portraits of the volume are of Dewey, Gladstone, and Bismarck—the two latter in connection with their obituaries. The Omaha Exposition is another article of importance; and, finally, there is an index to the volumes 1896-1898.

The thirty-second volume of Wilhelm Müller's 'Politische Geschichte der Gegenwart' (Berlin: Springer) gives a clear, concise, and thoroughly impartial survey of the political history of 1898. Considerable space is devoted to an account of the origin and conduct of the Spanish-American war, ending with the peace negotiations at Paris and the purchase of the Philippines. This admirable annual was founded by Wilhelm Müller in 1867, and since his death has been continued by Dr. Karl Wippermann. It is a very useful record of contemporary events, and will be a valuable source of information to future historians.

Our judgment of the 'Dictionary of the Bible' edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D., and published in this country by Charles Scribner's Sons, has already been carefully given at considerable length, on the appearance of the first volume. It is enough, therefore, to say of the second that it extends from Feign to Kinsman, and contains one map in connection with the article on Jerusalem by C. R. Conder—one of the longest, 18 pages. That on Jesus fills 51; that on John, his Gospel and Epistles, 63.

'On the Edge of the Empire' (Charles Scribner's Sons) is a fair specimen of much of the Kiplingese literature now current. It consists of stories of British military life in native regiments on the Indian frontier. There is not much in it to attract, but the book is not without its lesson to us, as illustrating the complications and moral decadence involved in taking upon us "the white man's burden" in the Philippines and elsewhere. If we believed the spirit of contempt displayed in this volume for all but the military natives were general among the British in India, our wonder at the success of British rule would be greater than it is. We light upon such passages as: "The native of India, like the ape, is at his best in

childhood, and deteriorates as he grows older"; "In Bengal, where the blethering of crazy ideas is the valor of an abject a race of cowards as ever walked abroad in the guise of men," etc. Now that the "superior races" command weapons that place the "subject" entirely at their mercy, to what may not their hauteur, uncurbed as it was of old by an uneasy half-held belief in possible reprisal, yet lead? And what will be the end of it all?

The Doubleday & McClure Co. publish a translation of Cottin's compilation of the 'Memoirs of Sergeant Bourgogne,' illustrated. The original is an authentic narrative of a soldier's personal experience in the burning of Moscow and Napoleon's ruinous retreat. Bourgogne was a non-commissioned officer in the *Velites* attached to the Guard, who were selected from men of some property and education. His intelligence and his natural literary capacity made his recollections and his narrative of them much more trustworthy than those of an ordinary enlisted soldier. His story corroborates the opinion that the *grande armée* lost cohesion from its own weight, and was from the first hardly manageable under Napoleon's system of living on the country. Discipline was already broken and the army half famished when Moscow was reached, and the Sergeant's own conduct, as he tells it, is conclusive proof that even the *corps d'élite* had degenerated into uncontrolled marauders. The horrors of the retreat were in no small degree traceable to this loss of discipline and the helpless disorganization consequent upon it. For continuous and blood-curdling details of prolonged agony, and for variety of incident in the hell of war surpassing fiction, the story of Bourgogne goes beyond what had been told by others of that astounding chapter in the history of imperial ambition.

'1812,' Napoleon in Russia,' by Vassili Verestchagin, the Russian artist (Charles Scribner's Sons), is a study from original sources of the whole campaign of 1812, and of the military and diplomatic policy on both sides. It has enough of the Russian point of view to impart freshness to the treatment of the subject, and though it has been written to accompany the view of Verestchagin's series of paintings based on the campaign, it shows historical research and grasp, both of larger features and of picturesque details, which give the book a good right to stand on its own merits as a literary production. An introduction by Mr. R. Whiteing sketches the career of the well-known artist, and we may assume that the good English dress of the whole has been assured by the same editing. Essays by the author on the Progress of Art and on Realism give us his artistic ideals and principles before he displays his graphic tableaux of war. The illustrations are half-tone reproductions from his own paintings, with spirited little marginal sketches in the text. A good photogravure portrait of the author in national costume is the frontispiece. It may fairly be doubted whether any other so brief treatment of the Moscow campaign makes, for the general reader, a more satisfactory and intelligible presentation of the subject.

'J. Chamberlain,' by Achille Viallate (Paris: Colin & Cie.), is the subject of a recent biographical study, to which Émile Boutmy contributes a preface. "Is he a statesman, or only a politician?" is, accord-

ing to M. Boutmy, the question which naturally arises in one's mind after a survey of Mr. Chamberlain's varied career. The answer given by Boutmy is that the Colonial Secretary deserves to be called a statesman, though not, he hastens to add, in the French sense of a public man whose opinions are based on principles which are for him the object of a "glowing and tenacious worship."

Dr. George Polonsky has made a German translation of a work on the economy of Russia since the emancipation of the serfs, but has incorporated in it some of the most extraordinary passages of English it has been our misfortune to meet. Thus, Col. Wright is made to say: "The whole industry has now become greatly specialized separate factories bring engaged exclusively in the manufacture of bond and her cut stock and uppers also in making of slittings, heels insoles, linings, tips clasps, strings staples and varipus other articles" (p. 112). Even this is eclipsed by the note printed on p. 449: "It may, and if it lat long enough it will surley produce a fundamnntal agrarian revolution. J mean a revolution in the condition of landed property-wtich will and both the pomestschik and the mutschik and replace them," etc. One might reasonably expect at this day that the large publishing-houses in Germany would pay more attention to the correct printing of English than to permit such unnecessary errors as New Gampahir, Massasussets, Rod Anland, and Yermont—all in two lines (p. 146); while the "manufacture cleese in beinpridegated more and more" is intended for a quotation from an official report that any library of size would possess. The book bears the imprint of a Munich firm, and is entitled 'Die Volkswirtschaft in Russland nach der Bauern-Emancipation.' The author is Nicolai-on.

In *McClure's Magazine* for June, Mr. Cleveland Moffett describes the latest miracle in science, Marconi's wireless telegraphy, with the aid of numerous illustrations of apparatus and stations, a portrait of the inventor, etc. Dispatches were transmitted and received by the writer himself, as here recorded. The world-thrill occasioned by the first messages sent over the luckless cable of 1858 was not repeated when, in July, 1898, the Dublin *Daily Express* published bulletins of the Kingstown regatta from its observation steamer while the yachts were beyond the range of the telescope. Yet the new prospect is far more marvellous than the old, and the medium of communication, the Hertzian rays, even more "psychic" than the electric or the X-rays. Mr. Moffett reports some of the speculations he heard from one of Marconi's staff, including possible telegraphy from on shipboard through a submarine cable terminating seaward in a receiver. Marconi's "coherer" is the pivot of his system; by it the gentle ether impulse is made to call into play the power of the home battery, very much as, in automatic regulation of steam-heating, the feeble electric current determined by the set thermometer releases compressed air to operate the steam-valves.

M. Loewy, director of the Paris Observatory, in a timely and sympathetic sketch of Prof. Newcomb, in *Nature* for May 4, where a most excellent portrait appears in the galaxy of "Scientific Worthies," says of him, in view of his mathematical researches of the last forty years: "Newcomb must be considered, without contradiction, as one

of the most celebrated astronomers of our time, both on account of the immensity of his work and the unity of view which makes the choice of the subjects treated by him. All is linked together in our solar system. . . . Not only has he given a great scope to the intellectual movement of his country, but he has also contributed in a very successful manner to elevate the level of the civilization of our age, enriching the domain of science with beautiful and durable conquests."

From the New York agency of Boussod, Manzil, Joyant & Cie. we receive the customary annual issue (Part I.) of *Figaro-Salon*, the illustrated folio of the current Salons, edited by Arsène Alexandre. A portrait of Paul Deschanel, President of the Deputies, is among the full-page plates. The colored print (double-size) is Benoit-Lévy's "Morning of July 14, 1789."

Among the very varied contents of the Consular Reports for May, those of most general interest are reports upon the dairy product of Canada (from which it appears that 196,703,323 pounds of cheese, valued at \$17,572,763, were exported in 1898, and of butter 11,252,787, valued at \$2,046,686) and upon the commerce and industry of Brazil; and information in regard to the collection of debts in several countries, including Germany and England. An article upon rubber plantations in Guatemala gives figures as to the original cost of land and preparation of the crop. These show that "one crop, after ten years, will produce double the amount expended during that time." The consul at Tuxpan, Mexico, gives an interesting description of the modes of cultivating the vanilla bean in that country.

The difference between China and Japan in foreign trade is becoming more marked each year. The returns for 1898 have just been published for each country, and are suggestive when brought into contrast. China's imports gave an increase over 1897 of about 7,000,000 Haikwan taels, due to opium, coal, raw cotton, kerosene oil, flour, and sugar, certainly necessary articles except opium. The exports decreased 4,500,000 taels, mainly in tea and silk. Japan increased its imports by more than one-fifth, or by 57,700,000 yen, owing to the partial failure of the home rice crop, and to larger imports of sugar, raw cotton, and alcohol. The exports increased only 1.5 per cent., but, on separating the raw materials from the manufactures, it is seen that the movement of raw products fell from 117,771,632 yen in 1897 to 106,197,206 yen in 1898, while that of manufactures rose from 45,363,445 yen to 59,465,098 yen. Cotton yarns, now the most important of the manufactures exported, silk goods, and straw braid, are the leading items of increase, and the movement shows no tendency to diminish in volume. As to the future of the raw materials, the *Japan Weekly Mail* says: "Tea, rice, and camphor may be set aside at once; tea, because the market for it is limited, and shows no sign of growing; rice, because the domestic demand will probably keep the quotation at such a point that profitable export will be impossible; and camphor, because, whatever Japan's produce might become under careful husbanding, it tends at present, and has for many years tended, to diminish rather than increase." Silk is being injured by the competition of the newly established flatures and originally better product of China. Whatever expectations might be based on

the coal exports must be modified as the demand of the domestic factories grows, and the seams are neither large nor widely distributed. The same condition applies to copper. It would seem that Japan aims to be a great manufacturing nation, possibly drawing the raw material from China.

While the statement recently made that the cable connection between Denmark and Iceland had been determined on is not true, there is reason to believe that the consummation is not far distant. The Great Northern Telegraph Company of Copenhagen is willing to undertake the enterprise in case at least fourteen meteorological institutes in Europe and America agree to subscribe for daily weather reports. As the advantages to be gained by such information are very great, and the charges will be put at the lowest possible figure, there should be no difficulty in reaching a satisfactory agreement. The proposed cable will pass over the Faroe Islands, from which reports will also be received. It is believed that the plan will specially commend itself to countries engaged in the Icelandic fisheries, which will be made much safer by this extension of weather observations.

According to the *Berlingske Tidende* of Copenhagen, a new hospital for the use of French fishermen was opened in April on the east coast of Iceland. During the past two years, medical and surgical aid has been given to the 5,000 French fishermen who spend the fishing season, from April to October, along this coast by two hospital ships, with a physician on each. Experience, however, proved that the incessant motion of the boats interfered with the comfort even of sailors when sick or disabled. These boats will be retained, but will hereafter be used only to bring patients from different points to the building on Faskrudsfjord. The whole enterprise is under the direction of the French Government, although the hospital attendants are Danish.

April was a propitious month for German women striving after the higher education. In the Empire, obstacles in the way of the admission of women to the examinations for physicians, dentists, and pharmacists were removed; in Prussia, the entrance conditions for female "hearers" in the universities were simplified; and at Hanover and Stuttgart two new *Mädchengymnasien* were opened. If we add to these the slap given by the university authorities at Halle to the youngsters who tried to shut their sisters out from the clinic, we have five distinct steps in advance in a single month. Who will say that Germany is not bestirring herself?

At the first conference of Latin teachers of Vermont and adjoining States, held at Middlebury College a year ago, under the auspices of the department of Latin, a Roman chorus was presented with marked success by the class in Horace. At the second conference, May 19 and 20, 1899, the crowning feature was a Roman drama, a presentation of certain scenes in the life of Cicero centring about the conspiracy of Catiline. As in the chorus, fidelity to fact was the prime consideration in every detail of costume, scenery, and stage appointments. The scenery, by Mr. Charles Witham of New York, was of exceptional beauty; the temple of Jupiter Stator, the Forum, and the house of Quintus Cicero being given especial praise. The cur-

tains closed on a chorus of youths and maidens singing in the Forum a hymn to Diana of Catullus. Prof. Myron R. Sanford of the Latin chair was the author of the drama, compiled largely from the texts of Cicero, Sallust, and Plutarch, ingeniously interwoven.

The ninth summer meeting of the Oxford University Extension will be held at Oxford from July 29 to August 23. Among those who have promised to take part in the meeting are Sir W. Anson, Bart.; Hon. George Brodrick, Lord Strathcona, Lord Farrer, Sir Alfred Lyall, Sir William Richmond, Canon Sanday, Professors Dicey, Jebb, York Powell, Sayce, Percy Gardner, Messrs. Arthur Sidgwick, Frederick Myers, Geoffrey Drage, M.P., Churton Collins, Estlin Carpenter, and many others. There will be lectures on the history, literature, art, science, and economics of the period 1837-1871. An outline of the programme may be had gratis of Mr. John Nolen, No. 111 South Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia; tickets and all information from J. A. R. Marriott, M.A., University of Oxford.

The Chautauqua Assembly announcements for 1899 include a number of courses in literature. Among the most notable is that to be given by Mr. Walter H. Page, editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, whose five lectures will deal with "The Practical Aspects of Literature."

The Harvard Summer School of Theology will hold its first session from July 5 to July 21, at Cambridge, Mass., offering courses in the Old Testament, church history, and theology, with occasional evening lectures of a more general character, *e. g.*, "Dürer's Biblical Illustrations," by Prof. Francke; "The Anti-Slavery Preachers," by the Rev. J. W. Chadwick; "The Abbey of Cluny," by Prof. Norton, etc. Both sexes may attend. Inquiries may be addressed to the Rev. Robert S. Morison, at the Divinity Library.

The Marine Biological Laboratory will hold its twelfth session at Wood's Holl, Mass., beginning June 1, and the announcements show that it will be of more than usual interest and importance. Besides the courses hitherto offered, others will be given this year on cytology, physiology, and psychology. The extent of the work now carried on may be inferred from the fact that there are thirty names on the list of officers of instruction, and fifty-four on the list of lecturers. Among them are the names of two women, Prof. Clapp of Mt. Holyoke College and Prof. Cummings of Wellesley. The evening lectures on matters of general biological interest are a marked feature of interest, and the annual volume which is made up out of them presents the recent trend of biological opinion in a form as fascinating as it is accessible.

The Twelfth International Congress of Orientalists will meet at Rome on October 12, 1899. Cards of membership (\$4) may be obtained from Mr. Cyrus Adler, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

A committee has been formed for the purpose of presenting Dr. Richard Garnett with his portrait upon his retirement from the post of Keeper of Printed Books at the British Museum. During the forty-eight years that he has held office at the Museum he has won the regard of thousands of students by his unfailing courtesy and devotion to their interests. At the same time he has made a wide reputation as a man of letters,

and has taken an active part in promoting the efficiency of public libraries throughout the country. All who are acquainted with him and his varied work, will, it is believed, welcome an opportunity of giving some practical expression of the esteem in which they hold him. Subscriptions will be received by the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. A. H. Huth, Bolney House, Ennismore Gardens, London, S. W., or by Mr. W. C. Lane, Librarian of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. The committee desire to learn as early as possible what subscriptions they may depend upon, in order that they may be able to give a commission for the portrait without delay. The amounts subscribed will not be published, but a list of the names of the subscribers will be presented to Dr. Garnett.

The death of Eduard von Simson on May 2 at Berlin removes another of the men who took a leading part in the Revolution of 1848 and in the subsequent political evolution and consolidation of Germany. Simson was born November 10, 1810, at Königsberg, studied law and political economy, and habilitated as privat docent in 1831 in the university of his native city. Three years later he was appointed to the position of judge in the royal tribunals of Prussia, and gave up his academical career. His political activity began in 1848, when he was sent as a delegate to the Frankfort Parliament, of which he was soon chosen president. Indeed, it is a conclusive proof of his eminent ability in this direction that he always became the presiding officer of the several legislative bodies to which he belonged, such as the Prussian House of Deputies, the Parliament of the North-German Bund, and the Imperial Diet. He was the head of the deputation which offered the imperial crown to Friedrich Wilhelm IV. at Berlin, in 1849, as well as of the deputation which made the same offer with better success to Wilhelm I. at Versailles in 1870. He presided over the German Imperial Diet till 1874, when he declined a reelection on the ground of ill health. He withdrew entirely from public life in 1891, when an hereditary order of nobility was conferred upon him by the Emperor Friedrich III.

—Perhaps the most interesting pages of the last number of the *Psychological Review* are those which fall under the head of discussions. Prof. Hyslop deals some keen blows at Prof. Münsterberg's recent utterances on the subject of psychical research; for a man who is himself so devoted an "idealist" as to believe that as subjects of will we are immortal—that, to the philosophical mind, which sees the difference between reality and psychological transformation, immortality is certain, the denial of immortality is even meaningless—it would seem as if that form of the non-materialistic which is embodied in the phenomena of mysticism would also have its attractions. But Prof. Münsterberg will have nothing of it. As Prof. Hyslop points out, the wonderful triumphs of invention and discovery in the field of science have destroyed the ordinary criteria of the limits of human knowledge, and have deprived us of our moorings, so that we are rapidly coming to think that hardly anything is impossible. Mr. Hiram M. Stanley discusses Mr. Marshall's theory of religion. Mr. Kirkpatrick brings out an interesting instance in support of his thesis that voluntary action arises not so much out of chance impulsive action which is seen to be efficacious, as upon the actual physiological de-

velopment of the cells in which it has its seat. Mr. Judd advances our comprehension of certain geometrical illusions by pointing out that the eye has a tendency to follow lines, that distances seem shorter when the eye is thus allured in a certain direction, and that the over-estimation of acute angles and the under-estimation of obtuse angles is a case of actual triangulation which is exposed to error from this allurements of the eye.

—Under the title, 'Völkerpsychologisches in der Philippinenfrage,' Ferdinand Blumentritt, in the *Deutsche Rundschau* for May, throws a welcome ray of light on the real significance of the desperation with which the Filipinos are resisting a professedly benevolent conquest. The Malays of these islands, says this eminent authority, are very intelligent, and bear a striking resemblance to the Japanese. So eager for education are they that their percentage of illiterates is two-fifths that of Spain. Not only this, but they have artistic capabilities of no mean order—witness the gold and silver-smiths and wood-carvers of Manila, and the distinguished performances of such painters as F. Resurreccion Hidalgo and Don Juan Luna (a pure Ilocano), brother of the insurgent general, whose picture "Spoliarium" was crowned in Paris, and who decorated the Hall of the Spanish Senate in Madrid. In engineering, too, natural science, and literature they have gained distinction. General Luna himself was a pupil of Pasteur, and, under the pseudonym "Taga-ilog," has published stories and sketches of European life which, from their subtle irony and deftness of workmanship, deserve comparison with the work of Maupassant. In Manila the professions of law and medicine are crowded with natives.

—Under the Spanish rule, such men, however able or cultivated, felt the sting of the contempt of their rulers, whose cruel mockery sometimes denominated them "Anthropoids." No high political career was open to them. Their resentment at this assumption of white superiority deepened as travel and reading dispelled their illusions and disclosed the reverse side of the boasted white civilization. They learned, too, that wherever white men are in control, a dark skin is an insuperable barrier to equality of rights and opportunities. Consequently, however alluring the promises of American control, these leaders and their educated followers are resisting it with heroic desperation. It is not only a political control which they repel, but also the hopeless lot of the "inferior race," a maddening prospect for men of culture and ambition. In brief, the fact is, as Blumentritt says in conclusion, "dass die Herrschaft des amerikanischen Angelsachsen, der schon die Creolen als eine Art Nigger betrachtet, von den gebildeten Philippinen aller Kasten als eine *capitis deminutio maxima* angesehen werden würde." The tragic pathos of this situation must appeal to every humane American whose eyes have not been dazzled by the imperialistic vision, and who realizes the pitiful condition of the educated colored man in our own country.

—The first translation of Miss Austen's 'Northanger Abbey' into French dates from 1824; M. Félix Fénelon now supplies another under the auspices of the *Revue Blanche* Publishing Company. English readers who remember the purpose of this novel and the conditions of English sensational fiction

against which it was directed in a spirit of gentle, and essentially feminine, satire, may doubt whether either of the translators fully perceived the feline *coups de patte* thus aimed by Jane Austen at more than one of her rivals, living or dead. In any case, the effect of the work in French is singular, almost disconcerting; for ironical satire, in whatever shape, is one of the least readily transferable—and consequently translatable—of literary forms; the less so when presented in definite pictures of social conditions foreign to the translator's country. Nevertheless, M. Fénelon, while taking but few liberties with the text, has produced a translation that is French in expression, if in nothing else. As might have been expected, certain peculiarities in Jane Austen's diction, admitting of no adequate reproduction, are entirely missed. In chapter xi. we read that Catherine Morland "meditated by turns on broken promises and broken arches, phaetons and false hangings, Tilneys and trap-doors." Here the translator, not content with evading the difficulty of humorous antithesis conveyed in the alliteration, offers a substitute both tame and inexact: "Elle pensait tour à tour à des promesses rompues et à des voûtes croulantes, à des phaetons et de mystérieux huis, aux Tilney et à des oubliettes." When Henry Tilney sarcastically banter Catherine (ch. xiv.) on her use of the word "nice" (then considered as slang), it will hardly be maintained that "joli" meets the situation. But slips of this nature are rare in M. Fénelon's version. So well equipped a translator might wisely turn his attention to the more carefully elaborated pictures of English life in its peaceful days, which give to Jane Austen her undisputed place in English fiction. We venture, however, charily to note that in 'Northanger Abbey' we have on this occasion detected what resembles the inaccuracy which, as a biographer tells us, long vexed the soul of the late James Spedding. Emma, it seems, ate *strawberries* in Mr. Knightley's garden "under apple-trees in blossom," and the editor of the "Institution Magna" relaxed his philosophical toil in truly Baconian quest of the possibility of such coincidence. But, in Jane Austen's novels, seasons are not forced by fruits alone, since Eleanor Tilney is reported to have been seen promenading the Bath Crescent, at the end of February, "in a very pretty spotted muslin."

—Prof. Alberto Magnaghi, in 1897, brought to the notice of readers of the *Rivista Geografica Italiana* an interesting map of the European world drawn in 1530 by Angelinus de Dalorto. This map has now been issued in an admirably legible photostriographic reproduction, through the generosity of its owner, Prince Tommaso Corsini of Florence, who presented it to the Third Italian Geographical Congress as an offering to the memory of Toscanelli and Vespucci. The facsimile is accompanied by a thoroughly adequate study—a model of what a cartographic essay should be—by Prof. Magnaghi. Further examination of the inscription on the original parchment map has shown that the date should be 1525, and that the author's name should apparently be read Dalorto. The latter correction is especially interesting, in that it seems to connect the cartographer with the Genoese family of Dall'Orto or Dalorto, several of whose members took a prominent part in the establishment of Italian commercial colonies in the East, especially at Caffa. The map itself is of the

utmost value for the study of geographical history, because it is one of the very earliest which represent a serious effort to record the actual facts as far as they were known at the centre of the mediæval world. Surprisingly few of the fantasies of the earlier cartographers appear on this map, and those which Dalorto retained serve only to emphasize the absence of more exact information. Beyond the familiar borders of the Mediterranean countries, which are very accurately laid down, the limits of the commercial trade routes can be easily traced by the relative correctness of the seacoasts and river courses. In connection with this last, it is worth noting that Dalorto's map is, perhaps, the earliest real attempt to represent the facts regarding the configuration of the interior of the various countries with the same truthfulness which the necessities of navigation had some time before demanded of cartographers in the drawing of coast lines. The information derived from the rapidly extending intercourse with the regions beyond the Straits of Dover is visibly represented here, also for the first time, perhaps, so far as can be learned from the surviving maps. The Low Countries are, of course, shown with much fulness of detail in names, etc., and the coast seems to have been well known as far as Denmark. Beyond that point, the second-hand reports of returning traders and shipmasters apparently gave Dalorto some trouble, but he succeeded fairly well in harmonizing the doubtless conflicting and disproportionate accounts of Scandinavia and the Baltic gulfs. Ireland was much better known than its larger neighbor, for even the accessible English coasts opposite Picardy and Normandy are not as thickly studded with names as the Irish coast from Belfast to Cork, and even around to Galway. Scotland, Norway, and Iceland were not to be really known until the Continental fish markets demanded supplies from the farther north.

HALE'S LOWELL.

James Russell Lowell and his Friends. By Edward Everett Hale. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1899.

The agreeable personal qualities of Dr. Hale, his easy and familiar style, and his abundant opportunities of acquaintance with Lowell's personal circle, will secure many readers for this well-printed and well-illustrated book. On the other hand, its colloquial air will repel some readers, whose further confidence in its methods will scarcely be secured by the occasional intimation that it was partly written at railway stations (p. 63), or while actually travelling in the cars (p. 61). As a whole, it presents a combination of qualities readily recalling to memory the biographical work of the late James Parton, whose popularity in this respect was immense but rather short-lived. He, like Dr. Hale, was always readable, was ardent and indiscriminating in loyalty to his friends, and sharply criticised his opponents; but it could be said of neither of them, as was said of Edward Everett by Emerson, that "for a man who threw out so many facts he was seldom convicted of a blunder" (p. 69). The mere comparison of this book with its successive chapters as they were published in the *Outlook* will show how much it has already gained by revision; and future editions will be likely to gain yet more. It may, of course, be urged on

the other side that the author writes mainly to express his own feeling about Lowell himself; yet so far as "his friends" were concerned, the range filled is a very large one, and includes a good many collateral disquisitions, sometimes leading on quite insecure ground.

It is a curious survival of youthful training that Dr. Hale, who can never quite forget the early traditions of the *Daily Advertiser*, must have his hit, even in writing of Lowell, against the early abolitionists. He says (p. 51) that Lowell's class poem had a "bitter invective against abolitionists who talked and did nothing," whereas Lowell did not at all object to them for doing nothing, since the time had not yet come when they could do anything but talk. Afterwards Dr. Hale says of Dr. Palfrey's emancipation of his slaves: "He had opposed the 'abolitionists' with all his might, with pen and with voice. But he knew how to do the duty next his hand better than some men who had talked more about theirs" (p. 60). This doing of his duty consisted in emancipating slaves which he had inherited; and inasmuch as most of the abolitionists had never inherited any, it is difficult to see how they could have set them free. All this suggests not the Dr. Hale who worked for liberty in Kansas, but rather him who once described George Thompson and Harriet Martineau as "foreign carpet-baggers," because, after coming to America, they ventured to speak their minds about the institution of slavery.

It must always be remembered, however, in justice to Dr. Hale, that it is a part of his free-and-easy method to satirize himself and his own particular friends as impulsive as he does everything else. Thus, in this volume he jeers at "namby-pamby philanthropists attendant on international conventions" (p. 251), while himself laboring to organize universal peace; and he ridicules "the madness . . . which forms a 'society' to do the work of an individual" (p. 57), as if he himself had not established more such societies than any man now living. One who spares himself so little cannot be expected to spare other reformers a great deal.

There could hardly be a more curious instance of Dr. Hale's untrustworthy way of treating historical facts than his delineation of the alleged revival of Boston bookselling by Phillips & Sampson "about the year 1843." As he says: "All of a sudden, as a wave of water might sweep over a thick, rotten ice-floe in one of Nansen's summers, a marvellous inundation swept over this decorous imbecility [of the publishers]. That is to say, two young men formed a 'publishing firm'" (p. 153). He then proceeds to tell you what enormous results these young men were accomplishing in 1852, and does not tell you that in that very year John P. Jewett & Co. were issuing 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' in Boston, of which they sold in five years nearly half a million copies—a sale such as Phillips & Sampson had never dreamed of. Moreover, he gives the full account of the launch of the *Atlantic Monthly* by Phillips & Sampson in 1857 without the slightest reference to the fact that the magazine was fully planned four years before, and its contributors engaged, by Mr. F. H. Underwood in concurrence with Jewett & Co. It was postponed, not because the Jewett house was too inert, but because it was too enterprising, having been tempted into too

many risks by its own success. Undoubtedly Phillips & Sampson saved the project from destruction, although they also handed it over in a few years to still another house. But the fact that eight pages of Dr. Hale's book are devoted to the laudation of Phillips & Sampson, as the projectors of the *Atlantic*, while the name of Jewett does not appear at all, and Mr. Underwood appears only once as "our literary man," is a curious illustration of the uncertainty of fame.

A few minor errors may be pointed out. Dr. Holmes has certainly not described in print (p. 13) the school of Mr. Wells, where Lowell was fitted for college, as the school was not established till 1837, when Holmes was half-way through his Harvard course. The school which Holmes described was a more juvenile one, at Cambridgeport, which he and Margaret Fuller attended. Mr. Wells was not chiefly known by his edition of Tacitus (p. 13), but by his more elaborate edition of Cicero in twenty volumes. The Harvard College Library did not consist of "about 50,000 volumes" in Lowell's time (p. 16), but, as stated by the College Catalogue in Lowell's senior year, of 38,000. Of the "Brothers and Sisters," White, as well as Story and Lowell, had been at Mr. Wells's school (p. 70). Dr. Hale says (p. 180) that Lowell "had five young relatives who died in the service" during the civil war, whereas Lowell himself, in the privately printed edition of his "Commemoration Ode" (p. 7), mentions eight. To say that there was no exaggeration in the dialect of the 'Big-low Papers' (p. 98) is what Lowell himself would not have ventured, since he reproached himself with having begun with too much misspelling (Letters, I. 119). The definition of a proper lecture-fee—"F.A.M.E.—Fifty And My Expenses"—has been more commonly attributed to Dr. Chapin than to Starr King (p. 107). President Sparks can hardly be included among the representatives of larger views at Harvard, inasmuch as it was he who secured the abolition of the temporary elective system established in 1839-'40 (p. 129). Nathaniel P. Rogers was not the first editor of the *Anti-slavery Standard* (pp. 173, 174), nor did he ever edit it. He declined the editorship and was simply an editorial contributor. It is quite impossible to imagine Mr. Lowell as writing, "I used to know some about Pennsylvania Dutch," unless in reference to some antecedent here omitted (p. 272). It would have inspired in him the same emotions created by "I don't know us," so vividly recorded by him in one of his letters.

In conclusion, it may be said that the main merit of this work consists in its being a loving picture of Lowell in early life, viewed as he appeared to a man a few years younger, and encircled by that halo with which youth endows its elder brother's friends. The great demerit of the book is in the utter absence of all real delineation of the extremely composite and interesting man that the actual Lowell was. There are rarely two men less alike than Lowell and Longfellow, and yet most of what Dr. Hale says of the one's character would be equally applicable to the other, and sometimes much more so. When he says (p. 5), "If to this loving-kindness you add an extraordinary self-control, you have the leading characteristics of his nature as it appears to those who knew him earliest and best," you have an excellent characterization of Longfellow, but no portraiture at all of the variable and

impetuous Lowell, "the incurable child" (p. 263)—the man who would walk the streets with tears in his eyes because the people he met did not love him, and then go home to impale Percival or Thoreau on the point of his pen. This child of a Puritan father and a Norse mother, in Dr. Hale's phrase, had a mingling of qualities of which the least visible of all was "an extraordinary self-control." Again, there is hardly a more characteristic contradiction in this book than where the author says of his subject (p. 274), "To the very end of his life, his conversation and his daily walk, indeed, were swayed by the extreme tenderness for the feelings of others which his sister noticed when he was a little boy. He would not give pain if he could help it." Then follows, on the opposite page, a description of the "fun" of a dinner party at which Lowell "tortured" a young man for pronouncing the word "clerk" in the English way as if it rhymed with "lark." "Lowell just pounced upon him as an eagle might pounce upon a lark, to ask why he did so" (p. 275); regarding it as an English affectation. And yet this youth's only offence appears to have been in pronouncing the word precisely as some of Lowell's own classmates did, who had been very little in England; as, for instance, the late Judge Devens, who, as Attorney-General to President Hayes, was largely influential in sending Lowell himself to London. The man who "would take pleasure in snubbing" (p. 275) could hardly have been the man who "would not give pain if he could help it." The two qualities of temperament were easily combined in the actual Lowell, who was, as he once said of himself, "curiously compounded of two utterly distinct characters"; but they are not reconcilable in the man of calm and inexorable self-control whom Dr. Hale proclaims to us. On the whole, the actual Lowell was the more interesting, since, in the wise Goethe's phrase, it is a man's inconsistencies which are apt to make him attractive.

MORE FICTION.

Roden's Corner. By Henry Seton Merriman. Harpers.

"If I Were a Man": The Story of a New-Southerner. By Harrison Robertson. Charles Scribner's Sons.

The Conjure Woman. By Charles W. Chesnut. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The Gospel Writ in Steel: A Story of the American Civil War. By Arthur Paterson. D. Appleton & Co.

The Stolen Story, and Other Newspaper Stories. By Jesse Lynch Williams. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1899. Pp. 291.

The Short-Line War. By Merwin Webster. Macmillan Co.

Men's Tragedies. By R. V. Rialley. Macmillan Co.

Nothing is safer or apparently more profitable than to satirise Society; the sharpest barbs seem only to excite an agreeable titillation in that thick-skinned animal. Mr. Merriman's cleverness, although directed against what might be conceded a vulnerable spot, will win him no enemies. When Society dabbles in Charity, and both wear capitals, the result is fair game for anybody. Roden's Corner was in Malmagite, a product which comes to have a convincing reality for the reader, and the book itself is

a pleasantly pungent setting forth of what might happen in industrial circles if philanthropy were to lay a blundering finger on the delicately poised scales of supply and demand. But philanthropy, as practised by Lord Ferriby, is already outdated—its flabbiness cowers before sociology, severe and scientific; and while Joan, with her Nuxine tabloids of disinfectant, of which it was fashionable in her world to smell, her Nuxine dentifrice and Nuxine cigar-holder for the sanitation of her lover, might claim a place under either régime, Lord Ferriby might as fairly be said to represent neither. The Hooley revelations have evidently complicated his character. A curious variant is effected by the manner of his taking off—dropping dead at the moment of his exposure—a climax for which the easy composure of his hypocrisy has not at all prepared one. The same inconsequence is exhibited in the career of the heavy villain, Von Holzen. This patient plotter of a lifetime, the beguiler of others to their undoing without criminally complicating himself, suddenly takes to the crudest stabblings and smotherings. Flesh-and-blood realities are not, however, to be looked for in the book; the manipulation is too evident. The puppets are taken to pieces, explained and commented on by the showman himself, who utters in his own person most of the good things. One is persistently interested in the showman—one does not tire of his neat strokes; but such an atmosphere is fatal to illusion.

"If I were a man," was the challenge flung by a girl to the lover she was not ready to wed. It roused him from inglorious ease and sent him into political life. Then follows the struggle of the man against the machine, the individual thinker against the party boss. The fearful power of these two engines of oppression is well brought out in the story of the Senatorial contest, a fierce effort to make Spurlock cast his vote for the unprincipled party candidate and so break the legislative deadlock. It is a situation of genuine heroism, for which, it is well to remind ourselves, modern civic life affords opportunities. As a study in practical politics, written with abundant dash and revealing shrewd insight into conditions which prevail, not in Kentucky alone, the book is good to read. There is nothing rosily optimistic in it all. Spurlock loses his office, loses his fortune in an attempt to found an independent newspaper, and the cause he champions goes down with a crash. But the note of despair is never struck; at the end the hero is full of fight, and one is left with the feeling that if, either in the New South or the New North, such ideals obtain, the republic will be justified of her children.

The half-dozen tales of Aun' Peggy, the "cunjuh 'oman," told by an old plantation dandy, are delightfully frank in their supernaturalism and lose in effectiveness only by the deep policy imputed to their relater. That the marvellous tale of the goophered grape-vine was concocted by Uncle Julius only to secure his own enjoyment of the vineyard, is a discovery which calls his own credulity in question. The thrill of the "Gray Wolf's Haunt" evaporates on finding the legend to be but the guardian of Uncle Julius's bee-tree. But in the current of the stories one has no thought of such a rude jar against the actual. The conjure woman "wuks" her roots, and Po' Sandy becomes a tree, Primus turns into a white mule, and

Hot Foot Hannibal, by the agency of a doll-baby with red-pepper feet, is brought low. Uncle Julius's scepticism cannot rob one of the belief that this was the real religion of the old plantation; the goopher "mixtry," not the overseer's lash, the dreaded power.

Were it not for the frankness of the subtitle, it would seem almost indiscreet in the reviewer to reveal the fact that the 'Gospel Writ in Steel' harks back to the remote period of the civil war, so exactly does the title indicate a description of present military undertakings. The book is, in fact, a reversion to a type popular in the early seventies. Less apropos at the present time is the relation, among other improbabilities, of a horrid Confederate plot to blow up three hundred Yankee prisoners in the event of Sherman's attempt to rescue them. The Wisconsin hero, after surprising exploits, receives his reward in this world (truly a comfortable gospel), and Lincoln tells a story or two, without which no book of the sort would be complete; but there is little to reconcile one to the spilling of a title for the Filipino novelist.

Young men with an ambition to enter life through the doorway of a newspaper office will do well to read Mr. Williams's little volume of newspaper stories. While the author treats his subject sympathetically, as becomes an ex-reporter, and is apparently ready to accept unreservedly the current opinion of our enterprising journals as to what constitutes "legitimate news," he is too conscientious a workman to paint his unlovely pictures in any but their true colors. "Billy" Woods, the hero of the two principal stories in the volume, represents the consummation of most newspaper virtues. Drunkenness is his one failing, and when this unfortunate weakness prevents him from publishing information which he has wheedled out of an ingenuous girl at the cost of a series of lies, in order to ruin her father's business standing and make good "copy" for his own paper, the moral of it all is that drink is an evil which interferes dreadfully with one's duties; which, is, of course, quite true.

Not that Mr. Williams is a supporter of yellow journalism. He would bar the prurient as well as the prudish from the columns of an ideal American paper, but he would by no means disappoint the pleasant curiosity of the public by respecting the claim of a few private persons to the exclusive possession of private news. Mr. Williams sets forth the reporter as he is, friendly, versatile, proud of his paper, and of himself as its representative, entirely unscrupulous, with space-rates and a *beat* as the summit of his ambition. His life is a hard one, and he grows old in middle age. His ambition weakens and his health declines. Even murder assignments cannot keep him young.

As a story, the tale which gives its name to the volume is by far the best in the collection. The absent-mindedness of a veteran reporter is made the basis of a rather unlikely incident, but the story becomes plausible as Mr. Williams surrounds it with realistic detail, and one follows the adventure to the end with lively interest. But, unfortunately, among the stories that follow are several so slight as to suggest the padding in a Monday morning's paper that has slipped by a city editor careless of space bills. The background of the stories—newspaperdom—is given with capital effect, which is heightened by the alert, reporter-like style of the descriptions. Mr. Williams evidently thinks

the office of a daily paper a great training-school for life; but his measure for life is the unit of quantity.

Mr. Merwin-Webster founds a romance upon the fight for the possession of a branch road connecting two great trunk lines. The opposing forces leave nothing untried to win their ends. They first use strategy, then bribery, then violence, and the difficulty culminates in a pitched battle. There is a good story here, but unfortunately the author does not perceive that the real possibilities of his subject lie in fitting his romance squarely within its realistic frame. The middle of the volume is not past before he transgresses all legitimate bounds, and dashes off on a windy career straight towards the impossible. One other error he makes. Anxious not to frighten the reader by unmitigated "business," he makes a frank concession to the conventional taste of the public, and drags in a love episode, which graces the story as naturally as the pretty heroine might her father's railroad office. Mr. Merwin-Webster is familiar with the details of railroading, and his brisk style catches the attention and holds it. His romance will shorten a journey or a dull evening, but it scarcely deserves a permanent place on the bookshelf.

Under the rather lurid title of 'Men's Tragedies' are grouped nine "fictional essays," as the author chooses to call them. Cast in the mould of short stories, their real aim is to delineate men at moments of intensest excitement. In order to make the plot subordinate to the intellectual character of the story, the tragedies all bear a certain external resemblance. Their heroes are all Germans, as befits their psychological tendencies. They are generally men of mature age, and to each comes the particular catastrophe most sure to break the barriers of his moral being and unloose his wildest passions. Of their nature, these stories are quite divorced from life. They are psychological orgies in which the author revels in the dissection of brutal emotion. Man is not as you see him, he would argue; he must be hurt, wronged, stung where the soul is most sensitive, then you shall know him. The years that have gone before count for nothing; the moment of despair for everything. In that instant all that was hid is brought to light—the man is as he is. If this thesis be true, these neurotic tragedies do not help one to believe it. One is everywhere sensible of the author's hypothesis, and the surcharged emotion of description leaves one cold. The passion is not human, but the calculated effect of what is meant to be art. This struggle for effect is never absent; it is manifest in the repetition of selected phrases, the frequent tableaux, the measured pause before each climax. The tragedies are terrible, yet they do not terrify.

CESARESCO'S CAVOUR.

Cavour. By the Countess Evelyn Martinengo Cesareco. [Foreign Statesmen Series.] Macmillan. Pp. 222.

Countess Cesareco's sketch is extraordinarily good. Into 220 not large pages she has distilled the essence of all that has been printed about Cavour. The reader who comes to her epitome without previous acquaintance with the subject, will find in it a lucid and unfailingly interesting story of a statesman

whose achievements do not grow dim through the lapse of years; other readers will wonder, in proportion as they are familiar with the field, how the author could pack so much in so small a space. She is the first person to write in English the biography of the man whose genius and personality will fill, along with those of Lincoln and Bismarck, the political annals of the last half of our century.

Although Cavour still lacks an exhaustive biography, his life has already been the subject of several important short works. Nothing better of its kind could be desired than the personal recollections, a fine blending of character analysis and reminiscence, which his friend William de La Rive published in 1862. Fifteen years later Masade, one of the acutest French political writers of his generation, made a study of Cavour that cannot soon be outworn. A little earlier, Treitschke issued his monograph, which has been much overpraised; for Treitschke could not refrain from using Cavour's career as a text from which to preach how much better Prussians do everything than any one else does anything. Mammi's biography, the standard in Italian, is rather commonplace, but it possesses the value which attaches to the opinions and reminiscences of a participant in many of the events he describes. More important than all these put together is the substance of the introductions with which Senator Chiala prefaced the six volumes of Cavour's letters edited by him. That work will remain a thesaurus of information to which students will go back, as to the fountain-head, so long as Cavour and the unification of Italy are remembered; but the salutary plan on which those introductions were written—four volumes being added to the original two, as new material turned up—leaves them without that artistic symmetry which every biography should possess.

Countess Cesareco's epitome sums up, as we have said, all this material, in a small volume in which form and substance are alike excellent. Her previous books, 'Italian Characters' and 'The Liberation of Italy,' had many merits, but they did not reveal that power to grasp and describe a whole period which is here so remarkable. Nor is this power sufficient alone to insure success. No one can doubt that the late E. A. Freeman had mastered the Norman Conquest, yet when he came to write the Life of William the Conqueror on a small scale, he produced one of the most unreadable books by an historian of ability which we have ever struggled with. For Countess Cesareco, condensation does not mean dedication. She has the gift of making the personages she describes living realities; without it, erudition may petrify, but cannot vitalize. From first to last, she never allows you to feel that you are dealing with abstractions, principles, theories, instead of with human beings. Her dramatic personae have flesh and blood, reason, volition, passions, and are not—as is so often the case in modern scientific histories—mere corks or pickered-weed to be floated hither and yon by the stream of tendency. Of Cavour himself she gives a full-length portrait in miniature, but it is in her rapid sketches of secondary personages that she shows her capacity for catching a likeness in a few lines. Take Massimo d'Azeglio, for instance; he actually appears on the scene very seldom, but his essential traits have been so vividly defined from the first, that his probable conduct throughout the

course of the drama is foreshadowed. Countess Cesareco's interpretation of more puzzling characters is worthy of attention. Thus, she explains Napoleon III.'s fast-and-loose policy, not on the assumption that he was deep and astute, but that he was fundamentally irresolute, an ignoble Hamlet; thereby reducing him to a common level, from the bad preeminence of a first-class villain to which Kingslake and others have raised him.

In no part of her treatment of personalities is she more skilful than when she deals with the relations of Cavour and Victor Emmanuel. To imagine that the monarch was a mere figurehead, is wholly to misunderstand the share which Victor Emmanuel took in redeeming Italy. He felt himself every inch a king, and never consented to be merely a silent partner in the great enterprise which his minister directed. More than once, notably after Solferino, his rugged common sense prevented Cavour's outburst of fury from damaging the cause they were both working for. No doubt it galled so haughty a king even to seem to be under the tutelage of a minister who never played the courtier; but Victor Emmanuel regarded this as a sacrifice required of his patriotism. The magnitude of that sacrifice can be measured only when the facts hinted at by Countess Cesareco on p. 125 are understood. About 1857, the King seemed determined to marry his mistress, Rosina Vercellani. Cavour, believing that such a marriage at that juncture would be not only a public scandal in Italy, but also the cause of alienating foreign goodwill, especially that of England, determined at all hazards to prevent it. Accordingly, he employed detectives to convince Victor Emmanuel that the woman was not faithful to him. The King raged, and swore that were he not King he would challenge Cavour to a duel; there was a ministerial crisis, but Cavour remained in the premiership, and Victor Emmanuel did not marry Rosina until seven years after Cavour's death. A king less patriotic would never have suffered the minister to remain who had dared so personal an affront against him.

Countess Cesareco has given throughout what we believe to be the true description of Cavour's position with the King—a sufficient test of her insight into character. What is, perhaps, a higher achievement, she neither extenuates nor moralizes. As every one knows, there were passages in Cavour's diplomacy which can be defended only when we admit that the end justifies the means. Great as is her admiration for her hero, she wisely refrains from pronouncing the best course both public and private, the aim of the testis frame its own way. Every American the British red and Bunker Hill of their liberty; United States as liberty ten million bought without apices by the F review our opinion our ancestors. sible with praise historian's prude Cesareco does :

such debatable matters as Cavour's coalition with Rattazzi, or his invasion of the Marches in 1860, or his disingenuous overtures to Francis II. of Naples. She states each position clearly, hints at the dilemma involved, and passes on.

One does not expect novel disclosures in so brief a work; nevertheless, we could point out much that appears here for the first time—at least, in English; but the real originality of the book lies in the excellence with which it presents all the material at hand. We must not omit to say, however, that although Countess Cesaresco writes from the standpoint of the Cavourians, who represented the resultant of the antagonistic forces that were working to control Italy, she has too hearty a sympathy for Garibaldi and many of the Republicans to be narrowly partisan. Her candid account of Cavour's relations with the Church might be read without irritation in the Vatican; and she certainly expresses an intelligent admiration for Mazzini. Napoleon III.'s admirers, if any still survive, might complain that she does him scant justice, but do not the facts warrant her conclusions? Palmerston, on the other hand, she draws in his ideal rôle of antagonist of Continental despots. In certain respects, her running exposition of the influence of English party politics on Italy's struggle for independence is among her most valuable contributions. More than once, we judge from internal evidence, she has had access to the private records of Sir James Hudson, the British Minister at Turin, than whom no other Englishman was more trusted by or helpful to Cavour. Like her countrywomen, Jessie White Mario and Linda White Villari, Countess Cesaresco has been placed in an exceptionally favorable position for interpreting Italian affairs in terms easily understood by English readers; and this fact explains why her opinions on the relations of the two countries have unusual weight.

At a few points only have we had cause to question, not her accuracy, but her emphasis. Would a stranger get from her account of Cavour's "apprenticeship" an adequate idea of his wonderful versatility? By the time he entered public life he had been an agriculturist on a large scale, a manufacturer, a banker—in other words, he had had practical training which made him invulnerable when he came to discuss finances in Parliament. But this was not all. He passed from months of seclusion among his Leri rice-fields to the salons and clubs of Paris, mixing in turn with equal ease with the literary, the political, the fashionable, and the fast sets; drawing from each that knowledge of human nature and of individuals which he afterwards applied for the redemption of Italy. We doubt whether his love affair had quite as much influence on his development as is implied in Countess Cesaresco's statement, "It found him in despair, and it left him self-reliant and matured." His infatuation for the Incognita seems to have culminated before their reunion at Turin. Cavour, by the way, was "exiled" to the fortress of Bard six weeks before Charles Albert came to the throne, a fact which should absolve the King from direct responsibility in an episode which Cavour looked back upon as odious.

Two other matters concerning Cavour's public acts may also be mentioned. First, the best evidence shows that he gave the Garibaldians more aid while fitting out their

Sicilian expedition than one might gather from Countess Cesaresco's report; and, secondly, she seems to underrate the risk to which Cavour's policy was constantly exposed through Mazzinian conspiracies. Cavour did not fail to appreciate Mazzini, but he recognized that Mazzini could not be tolerated if Italy was to be redeemed on a monarchical basis. The great agitator, from this standpoint, could do little good; he might do irremediable harm.

But to pursue such considerations further would give a false idea of the book, which is neither controversial nor dull. Countess Cesaresco has *esprit*, a quality rarely found outside of France. In her language she is swift, terse, and direct; in her thought, clear and judicious. She has to tell the most romantic story which European politics in this century can furnish, and she tells it with the art of a born story-teller. She has made her biography what every biography ought to be—as readable as fiction. How rare a feat this is those will realize who have noted, not without misgiving, the tendency to set up the bulging theses of candidates for the degree of Ph.D. as the standard, in style and form, for historical composition. We count it an important thing that Cavour's biography should thus be set forth so that it may be widely read. This is a time of reaction, similar to that in which Europe was plunged after the fall of Napoleon. Germany and Bismarck have been the great reactionaries lately as Austria and Metternich were then. But Cavour stands out with Lincoln as the very incarnation of liberty—which was the ideal of the last generation—and the story of his genius and achievements cannot be too often told.

We regret that the publishers do not provide an index to the volumes of this series. Since foot-notes also are excluded, it would be well to insert in the text the dates of important events.

The Philippines, and Roundabout. By Capt. G. J. Younghusband. Macmillan.

This well-known English officer has a good deal to say on the burning question of the hour. In the opening chapters he sees to it that the islands are properly discovered and occupied by Spain; he speaks of their capture by the British, of their cession again to Spain, and then, with a jump to the present day, touches upon the revolt of '96 which brought Aguinaldo into sudden prominence. He puts the causes of the revolt down to (1) the habitual extortion practised by the Spanish officials, (2) excessive and unequal taxation, and (3) extortion and interference in the affairs of state by the priests. His short accounts of the systems of pocket-lining adopted by the Governor-Generals, and of the monstrous iniquity of the priests of the Philippines, embody facts now pretty familiar, but do not concern us so much as the later portions of the book, in which he speaks from actual experience rather than from information culled out of John Foreman's writings.

After Capt. Younghusband has helped us along through the attempts of the poorly fed Spanish troops, led by over-fed commanders, to put down the revolt, ending in failure, and the subsequent buying off of the rebels for \$800,000 by Primo de Rivera, who is supposed to have put an equal sum into his own pocket, we come to the battle of Manila Bay, the capture of Manila itself

by our land forces, and the setting up of a native government by Aguinaldo. At this point the reader is suddenly brought up with a turn on finding that the author has not yet reached the Philippines, but is doing his best to get there, in a breezy chapter which describes the voyage to Manila from Singapore via Iloilo. This seems to be the natural beginning of the book, and what has gone before a rather lengthy historical preface.

In a chapter on the Manila of to-day is a really clever description of this Eastern metropolis in the hands of our troops, most of whom had come to the tropics for the first time. Capt. Younghusband, being an Englishman, dwells on the lack of bathing facilities in Manila, and regards the "lick and a promise" method adopted by the Spaniards as a poor substitute for the "tub." He finds native hotels filthy, the drainage everywhere abominable, and native servants worse than useless. "American newspapers recently started," he adds, "have a very good service of foreign telegrams, and contain many useful and instructive articles on local and American topics." The advertisements in some of them are as remarkable as amusing. "Holy Gee!" exclaims one new organ, "200 new subscribers in one hour. Walk in, boys; beer ain't in it with newspapers." From which we are to judge that the present prosperity in the saloon business is the standard of success that all are striving after.

Coming to Aguinaldo, the author speaks of him as a man who has, "in the face of every disadvantage, and at the early age of twenty-nine, placed himself in the ranks of great and acknowledged leaders of popular risings which, when unsuccessful, are stigmatized as rebellions, but which, when successful, bear the honored name of revolutions." In discussing the capture of Manila he says that our troops were not such as would have been "fit" under the rapid conditions of modern warfare, to meet an army highly organized and highly trained and ready to take the initiative at a moment's notice. Of the 21,000 men . . . 18,000 were in training, tactical efficiency, and shooting power, . . . according to a European standard, raw or almost raw recruits." Speaking more personally, "the American soldier," says Capt. Younghusband, "as seen at Manila, must not be taken seriously. . . . They are men in most cases who have had no connection in the past with soldiering, and have no intention of having any future connection with the profession. . . . The greatest difficulty prevails in inducing these free lances to wear any clothes, . . . and nine-tenths of the men are to be seen . . . dining at hotels and restaurants in their shirt-sleeves"—truly, a most horrifying spectacle to the Britisher, who is as punctilious about his evening dress in the tropics as in the Arctic Circle. Physically, however, he says, "the American soldier as seen at Manila yields the palm to no one. . . . Taken all around, a more powerful and hardy set than are now to be found in a British line regiment."

The pathetic story of the Philippine hero Rizal, who was tried and shot for treason, is given at length in chapter xi., and right after it, in peculiar contrast, comes a discussion of the merits of the Manila cigar, which the author considers to be most excellent and worthy of all acceptance in this country. Perhaps the most noteworthy chapter is that which discusses the future of the Philippines.

France, Germany, Russia, and England, the author contends, are "the Powers most interested in the Eastern question. France is probably not so seriously interested, however, as the other three, and perhaps does not object to the entrance of America on the scene, except that, behind the veil of America's protectorate, lies an advantage to Great Britain. Capt. Younghusband believes Germany would have liked to annex the Philippines, but he thinks Russia was not interested, except in raising a mild protest against any such change of status as might directly or indirectly strengthen the British power in the East. Japan, he adds, is friendly to both England and America, and probably does not object to America's coming into the Pacific. "Army officers at the seat of war," continues our author, "appear to be almost unanimous in deprecating the annexation of the Philippines on military grounds, while the naval opinion seems to be in favor of it on the ground that increasing commerce in Eastern Asia needs the fostering influence which the display of power in any quarter is supposed to bring."

"It may perhaps . . . be prophesied that when the cold fit which will in due course follow the warmth of the present enthusiasm, falls on the nation, America will discover the true parting of the ways was not in the actual act of annexation, but in having allowed Admiral Dewey to do more than defeat the Spanish fleet and exact a heavy indemnity from the city before sailing away, thus leaving the Philippine problem for the Spaniards and their friends to solve. The new masters of the islands have, in fact, been faced by two separate and distinct problems, the one connected with the external bearings of annexation and the other with the internal. The former problem has . . . been settled, but the latter still faces the American authorities, and will require the most careful handling, bound up as it indissolubly is with the attitude of the Philippine Islanders towards the new masters of their territory. . . . To an observer on the spot it was apparent that not only were the authorities in the distance hardly alive to the complication which existed, but those in actual touch with them took . . . a very sanguine view of the situation."

In regard to the "rebellion," Capt. Younghusband believes that if Aguinaldo could somehow be disposed of, the rebel army would melt away and the opposition collapse. He believes Aguinaldo has his price, as he had once before, but doubts "whether the Americans will care to pay it." Concluding his chapter on the future of the Philippines, the author remarks that prophecies are dangerous, but he foresees that, if the accounts are called in within ten years, the experiment of taking the Philippines will in all probability be found to have been a very costly one. "Colonial enterprises," he adds, "often take generations and sometimes centuries to mature into valuable assets." If a reaction in popular feeling should occur, it would then be a question of disposing of the islands to the best advantage, and England might have seriously to consider whether it would be advisable for her to work to the acquirement by purchase or exchange of this eastern archipelago. Finally, Capt. Younghusband believes that the exercise of any other than a despotic or semi-despotic government in the Philippines would not be subservient to the general welfare of the people, and thinks we might take lessons from the Dutch in Java, however much the idea of forced labor and government monopolies would be repugnant to Americans.

The reader's interest in the book will probably and with the chapters on the Philippines,

although there is one on the French province of Saigon, and another on Java. There are seventeen illustrations and a map.

The Alcestis of Euripides. By Herman Wadsworth Hayley, Ph.D. Boston: Ginn & Co. 1898.

This is a very solid piece of work, and, in its way, a unique example of American scholarship. Prof. Earle's "Alcestis" contained much original labor and many valuable suggestions; but Dr. Hayley's is the first mainly critical edition of a Greek play that has appeared in this country. The reason of this is obvious enough: critical editions must be finally based on manuscripts, and we have few if any important manuscripts of the classics in our libraries. Nor is it likely that we shall acquire any except scraps from the papyrus and papyrus of Egyptian papyrus and kindred sources. Hence the compiler of a critical text works by preference in the great European libraries, though the photographic facsimile is a valuable aid when accessible. There is, besides, a real pleasure in tackling an entirely new bit of Menander or of Hyperides, or in bringing within our ken the new planet of a Herondas or a Bacchylides; but the appalling task of threshing out once more the twenty times threshed readings and questions of an "Alcestis" requires a stout heart and head for the undertaking.

This is what Dr. Hayley has done. He has provided a satisfactory apparatus, he offers a selection from four thousand readings or emendations, and he has endeavored, as he says, "to bring Monk up to date," by incorporating what is valuable in the labors of Nauck, Kirchhoff, and Prinz, and the discussions of scores of special dissertations. He asks modestly for the lenient consideration due to the tyro; but there is nothing immature or amateurish about his work. It shows a sound and independent judgment, based on adequate learning and a nice literary instinct. As samples of his scholarship, acumen, and independence we can refer only to such notes as those on lines 57, 132, 173, 261, 291, 520, 879 and 880, and 1050. Dr. Hayley follows the late Prof. F. D. Allen in the belief that the curious dialogue between *Apollo* and *Thanatos*, which offers so many puzzles and contradictions with the body of the play, is a later insertion not written by Euripides; or, possibly, as our editor suggests, foisted in by the poet himself, together with the passages in which *Heracles* appears, in order to dish up hastily the fragments of a tragedy, and serve them up as a tragi-comedy in place of the regular satyric drama. No modern reader—least of all an Englishman or American—can reconcile himself to the sorry figure cut by the sniveling hero *Admetus*, as he accepts the sacrifice of his wife. Browning throws a modern light on his interpretation of this and also on the character of *Heracles*. Hayley hits the mark more nearly when he says,

"that *Admetus* cuts a contemptible figure, it would be vain to deny; but we must not forget that (in spite of some brilliant exceptions) the Greek sense of personal honor and personal responsibility was less keen than that of modern people. What person ever read the story of the typical hero *Odysseus* without partly despising 'the man of many wiles'? Macaulay has pointed out that an Italian audience of Machiavelli's day would have felt more sympathy for *Iago* than for *Othello*. I will not say that an Athenian audience of the time of Euripides would have been in full sympathy with

Admetus; but it would certainly have felt less repugnance for him than modern readers necessarily feel."

An observation so illuminating is enough to show that Dr. Hayley has penetrated the world of ancient Greek thought and life. He shows, besides, the literary sense and feeling that are needed to inform and guide the mass of learning which must be steered carefully through any critical edition of a poet. The rigid grammarian tends to give us, instead of the breathing *Alcestis*, that frigid form wrought by the cunning hand of artificers with which her husband proposer to console his longings and regrets; the flowers of poetry when restored and emended by the pedant become waxen and artificial. Euripides must mind his p's and q's and his . . . ; he must commit no anachronism; he must erect a mound over his heroine because a tombstone cannot be ready at a few hours' notice. As to this habit of judging things, our editor well remarks, apropos of a reading in line 197: "This constant effort to plane away all that seemed irregular and reduce everything to one 'dead level' of monotony, was one of the worst failings of the Byzantine scholars, as it is of some modern critics"; and again:

"Nauck would read *τετραπύλη*, as the tragedians do not elsewhere use *τετραπύλη*, and the mention of a *τετραπύλη* in *Thessaly* in the heroic age is an anachronism. But I suspect Euripides did not think of this point. Does not Shakespeare make *Hector* quote Aristotle? It looks as if the use of the word 'tetrachy' for a political division of a country originated in *Thessaly*, and, if so, Euripides is probably using the technical *Thessalian* word."

In the coming century, perhaps, the spirits of the great departed may turn the tables on their redactors and critics; and we may have authenticated editions of the classics issued with the cooperation of learned "mediums," with no various readings and no conjectures. Then will ensue confusion of face, and many amusing and delightful revelations. We shall know the answer to such conundrums as "the third day of the month" (line 321), and the "heaven-high noose" (230). Meantime, Dr. Hayley's emendations in these passages are as good as any recorded. His work will furnish a very convenient manual for the use of special students in the so-called seminary; and indeed a useful introduction for any student of intelligence to the methods and the fascinating subject of textual criticism. The value of the book is enhanced by Dr. James M. Paton's thorough dissertation on the Myth of *Alcestis* in Ancient Art.

The Letters of Thomas Carlyle to his Youngest Sister. Edited by C. T. Copeland. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1899.

"The world awakens in me either piety or else despair," said Carlyle. From the sombre *journal intime* in Froude's 'Life' we all know too well Carlyle's black moods of despair, when the malady of being, added to the tortures of indigestion, left him only the exhilarating hope of "getting honorably out of this heart-breaking affair pitted by the Eternal Powers." From the present volume it appears that, during these long intervals of genuine night, at least in his home letters to his Scotch kindred, Carlyle exercised the gentle art of *savoir faire*. His brothers and sisters on their barren farms were working for their daily oatmeal and bacon as only the Scotch peasant can work, and, in his comfortable house and agreeable

ing circumstances in Chelsea, Carlyle must have perceived the irony of recounting his dyspeptic troubles to the peasants of Scotsbrig. Hence it is that the tone of these letters, especially of those addressed to his mother, is often almost optimistic, though the partition between the phases of grim serenity and grim despair is usually thin enough. His letters to his mother and sisters are necessarily those of a man who is leading a separate moral and social existence. In 1842 he writes to the former: "To myself my poverty is really quite a suitable, almost comfortable arrangement. . . . I am perhaps among the freest men in the British Empire at this moment. . . . Truly we have been mercifully dealt with, and much that looked like evil has turned out to be good" (p. 121). Writing to his sister in Manchester—"that huge den of reek and cotton-fuz"—he exhorts her to "particularly endeavor to keep a good heart and avoid all moping and musing, whatever takes away from cheerfulness. Sunshine in the inside of one is even more important than sunshine without" (p. 67).

The letters here collected were for the most part addressed to Janet Carlyle Hamling, Carlyle's youngest sister, who emigrated to Canada in 1851, and died there in 1897. This is the sister whom Emerson visited at Hamilton in 1845: "Mr. Emerson placed her in a chair near the window, so that he might the more readily examine her features, and, looking into her eyes, exclaimed, 'And so this is Carlyle's little sister!'" Mr. Copeland reproduces her portrait at the age of eighty-two, and points out that Froude confused her with an older sister, Jean. A few letters from other members of the Carlyle family, including Carlyle's mother, are included; they range in date from 1832 to 1878, and so form a series almost continuous with those published in Professor Norton's volume, 'Early Letters of Thomas Carlyle' (1814-1826), which was published in 1886.

Jeffrey once complained that Carlyle was "so dreadfully in earnest," a remark which gives point to the following: "I spent a forenoon with Jeffrey, who is very thin and fretful, I think. . . . Poor Jeffrey! he does not make a nice old man; he has too little real seriousness in him for that" (p. 158). There are no revelations in these homely letters, but Carlyle's admirers will value them for the pleasing light they throw on the character of one who, for all his uncomfortable characteristics, was consistently, in Disraeli's phrase, "on the side of the angels." Mr. Copeland's introductory essay on Carlyle as a letter-writer is interesting; the illustrations of Ecclefechan, of the house in Cheyne Row, and of the Carlyles themselves add much to the attractiveness of the book. There is a pathetic contrast, for one who should compare them, between the portrait of Jane Welsh Carlyle (1826), which forms the frontispiece of Professor Norton's volume, and that reproduced by Mr. Copeland from a "Talbottype" taken in 1851.

The History of Yiddish Literature in the Nineteenth Century. By Leo Wiener, Instructor in the Slavic Languages at Harvard University. Charles Scribner's Sons.

Mr. Wiener has performed a useful task in enlightening the English-speaking world as to the history and significance of "Yiddish Literature." Hitherto scholars have turned

with disdain from that Judeo-German dialect, written almost exclusively in Hebrew characters, which is the only language of millions of Jews in Russia, Galicia, and Rumania. Indeed, the very existence of such a literature, in the proper sense of the word, has been unsuspected by literary historians, those of the Jewish faith—with rare exceptions—included. Mr. Wiener has endeavored to pierce the dense cloud of ignorance and prejudice which has hitherto enveloped this subject, and he has brought to its elucidation a vast fund of curious, and in many ways interesting, information. He has ransacked the libraries and bookstores of Oxford, London, Amsterdam, Berlin, Jassy, Lemberg, Cracow, Warsaw, Kiev, Odessa, and especially St. Petersburg, where the assistant librarian of the Imperial Library, Prof. Harkavy, presented him with one thousand Judeo-German volumes out of his own private library. Mr. Wiener estimates the number of Judeo-German works published in this century at from 4,000 to 5,000 volumes, and he succeeds in impressing his readers with the intrinsic value of not a few of the more recent contributions to this literature.

The Judeo-German dialect, or at least its perpetuation through centuries, is clearly the outcome of that intolerance which has pursued the Jews in so many lands. Wherever they were free to mingle with citizens of another faith and to share in their pursuits, they contributed to the literature of their country, as witness Spain before the expulsion of the Jews. Judeo-German literature may be said to date from the beginning of the sixteenth century, when a large number of Jews emigrated from the region of the Middle Rhine to Bohemia, Poland, and Russia. They were, and they and their descendants remained, German in their language and mode of life, having little in common with the Slavic-speaking Jews who had preceded them in these countries. Their first printed books dealt with the folk-lore of the German fatherland, and it was only later that the Rabbis prompted the publication of specifically Jewish legends and ethical treatises. The Jews who had remained in Germany, shut up in their ghettos and excluded from any share in the intellectual activity of their country, had to look to Slavic lands for their literary sustenance, and thus Judeo-German literature was introduced into Germany itself.

With the advent of Mendelssohn began a new era in the history of German Judaism. It was the object of his reform to free the Jewish religion from the traditions of superstitious ages, and to bring the Jews back to the realities of modern life. Through his influence the Judeo-German dialect was discarded for pure German; but while the German Jews thenceforth took their place in the literary life of Germany, the Jews in the Slavic countries and elsewhere became completely estranged from them in language. Comparatively untouched, as a mass, by Polish, Russian, or Ruman influences, on the one hand, and inaccessible, on the other, to the Mendelssohnian reform, the Jews in Galicia, Russia, and the Danubian principalities were thrown back on their Judeo-German; and this dialect, of which the Lithuanian variety of speech is closest to pure German, forms the body of what is known as "Yiddish Literature."

Mr. Wiener sums up the main characteristics of Judeo-German as follows:

"Its vocalism has undergone considerable

change, varying from locality to locality; the German unaccented final *e* has, as in other dialects of German, disappeared; in declensional forms, the genitive has almost entirely disappeared, while in the Lithuanian group the dative has also coincided with the accusative; in the verb, Judeo-German has lost almost entirely the imperfect tense; the order of words is more like the English than the German. These are all developments for which parallels can be adduced from the region of Frankfurt. Judeo-German is, consequently, not an anomaly, but a natural development."

Now, while we believe that few philologists will agree with Mr. Wiener in considering Judeo-German as a "natural development" in the sense in which the numerous South and North German dialects are so considered, and while the admixture of wholly foreign (Hebrew and Slavic) words points to Pennsylvania Dutch as perhaps the closest analogue of Yiddish, Mr. Wiener might have cited from purely German sources instances of license in grammatical, orthographical, and syntactical construction curiously corresponding to those considered characteristic of Judeo-German. The disinclination of Viennese, Styrians, Bavarians, and other South Germans to use the genitive is well known (the colloquial "dem Vater sein Kind" being preferred to "das Kind des Vaters"); and the vagaries of German pronunciation and orthography find expression in numberless old rhymes and inscriptions, in such "Yiddish" spellings as *kümt* (for "kommt"), *krenck* (for "krank"), *frimmer* (for "frommer"), etc. *Wann* or *wan*, and *als* or *alls* (instead of "wenn"), are likewise frequent instances of a "Yiddish" turn in the German of the days of Hans Sachs, as in writers of the last century. As for the indiscriminate use of the dative and accusative, we find in a little volume of 'Deutsche Reime' before us examples like the following:

"Den lieben Printzen woll Er geben"
(A. D. 1649).

"Wer Gott fürchet und helt sein gebot,
Den wirst wohl gehen hier and tort" (1677).

"Ach Gott hilf mich erwerben" (1684).

"Ist sie in der hell, das hilft sie nicht"
(about 1700).

Constructions like "So baldt ich das schwert auf dube heben," "Bin ich beyg'standen dreysseig Jahr" (about 1720) are frequent parallels to the Yiddish inversion of the normal order of verb and object.

As for the subject-matter of modern Yiddish literature: satire, allegory, and fable have always had a peculiar fascination for the Jewish mind, and they have doubtless proved a safe and effective vehicle of dissatisfaction with existing conditions in countries where plainness of speech would have been dangerous. Naturally, much has been borrowed from German literature, Schiller and Lessing being especially popular, while even writers on science, like Bernstein and Brehm, are represented by creditable adaptations. Russian writers are very freely drawn upon, and Jewish cosmopolitanism is attested by numerous translations from such authors as Scott, Thomas Hood, Jules Verne, Victor Hugo, Longfellow, and Harriet Beecher Stowe. Mr. Wiener assigns a very high rank to several recent Yiddish writers, particularly to Spektor, Rabinowitsch, Dienesohn, and Perez. Of Perez he says: "With him Judeo-German letters enter into competition with what there is best in the world's literature, where he will some day occupy an honorable place," and one is disposed to agree with Mr. Wiener after reading the powerful sketch,

"Bontsle Silent," in the highly interesting chrestomathy which forms part of the book. The profound pathos and delicate humor of this description of a departed soul unconscious of its worth, and about to be rewarded for its sufferings on earth, remind one of Andersen at his best. Not a few talented Judeo-German writers have been driven from Russia to these shores, preëminent among them M. Rosenfeld, whose 'Songs from the Ghetto' Mr. Wiener had already previously introduced to the American public. It may be that Mr. Rosenfeld, who we believe is applying himself to the study of English, will justify the unstinted praise which Mr. Wiener bestows upon his literary ability. On the whole, however, in this country a Judeo-German literature, in all its various manifestations as journalism, the Bowery "drama," and crude socialistic agitation, is an anachronism, and Mr. Wiener considers it so. In fact, he hopes—speaking of Mr. Rosenfeld's verses—that "in another twenty-five years the language in which he has uttered his despair will be understood in America but by few, used for literary purposes probably by none." In Europe, Yiddish seems destined to survive as the only language of the downtrodden and ignorant of the Hebrew race. Some of the productions of this literature will always appeal to the admirers of literary genius, whatever its garb, and to the lover of his kind, regardless of creed. For this reason Mr. Wiener's book has an interest quite apart from its scholarly value, which is considerable. He has dealt successfully with the maze of Russian, Hebrew, Polish, and Yiddish spellings, and, with one or two exceptions, has been consistent in his transliterations.

Francis Turner Palgrave: His Journals and Memories of his Life. By Gwenllian F. Palgrave. Longmans.

The noble and beautiful face which furnishes a frontispiece to this attractive volume excites that double emotion inspired by so many memoirs of highly educated Englishmen, and sometimes even by their portraits. There is a sadness often suggested by their combination of high motive, superb outfit, and inadequate result. In the present case, the reader can discover little happiness in the intellectual career of one who sincerely holds that "art (despite a few reactions) has had one long downward career for 2,000 years" (p. 181), and who is always oppressed with contemplation of "the cursed Reformation" (p. 203). One feels that Palgrave's brother, William, who was twice converted to the Catholic Church, who spent his life as a world-wanderer, and who wrote the interminable and unreadable Dantesque poem, 'A Vision of Life,' must have been really the happier of the two. Sir Francis Palgrave tried hard to retain his comprehensiveness of taste and even his friendship with Mr. Gladstone, but his heart was with Cardinal Newman. His literary judgments were so extreme as to be almost whimsical. Thus, he found Tennyson to be "ten times the wider and deeper thinker as compared with Browning" (p. 103), and placed Scott's 'Bride of Lammermoor' above all other novels, "like a play of Shakspeare above all other plays." "Indeed," he adds, "in astonishing truthfulness and variety in creation of character, in power and pathos, I cannot see how this, at least, is inferior to Shakspeare" (p. 134). This element of whim was felt at first, it may be remembered, in his

"Golden Treasury," and especially in the second series, which gave such extreme prominence to the poetry of O'Shaughnessy and of Barnes. He writes, curiously enough, while preparing this, to Mr. W. M. Rossetti, "Can you give me Swinburne's address? I want, of course, some of his work." When it is considered that he had already been occupied three or four years on this second volume, and had "gone over everything several times in the hope of doing justice to all" (p. 259), it does not seem at all strange that he should also have written, the year following, "I have been unable to persuade Swinburne to let me have any specimen of his work" (p. 260). It was certainly testing severely the presumed humility of Mr. Swinburne when he was invited to send in his magnificent 'Song in Time of Order,' for instance, at the last moment, to fill a casual gap in a collection made up after an editor's four years' careful study of Barnes and O'Shaughnessy.

Sir Francis Palgrave's own poems, as published here, give a slight sense of mediocrity, but there are many interesting letters from eminent men, and many pleasant suggestions. Gladstone, Tennyson, Browning, Lecky, Ruskin, W. M. Rossetti, Newman, Temple, Matthew Arnold, and Lady Eastlake were among his correspondents. The one controlling and invariable charm of the book is in his relations to his own family. As a husband and father it is impossible to imagine any one more admirable and delightful than Palgrave; but it is pathetic to notice, on the very last page of the book, that he nevertheless, in his old age, "hated speculations on the after-life," and "particularly disliked the complete assurance of freedom from pain and sorrow after death which is expressed in so many religious poems."

A Prisoner of France: The Memoirs, Diary and Correspondence of Charles Boothby, Captain Royal Engineers, during his last Campaign. London: Adam & Charles Black; New York: Macmillan. 12mo, pp. 282.

Captain Boothby was severely wounded in the leg at the battle of Talavera, in Spain, July 27, 1809. He had to suffer amputation, and, being unable to endure the rough transportation, was left behind when, a few days later, Wellington marched back towards Portugal to meet Soult. He thus fell into the hands of the French. He remained a prisoner of war in Talavera till the middle of October, when he was sent to Madrid. In the former place he was allowed to remain in a Spanish family on parole; but on reaching the capital he was put in a French military hospital and closely imprisoned. At the beginning of January, 1810, he was allowed to travel to the French boundary, on parole, but accompanying bodies of troops and being under control of the commandants. Crossing the border after twenty-five days of rough experience, he got fuller benefit of his parole, and journeyed to Paris as a private traveller. In midsummer he was exchanged and went home. The loss of his leg prevented his resuming service in his corps, and he retired from the army. He afterwards took orders and was Rector of Sutterton in Lincolnshire till he died in 1846.

He had unusual opportunities to learn the true spirit of the Spanish patriots in their great struggle with France, and to contrast their affectionate devotion to a wounded friend with the merciless guerilla warfare

against the French. His observations of the French soldiery were keen, and he draws the differences of classes among them with instructive clearness. Among the officers, he was fortunate in finding friends who were chivalric in their attention to him, though he also met some of the type of vulgar fire-eaters who were cruel in war and coarse tyrants over those in their power. The whole story becomes, unintentionally, a tribute to the noble and cultivated humanity of that stout soldier Marshal Mortier, Duc de Trévise, into whose hands Boothby fell. From others he received passing attentions that were kind and graceful, but Mortier, having once interested himself in him, followed him up with his good offices, and thought no pains too great to take to soften the rigors of captivity to the young Englishman, or to help on his exchange when hundreds of miles away.

The quaint style of the narrative and of the letters is well supplemented by little sketches from Captain Boothby's pencil, and the book is a welcome addition to the original sources of history in a great epoch: the more so because English memoirs of the kind have been comparatively few.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Anna Ruina. London: David Nutt.
Baumgartner, Andreas. William Wordsworth, nach seiner Gemüthsverfassung. Seite Dargestellt. Zürich: Orell Füssli.
Bernhardt, W. Stille Wasser. Erzählungen. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 80c.
Christian, Rev. J. T. Baptist History Vindicated. Louisville: Baptist Book Concern. \$1.
Cumulative Index to Periodicals. 1898. Cleveland: Helman-Taylor Co.
Dennis, Rev. J. S. Christian Missions and Social Progress. Vol. II. F. H. Revell Co. \$2.50.
Douglas, Rev. G. W. Sermon at the Ordination of Charles A. Briggs. Macmillan. 25c.
Foster, Lillian. Geschichten und Märchen für Anfänger. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 40c.
Golub, Maud. Field, Forest and Wayside Flowers. Baker & Taylor Co. \$1.50.
Hale, R. W. The Dreyfus Story. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. 50c.
Harvard Studies in Classical Philology. Vol. IX. Boston: Ginn & Co.
Jones, Dr. S. A. The Porcelain Painter's Son. A Fantasy. Philadelphia: Boericke & Tafel. \$1.
Love, R. J. Tom Huston's Transformation. F. T. Neely.
Litzow, Francis, Count. A History of Bohemian Literature. Appleton. \$1.50.
Markham, Edwin. The Man with the Hoe, and Other Poems. Doubleday & McClure Co.
Massonnet, Fernand. Œuvres Complètes. Pièces et Trois Actes. Meyer Frères & Cie.
Nash, Prof. H. S. Ethics and Revelation. Macmillan. \$1.50.
Plummer, Mary W. Contemporary Spain, as Shown by her Novelists. Truslow, Hanson & Company.
Randall, J. W. Poems of Nature and Life. Boston: G. H. Ellis.
Republic or Empire? The Philippine Question. Chicago: Independence Co.
Rhoades, Prof. L. A. Freytag's Aus dem Jahrhundert des grossen Krieges. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 85c.
Schwartz, Julia A. Vassar Studies. Putnam. \$1.25.
Shakspeare, W. Othello. Cassell. 10c.
Smith, R. D. Fate of the Black Eagle, and Other Stories. F. T. Neely.
Spofford, Harriet P. The Maid he Married. Chicago: H. S. Stone & Co. 75c.
Stephens, R. N. A Gentleman Player. His Adventures on a Secret Mission for Queen Elizabeth. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. \$1.50.
Sterndale, R. A. The Afghan Knife. New ed. Brentano. \$1.25.
Tille, Alexander. Yule and Christmas: Their Place in the Germanic Year. London: David Nutt.
Verner, Lieut.-Col. Willoughby. A British Rifleman. The Journals of Major George Simmons during the Peninsular War and Waterloo. London: A. & C. Black; New York: Macmillan. \$3.50.
Walter, Dr. Robert. Vital Science. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. \$1.50.
Waterloo, Stanley. The Wolf's Long Howl. Chicago: H. S. Stone & Co. \$1.50.
Welch, L. S. and Camp, Walter. Yale, Her Campus, Class-Rooms, and Athletics. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. \$2.50.
Wells, Prof. Webster. The Essentials of Geometry. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. \$1.25.
Wells, Prof. R. W. Racine's Andromaque. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 80c.
Whistler, J. McN. The Baronet and the Butterfly. R. H. Russell.
Wilson, E. Dante Interpreted. Putnam. 50c.
Wise, B. H. The Life of Henry A. Wise of Virginia. Macmillan. 75c.
Woods, J. H. The Value of Religious Facts. R. P. Dutton & Co. \$1.
Wright, Carroll D. Outline of Practical Sociology. Longmans, Green & Co. \$2.
Yates, W. B. The Wind among the Reeds. John Lane.
Young, Lucian. U. S. N. The Seal Hawk. Doubleday & McClure Co.

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 8, 1899.

The Week.

A letter from Columbus to the *Tribune* brings the gratifying news that absolute harmony prevails in the Republican ranks in Ohio, but the writer does not explain how it came to pass. The accounts received shortly before the late convention opened, and even after the delegates had begun to arrive, were to the effect that a bitter feud existed between the Hanna and Foraker factions. The *Tribune* writer himself makes mention of this bitterness. "The condition," he says, "was chaotic in the extreme during the preliminary canvass and after the larger part of the delegates had assembled in this city, but the evolutions of the factions resulted in the nomination of a splendid ticket; there is not at this time the semblance of the old factional strife," etc. What could have happened in that brief interval? What magic word put an end to all that strife? Our advice is that the magic word was uttered by William McKinley, in the shape of an executive order taking 10,000 or more federal offices out of the competitive list of the civil service and making them loot for the politicians. As soon as this order was made known, George B. Cox, who had arrived with the Hamilton County delegates as trading material in his breeches' pocket, became a Hanna man, and harmony ensued as a matter of course. But for the civil-service order he would have remained a Foraker man, and harmony would have been more probable in the Philippines than in Columbus.

The declaration of the Ohio Republican platform, "We commend the President for the judicious modifications of the civil-service rules recently promulgated," will, in all probability, be accepted as the keynote of the party in other States on the "backward step." It will be vain to look for anything like censure of his course in any party platform. The Republican press, as a whole, has either approved the "backward step" or has refrained from comment upon it. We are glad to see that the indiscreet utterances of Congressman Kerr in the Ohio convention have moved the *Tribune* to break silence upon the subject. Its assertion that "if Mr. Kerr and his Ohio friends have the correct view of the new rules, they are a political blunder and a moral wrong," puts the case in precisely the right light. Mr. Kerr unquestionably reflects the views of every Republican politician in the country in his explanation of what the changes mean. No matter what ex-

cuses the President may make for his course, no matter how plausibly his defenders may seek to "explain it away," every intelligent person in the country knows that the politicians are accurate in their estimate of his conduct. He has delivered himself into their hands, and they will make the most of their victory.

The President's friends are "pained" again. His motives in eating his own words and devouring the party platform in this civil-service business are so cruelly misunderstood. It is only the faithful wounds of a friend which he has been dealing civil-service reform. No warmer advocate of purity in the public service exists to-day than William McKinley. There stands his own confession of the fact, in his own speeches, to prove it. As for his deeds, we are to remember two things. One is that reform must go hand in hand with "common sense." That is, while serving the Lord, we must not wholly forget the Devil. The President is perfectly orthodox on the doctrine of a personal devil, and believes thoroughly in giving him his due. In this case, his due was 10,000 offices, easily expandable into 40,000. Then we must bear in mind the urgent need there was that Mr. McKinley execute a flank movement on the Republican spoilsmen in Ohio. They were ravening for the destruction of civil-service reform in toto. With true Napoleonic (little-Napoleonic) strategy the President prevents them from demanding all by granting them a part in advance. Thus he is really a great defender of the system. He has thrown only one child to the wolves, and is driving off as fast as he can to save the rest of the family. It is a well-known fact in natural history that wolves are always satisfied with a taste of blood. So there will be no more of their howling at the President's heels.

Touching the real nature of the President's order, a correspondent who is in a position to know the facts, writes to us as follows:

"The order, as I read it, seemed designed to cover up what had been already and illegally accomplished. In one case within my knowledge, an incumbent was removed and a successor was appointed as an emergency case. He was relieved of the examination required by law, has been reappointed at intervals of ninety days, and now gains a clear record under the McKinley rule. There are a number of such, and, strange to say, nearly all under Gage—whom reformers thought such a remarkably good appointment for McKinley to have made. Since the order has been issued, in one of the Auditor's bureaus twenty-five clerks have been dropped, and instead of beginning with the temporary clerks, the older force has been dropped, and the new ones (mainly from Chicago, and known as 'Vanderlip's corps'), drawing \$720 under the temporary appointment, have been advan-

ced, and without examination, as the new order permits this. In fact, the service is in for a good debauch, and I shall be very much surprised if Gage and Vanderlip have not been the prime movers, in spite of their loud protestations for reform."

Along with very much that was irredeemably bad in the President's retrograde order was one change in the rules which is in the right direction. Two years ago Mr. McKinley encouraged the friends of reform by establishing a new rule, which provided that "no removal shall be made from any position subject to competitive examination except for just cause, and upon written charges filed with the head of the department or other appointing officer, and of which the accused shall have full notice and an opportunity to make defence." The reformers had long urged the adoption of this principle, and were greatly pleased at its acceptance by the President. But in practical operation the new rule has proved to be a farce in the Government Printing-Office, where it was especially needed. The habit of the Public Printer has been to thrust a typewritten page of malicious charges at a person removed when he asked for the reasons, accept his indignant denial as conclusion of the case, and thereupon summarily make the removal without giving opportunity for an answer in writing and without any official record of the answer. The amended rule provides not only that no removal shall be made except for just cause and for reasons given in writing, but also that the person sought to be removed shall have notice and be furnished a copy of such reasons, and be allowed a reasonable time for personally answering the same in writing; and that a copy of such reasons, notice, and answer, and of the order of removal, shall be made a part of the records of the proper department or office. It further provides that reasons for any change in rank or compensation within the competitive classified service shall also be made a part of the records of the proper department or office. This is a distinct improvement, so far as the letter of the law goes, but it remains to be seen whether its spirit cannot be violated by cunning spoilsmen.

Gen. Otis's report, which the nervousness of the War Department leads it to give out, leaves little doubt that the Filipinos were the aggressors in the first fighting on February 4. What it does not satisfactorily answer, however, is the question why the previous negotiations for a peaceful settlement failed. We have not before been told so clearly of the nature and extent of the conferences between the Americans and the native representatives during January.

The sessions extended over three weeks. Both sides professed to desire to come to an amicable understanding, but Gen. Otis says he was compelled to break off because the proposals of the Filipinos were so vague. They wanted independence under an American protectorate, but the nature and scope of such protection they "could not explain." One would infer that the American counter-propositions were clear-cut as crystal. But we know, in fact, that they were vaguer than anything the most dreamy Oriental could have urged. What the Filipinos were told they must do was, in effect, to trust the good McKinley, trust the American Congress, and trust to luck. Vagueness for vagueness, we think they might have retorted on Gen. Otis with considerable asperity. As against the possibly prejudiced representations of either side, we quote what an old English resident of Manila said on April 4 to the Philippine correspondent of the *Paris Temps*: "If the Americans had continued, as on the day when they were welcomed at Cavité as liberators, to treat the Filipinos as brothers in arms, this fatal conflict would have been avoided. Their protectorate would have been accepted enthusiastically, for it was both expected and desired." This is the fact which makes the world think the whole Philippine horror due to blundering diplomacy. Otis did the best he could; but his instructions from Washington tied his hands, and left him helpless to prevent a war which all on the spot foresaw.

The contest over the Speakership of the next House is settled about six months before the time for its meeting in the natural order of things, and within about six weeks after the announcement of Mr. Reed's probable withdrawal from Congress. There have been a number of cases where the reelection of a man who had held the office was assured half a year before the choice was made, but there is no precedent for so early a decision of a canvass for the place when it was open to competition. There is reason for satisfaction in the result of the contest. Gen. Henderson of Iowa is not by any means the ablest member of the House, or the one best qualified in all respects for the Speakership; there are men in the Massachusetts delegation, to mention only a single State, who are clearly his superiors. But it is equally true that he is the best of those who entered the canvass with any prospect of success. It was not to be supposed that Western Representatives would take kindly to the idea of having one Speaker from New England succeeded by another, especially by a member of comparatively brief service. Between Gen. Henderson and Messrs. Sherman and Payne of New York, and Mr. Hopkins of Illinois, the only men who have been seriously his

rivals, there was no room for doubt as to the proper choice. The Iowa Representative is not a great man, and will not stand in the first rank among Speakers; but he is a man of good ability, high character, and uncommon independence for a partisan, whose instincts and tendencies are on the right side in the matters of a large standing army, wars of conquest, and the other new issues which have arisen during the past year.

The Republicans of Delaware continue to suffer the just penalty for the favor which they have lent in the past to a rich vulgarian who offered to purchase the Legislature for their party. They were ready enough to let Addicks spend his money profusely in buying votes so that there might be a Republican Legislature, which he expected would give him the United States Senatorship that he wanted. But after they had got the Legislature in this way more than once, they refused to recognize any obligation on their side, and Addicks was thus repeatedly cheated out of what he supposed he had fairly bought. This made him so indignant that he vowed that no other Republican should get a good office, and he carried out the threat on Saturday by turning over the city government of Wilmington to the Democrats, simply because he could not abide the idea of seeing a Republican succeed who is a man of high character, but has always refused to train with the Addicks crowd. This is hard on the people of Wilmington, but, so far as the Republican party is concerned, there is poetic justice in it.

Pingree evidently thinks that the Governor, like the King, can do no wrong, if only he declares himself an anti-monopolist. The Michigan Executive is a member of a great shoe-manufacturing firm in Detroit. When the State troops for the war against Spain were equipped a year ago, their shoes were bought from Pingree & Smith. The shoes were very good, but the minority members of a legislative investigating committee hold that the principle of the State's purchasing goods from its Governor is very bad. "The committee cannot but condemn as a vicious precedent," says their report, "the selling of goods to the State by the Governor or the firm of which he is the senior member, at their own price, and without inviting bids from competing firms." They also point out that the law now prohibits members of the Board of State Institutions from being interested in or selling to these institutions any supplies, and they recommend that a similar law, applicable to the Military Board and to all State officials, be enacted, and that employees in any department be debarred from traffic with that department. Pingree would doubtless agree that such criticism would be all

right in the case of a Governor who was not an anti-monopolist, but it struck him as insulting when directed against an Executive who is a friend of the people.

The best immigration argument for the proposed hand-book advertising the resources of Georgia is the recent action of the community in the case of the outrages at Griffin. It has become a common thing in parts of the South for worthless white men to run industrious black men out of the town. Some roughs of the superior race recently set out to do this at Griffin, warning members of the inferior race who had offended them by working in the mills to leave, on penalty of losing their lives. Too frequently in such cases the white rowdies have their way, but the decent people of Griffin refused to sit still under this outrage. They have encouraged and sustained the authorities in enforcing the laws, with the result that eight of the toughs have already been lodged in jail and others are threatened with arrest. Georgia newspapers contrast this honorable action with the outrageous course pursued by the Governor of Illinois towards the colored miners from Alabama last fall, and they are entirely justified in thinking that the contrast is sadly to the discredit of Abraham Lincoln's State.

The inquiries which Mr. Moss made last Thursday about the methods pursued in the Tax Department led to a good many interesting revelations as to what goes on under the head of "equalizing taxes." Some taxes are "equalized up," and others are "equalized down," and, by a curious coincidence, the names of Tammany statesmen and their friends who own property appear quite regularly in the latter category. Quite incidentally, Mr. Moss showed what a beneficent thing Tammany government is to the members of the Feltner family. Mr. Feltner is the President of the Tax Department, and enjoys a salary of \$8,000. His brother-in-law, Mr. Moore, is his Deputy Commissioner, and enjoys a salary of \$3,000. His sister-in-law, Miss Moore, is his private secretary, and enjoys a salary of \$1,700. Mr. Powell, who lately became his son-in-law, is Chief Clerk of the Borough of Queens, and enjoys a salary of \$2,500. There may be other sons-in-law and brothers-in-law quartered in other branches of the municipal service, but \$15,200 a year makes a tidy family income as it stands. There seems to be no immediate danger that the Feltner family will suffer want so long as Tammany holds the reins of government.

Dispatches from The Hague affirm that the plan of the American delegates has been unanimously accepted by the Arbitration Committee, and that it will certainly be adopted, with, perhaps, some

amendments in its working features. If this prove to be the case, it will be a great triumph for the United States, and a still greater one for the cause of peace. The plan provides for a permanent international tribunal, to which any and all questions of disagreement may, by mutual consent, be submitted for decision, "but every such submission shall be accompanied by an undertaking to accept the award." The number of judges shall be as many as the litigating nations agree upon, but not less than three in any case, no one of whom shall be a native or a subject of the litigating nation. The plan is to become operative when ratified by nine sovereign Powers, four of whom shall have been signers of the Declaration of Paris. The British plan, as reported, differs from the American in not requiring the parties litigant to agree beforehand to abide by the decision of the tribunal. According to this plan the tribunal would be merely a court for finding facts, and the law (international law) in the cases submitted. As to this point of difference, the American plan is much to be preferred. What is the use of taking so much pains to establish a court and submit a case if the decision is not to be binding? Inasmuch as the submitting of cases, in the first instance, is purely voluntary, it would seem that where any nation has gone so far as to appeal to the international court, it ought to agree to obey the decision. Italy would go a step further and would require that all disputes of a minor character (to be specified), which cannot be settled in the ordinary course of diplomacy, shall be referred to the court compulsorily.

It is an apt coincidence that Esterhazy, on the very day when Du Paty de Clam was sent to prison, should have made a confession that he wrote the bordereau upon which Dreyfus was convicted. That he was the author of this document, and that he imitated the handwriting of Dreyfus in order to convict the latter of a crime of which he was himself guilty, has been known for a long time, but the villain has told such a great variety of lies about it that the public had ceased to give heed to anything further that proceeds from him. Nobody expected that he would ever tell the truth about anything, yet he has actually done so. His statement, in the office of the London *Chronicle* last Friday, may be relied upon implicitly in so far as he acknowledges that he committed forgery. In so far as he implicates others, his unsupported testimony is not worth a rush, although there is a strong probability that his charges against the French general staff are true. Esterhazy, it should be remembered, was tried in 1897, at the instance of the brother of Dreyfus, before a council of war, on the charge that he was the author of the bordereau. Du Paty de Clam was very active in de-

fending him. He was acquitted amid great popular enthusiasm and cries of *Vive l'armée*.

Now that the Dreyfus battle has been fought through, and we all complacently feel ourselves victors, we should not forget those heroic men who in France flung themselves without apparent hope against the fury of a maddened nation. First among those we should place Col. Picquart, who, from the very ranks of the army, in the name of which such crimes had been committed, rose up to confront and expose forgers and lawless officials. From him the impulse passed to M. Scheurer-Kestner, President of the Senate, who became convinced that a terrible error had been made, and did all he could, first to clear himself from all complicity in it, and then to have it undone. But it took a sterner and more audacious challenge than his to really rouse the country, and this was blown on Zola's horn. His bold attack upon those guilty of a monstrous injustice must, in all fair minds, suffice to cover a multitude of novels. It was not long before men of light and leading—like M. Pressensé of the *Temps* and Prof. Seignobos—came rallying in great numbers to the cause. It was then only a question of time when it should be triumphant. But we who see the satisfying end of the long struggle, should not withhold out tribute from those who entered upon it with no reasonable prospect but scorn and failure.

The ridiculous assault made upon President Loubet seems to have had its origin and principal seat rather in the ranks of the anti-republican forces of France than among anti-revisionists or the anti-Semites. Of course, the pretext for it was the decision of the Court ordering a new trial of Dreyfus, but the real animus of the titled rioters was their hatred of the republican government. The Republican party of France has been gradually coming around to the belief that Dreyfus was the victim of a villainous conspiracy, and is now practically unanimous in that belief. The royalists have seized the present occasion for an *émeute*, because they can secure the coöperation of other groups calling themselves League of Patriots, Anti-Semites, etc., in the common purpose of overthrowing the present form of government. It is a rare coalition that finds Count Christiani and Rochefort working together. There is no danger to be apprehended, however. The republic is too strong for the coalition; and the cause of justice, after a period of doubt and danger, has won a victory which the motley horde of royalists, imperialists, *intruséants*, and common blackguards will not be able to disturb.

That fifty-one members of the House

of Commons should have opposed on Monday the grant to Gen. Lord Kitchener, was obviously due to their feeling that national rewards to a man who had shocked national sentiment by his treatment of the Mahdi's remains at Khartum should be resisted. No other ground of objection was made by anybody, and even Mr. Balfour, while maintaining that the whole question was one of military merit, had to admit that he wished the thing had been done differently. It was left again for infidel John Morley to speak for the humane and Christian feeling of the country. He led in the House, as he had previously done on the hustings, the protest against permitting English soldiers and civilians to be barbarized by "the savages they are sent out to kill or civilize." However politic Gen. Kitchener may have thought it to desecrate the Mahdi's tomb, so that it might not remain a shrine of superstitious reverence, the deed was done with quite unnecessary brutality, outraging the feelings of the very officers and men detailed to do the work. Mr. Morley has recalled with much point and force the example of the English General in Spain, who ordered decently reinterred the corpse of a French officer which the Spaniards had dug up and decapitated. That was in 1812, and the question is if Imperialism has since coarsened the moral fibre.

Affairs in the Transvaal are evidently moving to a crisis. The correspondence between Mr Chamberlain and President Krüger respecting the dynamite monopoly has reached a deadlock, the former assuming that the monopoly is in conflict with the London convention, and the latter contending that it is not. As neither of them is willing to yield, it would look as though force were the next remedy to be applied. The exclusive right to deal in dynamite was granted by the Transvaal Government to a private person, or firm, many years ago, without any adequate compensation to the Government itself. It is of the same nature as the monopolies granted by the Stuarts in England two or three hundred years ago—monopolies to sell salt or soap, or to import some indispensable article. Since the mining of gold grew to be a great industry in the Transvaal, the dynamite monopoly has become an intolerable burden of the Outlanders, who are oppressed and overtaxed in other ways, and not allowed to have a share in the government which their contributions chiefly support. If there should be a new collision between England and the Transvaal arising out of these grievances, we are assured that the Americans, large numbers of whom are engaged in gold-mining there, would be among the first to revolt. But negotiations between President Krüger and Sir Alfred Milner are in progress.

TO WHOM DOES MCKINLEY APPEAL?

That the President of the United States should be, by virtue of his position, constantly exposed to hostile criticism and attack, has come to be looked upon as quite a matter of course; and President McKinley has proved no exception to the rule. In one respect, however, the criticism to which he has been subjected has peculiar significance and force. Other Presidents, also, have had to endure the disparagements of an opposition party and an opposition press, the factious sneers and taunts of those bent on finding fault, and the personal denunciation of individuals whose selfish plans have been thwarted. But the criticism of President McKinley cuts deeper. He is charged, more or less openly, by influential men of his own political household, with having broken his solemn pledges to his party and to the country; with having promised one thing and done another; with having deceived those who put their trust in him; and the charges are accompanied by the citation of chapter and verse in proof thereof. Other Presidents have been accused of politic dealing, of leniency towards the shortcomings of their subordinates, and of concessions to strong opposition, but none within the present generation has called out, from the ranks of his own supporters, such a growing volume of protest and remonstrance directly impugning his honor as the chief magistrate of the nation.

Criticism of such a sort, striking straight at the foundations of personal truthfulness and integrity, raises a question as to the class of persons to whom President McKinley makes his appeal. It is difficult to believe that a man of experience and personal uprightness, elevated to the Presidency under solemn obligations and responsibilities, can, as a result of argument and pressure, surrender his convictions on critical points without first convincing himself that he is thereby getting an equivalent for what he gives up, and assuring himself of equal justification in the eyes of the world. In bending his course somewhat with a view to a second term, Mr. McKinley is only doing what his predecessors have done. But how is he doing it? Wherein do the successive steps in his timorous and deceptive policy—a policy at once the grief of his friends and the amazement of his enemies—make in that direction? Precisely how does he expect, doing as he has done, to make himself his own successor? To whom does he appeal?

The recent civil-service order may well raise this very pertinent question. If there was anything in regard to which the platform Mr. McKinley was elected on was definite and emphatic, it was the approval and support of civil-service reform; and the declaration of the party was reaffirmed in the personal pledge of Mr. McKinley himself. The attitude of

the better element of both the great parties on the subject is so well known that it would be idle to restate it. Yet President McKinley was hardly warm in his chair before word was given out that considerable exemptions from the civil-service rules were shortly to be made. The instant rebuke from the press of his own party was stern enough, one would think, to have convinced most men that on that point at least good faith must be kept. But the rebuke was not enough. For nearly two years the proposed order has been imminent, and its immediate appearance several times announced; and, now that it has come, a single glance shows it to be the worst assault on administrative purity and efficiency since the civil-service law went on to the statute-book. Whatever the motive, here at least is no haste, no sudden yielding to extraordinary pressure, but a long-considered and deliberately planned step. We cannot assume that the President has knowingly weakened his position, or is satisfied that the order will cost him support in the directions in which he deems support most valuable. What are those directions? Upon whose support does President McKinley count?

It is clear enough, we think, that the appeal is not to the so-called "better element"—to the voters of education, property, social position, and public spirit. With few exceptions, indeed, these are the men who have formed the solid support of the movement for civil-service reform, and who are the head and front of every forward movement, whether in politics, education, science, religion, or philanthropy, to be found in the United States at the present time. Without regard to party, and with no chance of personal reward, they have labored to bring about a clean political life and secure the adoption of business methods in the Government service. It is not to them, therefore, that President McKinley appeals; they had repudiated the action before it was taken. The late executive order can have but one effect in this direction, and that is to array against the Administration, in a solid column, the voters whose approval has always been, in the long run, best worth having, and to destroy what little confidence was left in the good faith of a President who deliberately undermines a structure he solemnly promised to maintain.

On the other hand, we are persuaded that President McKinley has made a grave mistake if he thinks his latest action will strengthen his hold upon the masses of the people. There is one thing that the American people, without regard to party, creed, or social position, utterly abhor; and that is a moral coward. They have, indeed, ceased to expect that the President of the United States will always be a great constructive statesman, or a leader without a single selfish

aim. But they are disposed to insist that he be a man of truthfulness, courage, and "backbone." They demand that he shall lead, and not follow; that he shall sturdily resist pressure; that he shall show, in his public acts, the virtues of positive character; and that his political philosophy shall be arrived at by some more worthy process than keeping his ear to the ground. President McKinley, we are confident, has made nothing but enemies among those of his supporters, thousands in number, who claim no special knowledge of the merits of this particular matter, but who will see in the recent order one more proof of essential moral weakness, even where the finer honor of the nation is at stake.

There is left the relatively small number of men, many of them little in evidence ordinarily, whose business it is to bring political things to pass. They are the men who run the machine, raise campaign funds, dictate nominations, engineer elections, control appointments to office, and live upon the spoils. These are the men who make and unmake Presidents; and it is to them that Mr. McKinley appeals. From the day when he put the patronage of the government into the hands of Platt, and Hanna, and Quay, and all the rest, to the present time, no single public act of his has failed to show the trained hand of the political boss. It is the skilled manipulators of votes who are the determining factors in practical politics. They alone, from the President's standpoint, can give him what he wants—a second term; and he must pay the price. The "better element," mainly scholars and 'dudes," can go; the "masses" can be hoodwinked, bought, or bullied; but to offend the boss is death. It is a melancholy spectacle, this opening the gates to the hungry crowd of spoliemen. It must have caused the tender heart of the President a pang. But the men who placed him where he is, and who are willing to try to keep him there, must have their way; and it is to them that he appeals.

GOOD MEN IN BAD BUSINESS.

Secretary Gage's limping defence of the President's indefensible civil-service order, like his silent though shame-faced acquiescence in certain scandalous appointments and removals in the Treasury Department, shows that he is rapidly becoming what the sneering politician called "a good man in the worst sense of the words." That is to say, he brings himself to lend his respectability as so much sheep's clothing for wolves to wear. Of the details of Mr. Gage's feeble apology for McKinley we shall speak in a moment, but the pity of it is that he allowed himself to be seduced into making any apology at all. By consenting to come forward at this juncture as the President's whitewasher, he irreparably damages his own reputa-

tion without sensibly helping his chief's. For the time being, it is true, he throws dust in the eyes of the credulous. "There, you see," silly people will say, "it can't be as bad as the reformers and the Civil-Service Commission think, for good Mr. Gage approves of it."

The Secretary's omissions are fully as significant as any of the assertions in his statement. He has not a word to say of the fact that the principal changes were made without consultation with the Civil-Service Commissioners, who already, as in duty bound, have spoken out against the concession to the spoils-men. Mr. Gage does not mention the circumstance referred to in the condemnatory resolutions of the Maryland Reform Association, that the President is deserving of the graver censure because he persisted in his course "with full warning as to its consequences, and despite earnest remonstrances from patriotic citizens and from the press." Not a syllable, either, do we get from Mr. Gage about the President's tricky manipulation of the rule governing transfers, by means of which any boss can now put any heeler in any office. Nothing does he say about the suspicious exception of gaugers and storekeepers, who hereafter will keep store and gauge as in the good old times, with an eye single to delegates and the nomination which the boss orders. Silent about all these tricks and scandals is Secretary Gage, unless he may be covertly referring to them when he drops into that old shibboleth of the spoils-men, and says that the order is not "understood," and cannot, in fact, be comprehended "by persons not close to the administration of public affairs."

Mr. Gage makes an elaborate argument to show, from the standpoint of one close to the administration of public affairs, why deputy collectors of internal revenue should be exempt from the rules. Of this the best that can be said is that it is an amazing exhibition of political simplicity. The Secretary solemnly reasons that it is neither proper nor legal to take away from collectors, by means of civil-service rules, the right to choose their own deputies. Imagine Platt and Quay and Hanna and McKinley chuckling over this! They know the kind of freedom they will leave their collectors in the matter of deputies. In what Nephelococcygia has Mr. Gage been living all this time? Does he not know that the appointment of every collector will hereafter necessarily carry with it a "slate" for all his subordinates, whom he will be bound in advance to choose as a condition precedent of getting the office? If it is undesirable to make a collector take his appointees from the eligible list, what will it be to compel him to take them on the dictation of a boss? Really, Secretary Gage's innocence in this business is too much for us. Yet we must say that in bucolic simplicity an-

other part of his apology runs this part hard. He says that it was necessary to turn the Alaskan service over to the spoils-men on account of "the great distance from Washington." If spoils thus necessarily increase as the square of the distance, what becomes of that "honest and effective civil service" which the President has promised to give to the Philippines?

The truth is that, in the long run, Mr. Gage will be found only to have hurt himself without helping the President. This thing has not been done in a corner. Mr. McKinley knew what he was about. He petulantly remarked to a protesting reformer that he had done so much "for you" that it was really shameless to ask him not to do something now for the politicians. The good of the public service? That may go hang. Don't you hear the roar of the Ohio convention, insulting President Harrison for his extensions of civil-service reform, and falling down before their own Nebuchadnezzar's image of a President because there was none of that nonsense about him? There is the true explanation of McKinley's spoils order, let Mr. Gage say what he may. But one good thing, we believe, will yet come of it. It will make it more difficult, if not flatly impossible, for people to talk longer of the President's "good intentions." Even Mr. Gage cannot fool the public on that score. The image, all men can now see, not only has clay feet, but is clay in the hands of the potter all the way up.

What we most deplore in the attitude of men like Mr. Gage and Secretary Long is that they throw away the only chance a good man in the cabinet has to make himself a power. We know perfectly well what they say. They want to accomplish something. They believe in their party as a whole, and think they must be silent or apologetic about many things they do not like for the sake of the good they hope to do. The politicians ask nothing better. A good man who will not be ugly, who will not kick, who, like charity, suffereth long and never faileth, is the joy of their hearts, one of their most efficient tools. Suppose Mr. Gage had put his foot down in the Shurtleff removal—told the President that if it was made he would resign, and not only resign, but expose the whole scandal, who doubts that he could have blocked the scheme? So of the civil-service retreat. Secretary Gage could have prevented that. A good man in the cabinet, ready to get out of it on the first sign of political villany, and ready to tell the public frankly why he goes out, could frighten a man like McKinley into all kinds of unintended virtue. That is the only use that we know of for a good man in public life. It is always Gambetta's alternative over again—either to "soumettre" or "démètre." Secretary Gage, however, has succeeded in doing

both: he has submitted to a bad policy and has demitted his own repute in apologizing for it.

THE NICARAGUAN CANAL REPORT.

The recent statement that the members of the Nicaragua Canal Commission were still divided in judgment as to the cost of constructing a practicable canal, is now officially confirmed. Although they are agreed as to a route, the difference between the estimates of cost made by Rear-Admiral Walker and Prof. Haupt on the one hand and by Col. Hains on the other exceeds \$16,500,000, or more than 13 per cent. of the average of the two estimates. This is a very wide disparity, and it will be noted that the higher estimate is made by an officer of the army whose rank and professional standing make him a formidable candidate for Chief of Engineers at the next vacancy. One fact which will strike the reader with force is the approximation of the figures given by Col. Hains to those given by Gen. Ludlow before a committee of Congress some years ago. Ludlow, though a highly accomplished engineer, was denounced at that time by the promoters of the canal scheme as an ultra-conservative and an enemy of American progress. What will the same critics say of Col. Hains?

So much of the Commission's report as is unanimous puts it out of the question for the Government to give further aid or comfort to the Maritime Canal Company. If Congress decides to build a canal through Nicaragua under exclusively American auspices, it may be willing to pay for such tangible assets as the company has on the ground, including tools, records, drawings, and a few borings which the official engineers would have been obliged to make if no private hand had made them. But the value of these things should be assessed only by disinterested experts, of such repute that the whole country will accept their judgment without question. No account whatever should be taken of worn-out franchises or conditional concessions. After its fruitless struggle for Government aid, and with its manifold promises to the public still unfulfilled, the company may consider itself well off if it can sell for cost those things which it is actually able to deliver. It cannot lay claim to the discovery of a route, for the greater part of its survey had been anticipated by other prospectors, and the only remaining feature which it could fairly claim as its own seems to be regarded by the Commission with distrust. This is the proposed cut through the crest of the Eastern Divide, and the impounding of a mass of water with a surface of perhaps 90 or 100 square miles and a depth of some 70 feet between walls which in some places would have to be artificially constructed,

and which are believed to be without a precedent in engineering. Of course, no scientific expert would venture to say that this plan could not be carried out, for nothing in it is essentially impossible. But the proposed experiment of walling in so large a lake, under conditions such that a weak point anywhere would mean ruin for the structure, and for all the canal route below it, has drawn no little criticism from engineers in private life, and thrown a veil of hazard over the whole plan of which it forms a part.

The aim of the Commission to use nature's channel from Lake Nicaragua eastward to the sea, except for a few short cuts here and there to straighten a horseshoe bend or reach a natural wide water in the midst of a fairly level country, will commend itself to the unprofessional reader who can apply to his study of the map only the tests of common sense. If we grant at the outset the proposition that we must have an interoceanic canal, and that Nicaragua offers the best country through which to cut it, the Commission appears to have presented as good a plan as is likely to be devised, and one infinitely preferable to that of the Maritime Canal Company. But the main question is in the hypothetical stage still. When so competent an engineer as Gen. Abbot advocates the Panama route against the Nicaragua route, it is not surprising that Congress checks the whole undertaking until it can obtain the comparative data it needs.

The Nicaragua Commission has not gone out of its way to suggest any contrasts; but the President has decided to make the members of this Commission also members of the larger Commission which is to report on the relative advantages of the two routes. The Nicaragua Commission appears to have made a pretty thorough inquiry into conditions in Nicaragua, for the short time it could devote to its task, and its fund of information will be available when the larger Commission reaches the Nicaragua branch of its work. Moreover, if first impressions count for anything, the larger Commission will be fairly balanced, Admiral Walker and his colleagues having made their first study of Nicaragua, and the rest of the Commissioners making their first study of Panama. But, after all the engineering reports are in, there will still remain a phase of the general question for settlement by experts in diplomacy. In Panama, apparently, our Government would be less liable to international entanglements than in Nicaragua, where the Clayton-Bulwer treaty and the rights of Costa Rica would have to be considered, even if the local Government were ready to sell or lease a strip of its territory.

THE DREYFUS DENOUEMENT.

John Quincy Adams wrote in his Diary that the continued outward success of a tricky politician seemed to him "a slur upon the moral government of the world." If many have felt that the conviction and punishment of Dreyfus for crimes which he never committed tended in like manner to impair belief in divine justice, they must now confess that Providence has "done something" in his case, in striking and dramatic enough fashion to satisfy even Carlyle. Never was there a more notable demonstration of the truth that there is a power in human society which makes for righteousness. Every circumstance conspires to make the righting of the great wrong impressive and solemn. The injustice was committed theatrically in the face of the whole world; the reparation is now made with all mankind looking on. Power, passion, national pride, army, courts, newspapers, public opinion—all were in league against one insignificant victim; but he, catching at "the skirts of God" as his only resource, sees them all fall back ashamed and defeated.

The Court of Cassation has followed the recommendations of its "reporteur" and the public prosecutor to set aside the Dreyfus verdict, and grant him a new trial; he will be sent before a new court-martial, which will not dare resort to the monstrous methods of its predecessor in 1894, and from which he will come off triumphantly acquitted. He is already acquitted in the judgment of the civilized world, and now, we may add happily, of passion-torn France herself. The precautions taken by Prime Minister Dupuy have not been in vain. His bill, irregular and suspicious as it seemed, for having both branches of the Court of Cassation sit in the hearing, is now seen to have had a valuable effect in conciliating public opinion and making anti-Dreyfusite charges ridiculous in advance. "The Jews" might buy one judge, one court, but hardly all the judges of appeal in a lump. Then the calculated indiscretion of some one in authority, through which all the evidence taken by the Court in secret was laid before the grand jury of 40,000,000 Frenchmen, has had a most felicitous effect. It prepared and persuaded the general mind to accept quietly the verdict of the Court. Instead of mobs and shouts and a national panic and crisis, we see the Court of Cassation compelled to send out its officers in order to get enough spectators present to comply with the terms of the law.

It is late in the day to dwell upon the tangled web of perjury, forgery, conspiracy, and credulity which made up the case against Dreyfus. The reporter of the Court cut his way through all this, and showed convincingly that there was before the judges an abundance of the "new facts" necessary to induce them to

declare for revision. Ten such facts were specified, each notorious. It is not necessary to go into all this, but it may be worth while to dwell for a moment upon the documents of the "secret dossier" used against Dreyfus so illegally and so fatally.

A member of the original court-martial has testified to the way in which these documents were laid before it. The evidence previously submitted—the now discredited *bordercau* and all—had left the members in doubt. Then Gen. Mercier secretly handed them seven documents from the War Office, which he said completely established the guilt of the accused man. The officers of the court turned pale at the illegality demanded of them—that is, condemnation of a man on evidence of which he was left in ignorance—but bowed to the supposed "necessity of state" and voted Dreyfus guilty. But the moment these documents are brought to light and scrutinized, they turn out to be only a mass of irrelevance, misinterpretation, mis-translation, and outright forgery.

Document No. 1 was the letter containing the famous phrase "*ce canaille de D.*" This it has been conclusively shown could not possibly have referred to Dreyfus. The second document was an intercepted dispatch from the German attaché, Col. Schwartzkoppen. But it used the German military term, "*Patent*," a title which could not be applied to Dreyfus. In order to make it apply, the General Staff deliberately mistranslated it. Then there were two cipher dispatches involving the Italian attaché, Panizzardi. One of these was used by the War Office in a version which the Foreign Office notified it was wholly mistaken; the other was given an absurd and impossible reference. Two other documents relating to military organization and plans had no necessary connection with Dreyfus at all. Seventh and last came the most damning evidence of all—nothing less than alleged letters of Emperor William himself to Dreyfus!

The huge credulity which could believe in the possibility of such letters is illustrated in a conversation which a witness swore to having heard between Gen. Boisdeffre and Princess Mathilde. The latter expressed doubts about Dreyfus's guilt. "Ah," said the General, "if you had seen what I have!" "What, pray?" "Well, I have seen with my own eyes a letter from the Emperor of Germany to Dreyfus." The Princess replied: "General, I am only a woman and a mere princess, but I know enough about the practices of royalty to know some things that cannot be. You may, perhaps, have seen what you say, but what you saw could not have been authentic." So, of course, it turned out. The Foreign Office disavowed and repudiated the letters, and their authenticity was indignantly and categorically denied by the German Ambassador. They were probably only

another wretched forgery of the wretched Henry.

So the long tragedy approaches its end. Dreyfus may not live to reach France; there may be long delays in the legal processes necessary to make him a free man. But for him and for the interested world the agony is over. Even slow and faltering human justice has at last caught up with the divine judgments which are true and righteous altogether. We cannot, of course, rest our faith in Providence upon such dramatic retribution. We shall have to go on seeing truth upon the scaffold and wrong upon the throne, but it is a great help to our trust in a moral order of the world when we see so plain an instance of justice shining out like the sun.

PROFESSOR DICEY ON THE TEACHING OF LAW AT HARVARD.

OXFORD, May 17, 1899.

In the Hall of All Souls' College, the Vinerian Professor of English Law has just delivered a public lecture on the "Teaching of Law at Harvard." He began by reverting to his own inaugural lecture of sixteen years ago, in which he had affirmed that the principles of English law "could be taught by duly qualified teachers to duly intelligent students." This speculative contention that law, being a science, must be amenable to the same professorial methods of teaching used in the case of other sciences, had now been practically proved to be correct by the general experience of American universities, and, in particular, by the teaching of law at Harvard. The Harvard Law School went back to the days of Story, and was really of more ancient origin than the present teaching of law at Oxford. Dane, inspired by the spirit of Mr. Viner, who founded Blackstone's chair in Oxford, made a chair at Harvard which was first filled by Story, and in which Story was followed by other able men. Nevertheless, Prof. Langdell was the second founder, the restorer of law teaching at Harvard, and had found in such men as Thayer, Gray, and Ames indispensable and able coadjutors, men whose writings were familiar to every educated English lawyer. The Harvard Law School had won by tangible success the gifts of many benefactors, and formed a sort of university within the university. Here Prof. Dicey dwelt at some length on the Law Library at Harvard, "the most perfect collection of the records of the law of the English people to be found in any part of the English-speaking world." It was noteworthy as something which visibly typified the spirit of enthusiastic study that informs the great Law School. The students, the professors, and its most admirable teaching constituted the glory of the school itself, as might be gathered from the increase in the numbers resorting to it, which had almost quadrupled, increasing under Professor Langdell's new régime from 120 to 550 or thereabouts. At present their real difficulty lay in the fact that the numbers of the pupils almost go beyond the possibility of teaching them.

The greatest triumph of the Harvard law professors in fact was that they had finally dispelled the "deep-seated delusion" which regards law in the light of a "handicraft,"

to be learned only by apprenticeship in chambers. The lecturer quoted the testimony of Mr. James C. Carter, who had been convinced that the Common Law of England was a science resting on principles best acquired through the teaching of men who have mastered them, and announced his present purpose of setting forth the principles and character of the Harvard teaching so as to make comprehensible its success.

The school was a professional one for the teaching of students whose aim was to become successful practising lawyers, and who had already received an adequate general training represented by the B.A. of Harvard, Yale, or some other American university. These students were in the position of men beginning to read for the Oxford Jurisprudence School, so far as knowledge of the law was concerned. Otherwise, they were in no way as Oxford undergraduates are. They were men of twenty-two or twenty-three, ready to join the Law School with the practical object of acquiring knowledge of the law, and thus occupied the position of young men here beginning to read in chambers. At the Law School three years were required to obtain the law degree. Fifteen courses had to be taken, and at the end of each year the student was examined in the topics of each of his lectures by the professor giving the course, who had to be satisfied before a further stage could begin. The lectures of the first year were fixed for all, but there was a free choice of subjects in the second and third years. The degree was obtained by success in each and all of the yearly examinations. Especial merit was recognized in something analogous to a class list. Still, the obtaining of a degree was not a student's primary object, but rather to learn English law and leave a high reputation among fellow-students and professors. The lecturer then gave, as a specimen, the fifteen courses taken by a very distinguished student, and remarked that one who had mastered the principles underlying the subjects enumerated in that list began his professional life "with an amount of knowledge rarely possessed by an able student from our universities on his call to the bar."

Young Americans were, he said, alive to the importance of actual success. How, then, comes it, he asked, that they are willing to spend the years from twenty-two or twenty-three to twenty-five or twenty-six in this preparatory professional study? As to this willingness, which must strike Englishmen as "something of a paradox," he gave two points in partial explanation. First, the reputation gained at Harvard for knowledge and dexterous argument promoted a young man's success, quite apart from the degree obtained. This helped him in a way in which no University reputation to be gained here could help a man. In America, where the distinction between barristers and solicitors was unknown, law business was often carried on by great law firms. A highly rated student easily gained admission into the office of one of these firms, and his fame, spread by fellow-students (often practically in the position of English country solicitors), won business for the firm. The case of Lord Bowen, whose unique gifts were so slow in receiving recognition that it seemed at one time as if he would be drawn away from the law to literature, would not have been possible under American conditions. Thus the practical value of a re-

putation gained in the Law School was one reason why Americans were willing to devote to it three of the best years of their manhood.

The second reason was that the teaching they received exactly met their needs. This teaching, being strictly professional, was also definitely professorial. The lecturer quoted from Prof. Langdell's address on the Harvard Law School, given on the two hundred and fiftieth Founder's Day of Harvard College, and pointed out, as the fundamental conception of the Harvard professorial teaching of the law, the idea that "English Law is a science to be deduced from a limited number of principles which are to be learnt from books." Strict adherence to these principles had given to the Harvard teaching a stamp which was at once scientific (logical) and practical, the whole aim being to explain the principles of English Law. At Harvard they rated low the good to be got by reading in chambers—perhaps they rated it too low—for law was partially a handicraft. The prominence lent by the masters of the Law School to the logical aspect of law could, however, only work for good, since the uses of legal apprenticeship had been vastly overrated. Teaching might be logical and professorial without being in any degree abstract. From abstractness the Harvard professorate were preserved by their pupils' definite professional purpose and by their intense enthusiasm for the Common Law of England, or rather of the English people. Emphatically teachers of English law, they did not illiberally underrate the value of the comparisons between it and other systems. Yet their successful insistence upon the fundamental principles of English Law gave a remarkable color alike to their mode of thought and manner of teaching, in which Roman Law played a subsidiary part only. Prof. Dicey referred to Holmes's 'Common Law,' Langdell's 'Law of Contracts,' Thayer's 'Introduction to the Law of Evidence,' and Prof. Ames's essays in the *Harvard Law Review* as exhibiting speculative powers of no common kind. Yet these writers had not, like some English writers of note, become interested in the theory of English Law from their interest in legal philosophy, but rather had become expounders of the philosophy of law through their intense interest in the Law of England. This he illustrated from Prof. Langdell's book on 'Contracts,' for which the author's immense logical power had been obviously trained and stimulated by study of the Common Law. Upon this study he depended for teaching his pupils to think for themselves. Thayer's 'Introduction,' "the latest and most perfect production of legal speculation sent us from Harvard," was almost oppressive in the weight of its legal learning, and the captious reader might regret time and space given to citing, explaining, or criticising the dicta of judges and others, some of whom had not half the author's intellectual powers, none of whom had explored, as he had, the foundations of the Law of Evidence. Prof. Thayer, had he affected new and unintelligible terms like some philosophic Germans, would be acknowledged to be a great jurist. But "he is immersed in the History of the Common Law," said the speaker, and his subtle power of analysis is likely to be underrated because of his clearly expressed conclusions. His thorough and lawyer-like mastery of the Common Law has forced him to become a master of legal philosophy.

Some jurists, Sir Henry Maine, say, or Prof. Maitland, had begun with the study of philosophy or of historical problems, and were led on to study the principles of Common Law; but American lawyers, such as Langdell and Thayer, began with the Common Law and were led on till they became masters of the philosophy and history of law.

Attachment to the concrete existing law of England and America, of the English people in fact, determined, the lecturer went on to show, the peculiar form of law teaching at Harvard, which was at once scientific and professional. Actual legal facts as stated in the reports were never lost sight of. Thus generalizations gained a reality sometimes missed by the theories of eminent jurists, and the pupils—though they learned to think—achieved a knowledge of cases "infinitely useful" to a practising lawyer. The grounding of the Harvard teaching on the study of cases was then dwelt upon as its peculiar mark, distinguishing it from all other methods. After a detailed account of one of Prof. Ames's lectures had been given, the peculiar stimulus of the catechetical method employed was dwelt upon. "It is," said Prof. Dicey, "the Socratic method applied to law." The Law of Contracts and the Law of Torts were, he said, obviously well adapted to this method, which had to alternate with dissertation, in a proportion regulated by the nature of the topic in hand. Yet at Harvard the method applied to all branches of the English Law was substantially the same, and a case-book was in every instance required. At this point the fifty volumes of case-books presented by the Harvard faculty of law to the All Souls' Law Library were appreciatively dwelt upon. These books, as used at Harvard, forced students "to learn rather than to let themselves be taught," and gave them a stimulus like that afforded to the novice in chambers when law papers are first placed in his hands and he is required to draft a claim or write an opinion. Moreover, the Harvard method roused and utilized the disputatious instincts of learners. The art of contradiction played a great part in all education.

The masters of the law at Harvard realized, as competent teachers ever did, how a man's true education was bound up rather in what he thought and talked of outside the class-room than in what he heard while in the class-room. Their method absolutely required the pupil to be "perpetually engaged in the examination and discussion of cases." Hence had arisen their law clubs and their moot courts, the system of which was most minutely and vividly described by the lecturer at some length, and to the great entertainment of his audience. Thence, also, the institution of the *Harvard Law Review*, which was in turn carefully and adequately set forth.

Prof. Dicey then asked what lessons for America and for England could be learned from a comparison between the law schools in England and that of Harvard. He dissented from the conclusions of Dr. Birkbeck Hill, who deemed that Oxford should go and do likewise, and, by making changes that seemed slight to the outside observer, raise up an institution to rival the Harvard Law School in numbers and in prosperity. No lawyer either in England or America could share this view, if he examined from the inside the law schools of either country. Each could learn from the other, neither

could adopt the other's methods directly. Scientific legal education was alike the aim of both; but while the aim of the Harvard Law School was also definitely professional, this was not true of the Oxford and Cambridge Law Schools, which were, and must be, in the main, educational. The stimulus to work at Harvard was professional success, whereas the stimulus to work in the other case was the desire to obtain a place in the class list—a perfectly legitimate aim for youths going through a course of university training. Essential differences such as these could not be overlooked, and necessarily determined the course of instruction pursued in each case. Oxford could as little copy Harvard, maintained Mr. Dicey, as Harvard could copy Oxford, yet the law school of each university might learn much from the other.

As to what Harvard might learn from Oxford, he spoke with diffidence, being conscious of better qualifications for admiring than for criticising the American system. What, however, an observer from abroad might properly remark was that, the educational element of law being inevitably in the forefront of Oxford teaching—the educational and the speculative element, that is—a leaf from the Oxford book might, perhaps, be taken in this regard with profit to the Harvard system, where the practical study of the law of England might also ally itself more intimately and concretely with that of Roman Law. In their comparative inattention to the law of Rome, the Harvard teachers were following, no doubt, an English tradition, but it was one of dubious excellence. Even in a professional school of law a greater encouragement of the comparative method would be appropriate. Furthermore, the tutorial and collegiate system of Oxford had merits not easily attainable in a university without colleges. Also, the catechetical method in use at Harvard required for its fullest usefulness small classes and many professors of eminence. They are at Harvard embarrassed by their very success, and have to face the problem of multiplying their teachers without decreasing their intellectual quality. Here the lecturer spoke feelingly of the welcome extended to him at Harvard as a representative of the English system of tuition, and then turned to consider what Oxford could learn from America.

The first lesson was one of "immense encouragement" to be derived from the demonstration that English Law could be taught by university professors "with almost unlimited success." This teaching, "by a curious paradox," was far older in America than in England, and the condition at Harvard was what might have been in England if Blackstone had been followed by a line of succeeding professors as eminent as himself. The merits of the Harvard catechetical system should also be taken to heart. The most that could be said in candid criticism of this system would be that its effect might be enhanced by supplemental lectures of the kind in use here. The eminent expositors of law and legal theories at Harvard were too admirable as teachers to make us easily submit to their somewhat exclusive practice of catechetics. But this practice was so admirable that some effort should be made here to induce students to perform their part. The difficulties involved in this were decried upon by the speaker with inimitably telling humor, and then he added that the

students themselves ought to find a way to create societies for the formal hearing of legal arguments, although such a scheme brought us close upon the line dividing a professional from an educational school.

Another question, as to the possibility of creating at Oxford a school which should be at once professional and scientific, was then raised. Undergraduates going in for the Jurisprudence School were still in the educational stage, but B.A.'s reading for the B. C. L. examination were in the position of the students of the Harvard Law School entering upon the actual profession of the law. After a passing tribute to Profs. Holland and James Bryce, the able organizers of the admirable Oxford B. C. L. examination, Prof. Dicey called attention to the fact that candidates for the B. C. L. rarely resided at Oxford, and did not form a class to whom post-graduate instruction could be given. He suggested possible changes which might keep in residence "a small but select body of earnest students to read for the B. C. L." Could this be achieved, we should, he declared, have laid the groundwork of a school which might combine with the excellencies of Harvard the special virtues of the Oxford method.

In closing, the speaker dwelt upon the wonderful enthusiasm kindled in the students of the Harvard Law School. The School was greater than the method, and the teachers were greater than the School.

LOUIS DYER.

THE DUKE DECAZES.

PARIS, May 18, 1899.

M. Ernest Daudet, brother of Alphonse Daudet, devotes himself chiefly to historical labors, in the modern field. The family of the Duke Decazes, the minister of the Restoration, has allowed him to use the Duke's papers, and with the help of these inedited documents M. Daudet has been able to publish an interesting work, under the title of 'Louis XVIII. and the Duke Decazes—1815 to 1820.' The documents which he used are preserved at the Château de la Grave, near Libourne, where the first Duke Decazes began to assemble them after he had fallen from power. The great favorite of Louis XVIII. (for Decazes was a favorite as the first Duke de Luynes had been a favorite of Louis XIII.) had intended to write his memoirs; he never realized this intention, and left the papers which he had collected during a period of twenty years to his son, the second Duke, whom we saw Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1873 to 1877.

The jewel of the collection preserved at La Grave is the correspondence of Louis XVIII. with his minister from 1816 to 1822. There are no less than two thousand autograph letters of the King to his minister, which constitute truly a history of the reign, written from day to day, during that period.

"Successively," says M. Daudet, "Minister of Police, Minister of the Interior, President of the Council, Decazes, in order to gain the confidence of the King, thought to keep him acquainted every day with every affair, even the least important. He sent him every morning, in a portfolio of which each of them had a key, the letters and reports which reached him from all sides. After having taken cognizance of them, the King returned them to him, with a letter, sometimes long, sometimes short, in which he exercised his wit without reserve on men and things."

This explains in a certain way the character of the affection which he felt for Decazes. He had discovered him to be a safe man, spoke to him as to himself, and found in him a very intelligent and sympathetic echo. He sometimes wrote to him three times a day. The King was excessively witty and mordant; he felt the necessity of a confidant to whom he could say without danger all the clever things that came across his mind. The character of Louis XVIII. is a very complex one. The part which he played in the years that preceded the Revolution is certainly not to his credit. He was one of the enemies of Marie Antoinette; he was engaged, as Count de Provence, in many intrigues—among others in the conspiracy of the Marquis de Foudras, the true object of which has remained a mystery to this time. When the Revolution broke out, he emigrated. He left a short account of his flight, which was more fortunate than the flight of the unfortunate Louis XVI. to Varennes. The Count de Provence crossed the frontier with D'Avary, who remained with him during the long years of the emigration, and whom he made Duke d'Avary when he returned as King of France. On the death of the son of Louis XVI., the Count de Provence assumed the rôle of Pretender. He lived in exile, surrounded by a small court, without taking any part in the great events which changed the face of Europe.

Decazes, who was to become his great favorite, was born in Libourne and educated at Vendôme; he became Secretary of Madame, the mother of the Emperor Napoleon, a place which must have been a sinecure. Madame received every year 480,000 francs from her son, and young Decazes kept her accounts. He became Secretary to King Louis, the brother of Napoleon, when Louis became King of Holland. In 1810 he was named Councillor of the Court of Paris. His relation with the Bonaparte family continued; he was very agreeable and very handsome, and a great favorite of Queen Hortense and of Pauline Borghese.

During the Hundred Days, he received an order to retire to La Grave. He returned to Paris when Louis XVIII. was on the point of entering the capital. The King was kept at Saint-Denis by Fouché, who wanted him to confide to him the two ministries of the Interior and of the Police. Decazes had an interview with Fouché, and accepted the post of Prefect of Police, whose functions were particularly grave and difficult at the time. The foreign armies occupied Paris, the allied sovereigns were expected, the King was coming back with only the remnant of his guard. The new Prefect of Police undertook to guarantee the security of the sovereigns, to reinstate all the authorities which had been dispersed during the Hundred Days, to send the imperial troops across the Loire, to dissolve the Chambers, composed chiefly of Republicans and of Bonapartists. He had no other force at his command than the National Guard of Paris. He closed the doors of the Palais Bourbon, and succeeded in preserving order in the capital. The King made his entry on the 8th of July, through the Faubourg Saint-Denis. The enthusiasm was universal; the King posed as "a father happy to find himself again among his children."

The cabinet which he chose was formed of Talleyrand, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Marshal Gouvion Saint-Cyr, Baron Louis, Pasquier, and Fouché in the Ministry of Po-

lice. M. de Vitrolles was Secretary of the Council. Vitrolles and Fouché tried to prevent Decazes from working directly with the King and seeing him. They did not succeed, and as soon as Louis XVIII. saw the new Prefect of Police, he was charmed with his manners, his intelligence, and his moderation. The King was himself very moderate, in comparison with the Count d'Artois, his brother, and the most prominent Legitimists, who had been greatly infuriated by the return of Napoleon and the events which followed it during the Hundred Days. They breathed vengeance, and found a complaisant instrument in Fouché, who was always ready for any sort of work. On the 24th of July, Decazes received from Fouché an order to arrest many people, among them Lavalette, who had been Director-General of the Post-Office, Marshal Ney, Bertrand, Rovigo, Labédoyère, Cambronne, Pajol, and many other officers of the imperial army. The same letter of Fouché's ordered Decazes to expel from Paris fifty-five persons whose presence was supposed to be dangerous; among them were Marshal Soult, Exelmans, Bassano, Carnot, Davoust, Benjamin Constant, Marbot, Réal, Montalivet. These lists were made up by Fouché, who had received full powers from the Council. Decazes, with the approbation of the King, did all that was in his power to help some of these persons to leave France so as not to be arrested. Montalivet was a personal friend of Decazes, who asked the King to strike his name from the list. "If not for my feeble services of the day," said he, "let it be for my future services." "You are a good fellow," said the King; "embrace me," and, laying the ministerial list upon his table, with his own hand he struck off the name of Montalivet.

Decazes also obtained the pardon of Benjamin Constant, who was on the list for proscription. He was not so fortunate with those who were on the first list, and who were to be arrested. Lavalette, Ney, Labédoyère might all have escaped from France: they had been advised on many sides that the order for their arrest had been given. They all remained in France. Ney was arrested in Auvergne.

"When the news came to Paris, the emotion was great in the government. The King said to me, 'Unfortunate man, to allow himself to be arrested. He will do us more harm than he did on the 15th of March by going over to Bonaparte.' This sentiment was shared by the Ministers, by all the enlightened friends of the dynasty and of the constitutional government. A sentiment inspired by the desire of vengeance was dominant in the party which pretended to be the exclusive representative of the monarchy and which demanded scaffolds. I had," continues Decazes, "on my arrival at the Prefecture and the Conciergerie, a conversation with Ney, in which he spoke to me with a sort of effusion, saying with what a desire to do his duty he had left the King, and how afterwards, fascinated by the memory of so much common glory, and carried away by his troops, he had forgotten his oath and the flag which, in too energetic terms, he had sworn to defend."

Ney had said to Louis XVIII. that he would bring him back Napoleon in an iron cage. The King did not desire the death of Ney. Reminding Decazes of the words, "I will bring him back in an iron cage," he added: "He left my room faithful to me; he had the intention to be so to the end. But the situation was stronger than his soul." Ney's execution was a very great error. The pathetic drama of his trial before the House of Peers and of his death in the garden of

the Luxembourg made an immense impression not only in France, but in Europe. The ultra-royalist party felt triumphant and began its campaign against the moderate royalist party. Fouché, who had never been liked or respected by the King, and had been imposed on him by the Allies and by Talleyrand, was dismissed after the general elections. After him, came Talleyrand's turn; he was replaced by the Duke de Richelieu, who, fortunately, was a man of noble character and of moderate views. Louis XVIII. pressed Decazes to accept the Ministry of Police in the Duke de Richelieu's cabinet.

The fragments of the memoirs of Decazes given by M. Daudet come, unfortunately, to an end when Decazes entered the cabinet. To follow him afterwards, Daudet found only notes, but these have much interest. The Chamber of 1816 has been styled the *Chambre introuvable*; it was ultra-royalist. Decazes was in constant fear of its imprudence and its violence. "The ultras did constant violence to the generous intentions of Louis XVIII.; they obliged him to proscribe, notwithstanding the testament of Louis XVI., the judges of Louis XVI." Every incident became a weapon in their hands. When the Chamber heard of the escape of Lavalette, it fell into a great rage. "Louis XVIII. had predicted it. On the news of the escape, he said to me: 'You will see that they will say that we helped him.'" The ultra-royalist majority of the Chamber had for its irresponsible leader the King's own brother, the Count d'Artois, and the Count d'Artois had with him the Duchess d'Angoulême, the Duke d'Angoulême, and the Duke de Berry. The opposition which the King met in his own family and in the court was the great calamity of his reign and a source of perpetual disquietude to him. Decazes was his confidant. The King foresaw the dangers of the monarchy when the royal power should pass from his hands into those of his brother. By degrees, he succeeded in winning over to his views the Duke d'Angoulême, but the Duke was a very ordinary man and did not have much influence.

M. Daudet's volume is a long account of the intrigues of the Count d'Artois and of his partisans, of the divisions of the monarchic party, of the perpetual attempts made by the ultras against the liberties of the people and against the Constitution. The ultras stopped at nothing—they even tried to use the influence of the foreign sovereigns in favor of their views; but in this they never succeeded. Decazes advised the King to dissolve the Chamber; the King took his advice, which was also that of the Duke de Richelieu. The *Chambre introuvable* was dissolved on the 5th of September, 1816, after having done as much harm as could be done in a short time. In the rest of his volume, M. Daudet gives a very interesting account of the struggles of Decazes with his political adversaries, with Chateaubriand, with Talleyrand, who could not console themselves for not being in the cabinet and in the King's favor. Decazes, who had become the daily adviser and friend of the King, remained in power till 1820, when the Duke de Berry was assassinated. This event gave his enemies an occasion for hurling him from power. Chateaubriand dared to write: "Les pieds lui ont glissé dans le sang." The cry of the extreme Royalists against him was so loud that, much to his regret, Louis XVIII. had to sacrifice him. A new cabinet was formed, and Decazes retired for a time to La Grave.

Correspondence.

"YOU-ALL."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of May 25, I notice a letter from Matthew F. Steele of St. Paul, discussing the use of "you-all" and "you-uns" in the South. I had not seen the review which called out the letter, but, having read it now, I beg to answer the question with which it ends, and to question the answer given by Mr. Steele.

It is an odd fact that different observers, in all good faith, so often reach different conclusions in regard to the same things, but I have studied the question of "you-all" and "you-uns" so carefully that I cannot help feeling sure of my own accuracy. Mr. Steele may never have heard an educated person use "you-all" in the singular, but I have heard it constantly in the every-day speech of cultivated people who would not have used it in formal conversation or in writing. Exceptionally precise people might never use it in any case, but in the ordinary give-and-take of greeting and gossip it is as characteristic as the accent of the South.

Mr. Steele states that when a Southerner says, "How are you-all this morning?" he means, "How are you and your wife and children?" But suppose there is only one of you? In my experience the greeting would still be the same, even among educated people, and, when it comes to the uneducated, I cannot see in what part of the South Mr. Steele has lived that he has not heard either "you-all" or "you-uns," in the singular, in constant use. "Go 'way, you-all's in my road," a cross cook will warn you when you go into her kitchen, even though you are not attended by your wife and family, and a negro or a poor white will scarcely speak a sentence without intensifying and broadening the sweep of his "you's," when there can be no question that he is addressing one person alone. "You-all's hat" and "you-all's coat" are not usually common property.

It is true that I was not born in the region where "you-all" is in use, but perhaps I have not been a worse observer on that account. The expression rang oddly in my ears when I first heard it; I expected to make use of it in writing, and I watched carefully in order to be accurate. As for "you-uns," I have been familiar with it always. It is seldom or never heard in that part of the South where "you-all" prevails, and, as Mr. Steele suggests, it is distinctively a "Cracker" expression. It is never used by cultivated people, no matter how carelessly they speak, but it may be heard among the "Crackers" and their brethren—that is, among the illiterate whites of almost pure English descent—all the way from Florida, through Georgia and the mountain regions of the Carolinas and Tennessee, to Kentucky, Southern Indiana, Southern Illinois, Missouri, and as much farther as the emigration of poor whites toward the Northwest, in the days of slavery, chanced to carry it. I have heard it in California, where it has been familiar since '49, and I would risk a good deal on the chance of hearing it to-day in the Klondike, after a little patient search. It is being educated out of use, though; except in isolated, primitive regions like the Tennessee and Carolina mountains, where Miss Murfree heard it and recorded it for all time.

And now there is a question which I should like to ask. Where do the two expressions come from? "You-uns," as I have already said, is heard among people of pure English descent who use many archaic expressions dating back to Shakspeare and the earlier English writers; but has any one ever seen "you-uns" in early English? "You-all," I am inclined to think, has come in with the French influence spreading from New Orleans and the Huguenot settlements in the Carolinas; but I am not certain, for it is used in Virginia, too, and I should like to know.—Respectfully yours,

MARY TRACY EARLE.

NEW YORK, May 29, 1899.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your correspondent, Mr. Matthews, is correct in regard to "you-all" and "we-all," and correct also in his surmise as to "you-uns." "We-uns" and "you-uns" are confined to the descendants of those English emigrants who drifted south from Pennsylvania, through the valley of the Cumberland, to the western slope of the Blue Ridge. They are to be found in Miss Murfree's mountain country, and in northern Alabama. On the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge and in the Piedmont region the locutions are seldom heard. But those who use them never make the mistake of applying them to one person. All forms of real dialect are amenable to a grammatical construction of their own, from which there is no haphazard variation.

I saw somewhere, not long ago, a discussion of "so long," the phrase of farewell, which, preserved by the negroes, has had a revival in all parts of the country. Is it not a survival of Shakspeare's "Sola"? It certainly is, if "Sola" itself originated from "So? la!" as thus: "Well, I must be going." "So? la!" an expression combining regret, surprise, and farewell.

J. C. H.

ATLANTA, GA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I think it may be said, without fear of contradiction, that no educated Southerner ever uses "you-all" as applied to one person. On the other hand, I think it is perfectly possible that the illiterate, particularly the negroes, may use "you-all" for both singular and plural. From Mrs. Louise-Clarke Pyrenelle's charming and pathetic little story of "Diddle, Dumps and Tot," which, by the way, I would recommend to all our Northern friends who would like to know something of the old Southern plantation child-life, I think I can cite an instance of its use in the singular. Daddy Jake is telling the children how the peafowl came to have "eyes" on his tail: "Well, yer see, de owl one time wuz in his kitchen er cookin' uv his dinner, wen hyear come de peafowl er struttin' by." The owl wishes to "take him down," so he calls out:

"Whooo cooks fur you-oo-a?
Whooo cooks fur you-oo-a?
I cooks fur my folks,
But who cooks fur y'all-ll-ll?"

Daddy Jake continues: "Now he jes done dat out'n pyo' sass'nness, caze he knowed de peafowl felt hiss'f 'bove cookin'."

The whole context here seems to indicate that "you-all" is intended to apply individually to the peafowl, and not to him and his "fo'ks."

It may be of interest to state that, while in this neighborhood "you-all" is used by both the educated and the uneducated, the

latter more commonly say "all-you," with the possessive adjective "all-your." So also "all-we"; but I don't remember to have ever heard "all-our." I well recollect how I was struck with the novelty of these expressions when, some years ago, I moved to this place from lower Maryland, where the negroes and "poor white trash" say "we-dem" and "you-dem."

I am puzzled to know the origin of this enclitic particle *-dem*; whether it is the third person plural *dem* for *them*, or whether it might not have been started by some strippling who, coming home from college and wishing to show off his Latin, began jocularly to tack on to his pronouns the strengthening particle *dem* of *idem* (=to-dem). This would be probable only in case "we-dem" and "you-dem" should prove to be localisms. Whatever may be the origin of this *dem*, it is a curious illustration of what seems to be a psychological want felt by some peoples for a particle to strengthen the pronouns of the first and second persons plural. This may be seen in the Spanish *nosotros* and *vosotros* (literally, *we others* and *you others*), and to some extent in French when *nous* and *vous* are followed by a noun in apposition. For instance: *nous autres modernes*, *vous autres Français*.

I should like to hear from some of your correspondents as to whether "we-dem" and "you-dem" are current elsewhere in the South.—Respectfully,

SAMUEL GARNER.

ANNAPOLIS, MD., May 28, 1899.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The present writer is a diligent student of the mother tongue, both as "she is spoke and wrote," and looks into every new species of colloquialism, dialect, and patois that comes under his eye. Situated as he is, surrounded by darkies of high and low degree, and in occasional touch with the "Cracker," he is conversant with many of our linguistic oddities that charm or madden the ear.

"You-all" is used by people of the utmost refinement. In truth, I venture there is not an infallible exception in our Sunny Land. As for myself, I contend for its recognition and establishment as good form, on the ground of its precision, distinguishing unmistakably the "you" of an addressed individual and the "you" of addressed collectiveness. The suffixing of "all" saves separate inquiries after "his sisters, his cousins, and his aunts," while it takes sufficient cognizance of them. There is a novel called "At You-All's House," I think. This possessive use is confined to children, white and black, refined or otherwise. If used by adults with much frequency, I have not noticed it.

I make an acknowledgment of guilt. My own rapidity of speech (and this is a common failing with many of us, due, maybe, to our Gallic strain) leads me often into saying "yaw!" or something near akin thereto. This is execrable, I know, and cannot be shrived away by even the editor of the Dictionary of Americanisms as confessor.

As for "you-uns," it is in use only among the most isolated rural illiteracy, and with us scarcely heard. It is said to be extant in the mountain settlements of the Blue Ridge States.

Very respectfully yours,

JOHN MILTON DABNEY.

MATHERVILLE, Miss.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The answer to your question as to the strict meaning of "you-all" given in your issue of May 25 being the reverse of what I expected, and further, the expression "you-uns" being entirely repudiated, I send you illustrations of these peculiar forms which may be of service.

While on duty with Burnside's Ninth Army Corps, in East Tennessee, in 1863, I found among the many peculiarities of native speech "you-uns" and "we-uns." Upon coming East and joining the Army of the Potomac, in service in Virginia, I heard instead of "you-uns" the vernacular "you-all." In a desperate charge against the field defences of the Fifth Corps, at Bethesda Church, the Confederate line crossed a broad, open clearing without firing a shot, arms at "right shoulder shift," in a style that compelled the applause of their enemies. Exhausted by the distance and pace, to say nothing of the adverse fire, they entered our lines only as prisoners. As one of their officers was hurried over the parapet with, "Come along, Johnny!" he burst out indignantly: "What you-alls call we-uns Johnny fo'?" This plural would seem to imply a singular "you-all."

While the Ninth Corps lay at Burkesville, after Lee's surrender, a delegation of neighboring farmers came to the headquarters of the Second Division, where the spokesman addressed General Griffin: "Giner'l, we jest come down, suh, to see if you'd be kyind enough to fu'nish us with a guyah'd, suh; you-all's men are treatin' we-uns ridik'lus, suh, ridik'lus!" Here is the possessive noted by your correspondent. Possibly this gentleman may rate the East Tennesseans as "Crackers," in which case their use of "we-uns" proves nothing. S. W.

A COUNTRY POLICE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The lawless condition of the outlying districts of our country, as exemplified not only in the Georgia lynchings and accompanying atrocities, and the Idaho riots, but also in the daily life of most of the small villages and towns everywhere, seems to call for some more effective reprisal against the offenders than the existing laws of the various States now offer. With these offences in mind, one cannot help instinctively turning to the splendid material, some resting on their laurels, others actively engaged, regulating the conduct of the citizens of our new possessions.

Through the testimony of eye-witnesses, we undoubtedly have in the volunteer in the Philippines and in Cuba as good a subject for a national police as any country can offer. His native common sense, intimate appreciation and support of a system which he thinks he is perfecting by his coöperation, once he believes in the honest purpose and conduct of the system, make him too valuable a trained public servant to allow his splendid force to dissipate through inactivity. Our various States, inasmuch as it cannot without constitutional changes be made national, should not lose the opportunity of turning a part at least of this material into a means for a broader and more effective policing of the country. The picture of two mounted police recruited from the kind of men who composed the "Rough-Riders" patrolling the unprotected districts of the country, is in itself

suggestive of an air of security that would bring relief to every peaceful citizen, while the concentrated stand of a few determined men of this kind against a body of lynchmen would awaken enthusiasm abroad and undoubtedly act as a most effectual deterrent.

Looking from the window of a house in New England, the writer has seen seven or eight lazy, unlicensed tramps lined up along a convenient fence, waiting for supper-time, in order more effectually to exploit the place for an evening meal. And what counterforce did the laws of the State offer? Nothing except the conditional services of a shiftless, cowardly sheriff or his drunken assistant. Naturally, having intimidated the inhabitants into supplying a good meal, the miscreants turned up at the lockup and were provided with a night's accommodation; the brave Falstaff pocketing his fee for each one.

With a State police formed out of the very material which now forms, perhaps, part of its disreputable element, we might at least draw some tangible good for home defence and add a saving grace to our war of aggression.—Yours truly,

EDWARD BROOKS.

STUDLAND, WARRENHAM,
ENGLAND, May 23, 1899.

THE PROOF-READER AT LARGE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The errors in modern printed books are at times curiously like those that are to be met with in ancient written ones. Suppose that one has been worrying over a multifariously garbled text of a Greek author, and takes up for diversion that most modern book, Mr. Kipling's "The Day's Work." It is with a certain melancholy pleasure that he notes at p. 323 the obvious error "We'll lay by till day" (for "we lay," etc.), followed four lines below by "she'll be fillin' aft" with the "ll" rightly placed. In the lines entitled "To the True Romance," as printed in the Messrs. Appleton's edition of "Many Inventions," and also in their edition of "The Seven Seas," the words "Beyond the bounds our starring rounds" are fairly meaningless to me. Has the form "starring" (meaning the solar system) been robbed of a "gemination" and a hyphen?

As I am on the subject of Mr. Kipling's text, I venture to call attention to a delectable version of "The Last Chantry" in Mr. Stedman's 'Victorian Anthology.' "Ho, the ringer and right whale, And the fish were [for "we"] struck for sale" is, perhaps, not very serious. But what shall we say to "Stringing ringing spendthrift and the fulmar flying free"? I am reminded of an edition of Shelley in which we read in "The Cloud": "And wherever the heat of her unseen feet"; which a friend of mine capped from another edition with "may have broken the woof Of my tent's tin roof."

I am, sir, very truly yours,

MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE.

HARVARD COLLEGE, June 8, 1899.

Notes.

Small, Maynard & Co., Boston, have taken over from the dissolved firm of Lamson, Wolfe & Co. four books of verse by Elias Carman, including 'Low Tide at Grandpré' and 'Behind the Arras,' which are now out of print, but will be immediately reissued. They announce further 'The Pedagogues,' a novel

by a new writer, Arthur Stanwood Pier, who has found a subject for study in the Harvard Summer School.

G. P. Putnam's Sons will publish in the early autumn 'Famous Homes of Old England and their Stories,' edited by A. H. Malan, with nearly 200 illustrations (mostly full-page, royal octavo) for the twelve homes selected. Several of the writers are women.

The Clarendon Press, Oxford, will publish at once the second series of Dr. Edward Moore's 'Studies in Dante,' and ere long a large-type reprint of the 'Divina Commedia' from Dr. Moore's "Oxford Dante."

'Landmarks in English Industrial History,' by George Townsend Warner; 'A Source-Book of American History,' by Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard; and 'Man, Past and Present,' by Prof. A. H. Keene, are soon to appear with Macmillan's imprint.

Little, Brown & Co., Boston, announce 'Kate Field: A Record,' by Miss Lillian Whiting.

Among seasonable reprints are two volumes of travel by Mrs. Anna Bowman Dodd, 'Cathedral Days: A Tour in Southern England,' and 'In and Out of Three Normandy Inns,' both illustrated, and now published by Little, Brown & Co., Boston; the first being in its second decade of popularity.

Mr. Andrew Lang's 'Myth, Ritual, and Religion' (Longmans) passes to a new edition, in two volumes, that it may form part of the publishers' "Silver Library," and also because it has been long out of print. In the meantime has appeared the author's 'Making of Religion,' to which, as embodying his maturer thought, the earlier work is made to conform by excision and rewriting; but his main thesis he still adheres to. Some controversial matter has been stricken out, but more has been introduced in the new preface, nearly half of which is given to a discussion of the God Abone, as "evidence for an early pre-Christian belief in a primal Creator, held by the Indian tribes from Plymouth . . . to Roanoke Island . . ." Here Mr. Lang stands by William Strachey, gent., though "a manifest plagiarist" who made insertion in the work of "a detected liar," to wit, Capt. John Smith.

From Macmillan we have volumes III. and IV. of the commendable "Eversley Edition" of Shakspeare presided over by Prof. C. H. Herford, with historical and critical introductions and footnotes.

The work of many hands is 'Republic or Empire? The Philippine Question' (Chicago: The Independence Co.). Mr. Bryan and Mr. Carnegie, ex-Senator Edmunds and Senator Hoar, President Jordan and Carl Schurz, Samuel Gompers and Charles Francis Adams, are some of the public characters whose expressions against throwing our patrimony to the dogs are here grouped, with portrait and other illustrations. Both the Bacon and the McEnery resolutions are printed in the publishers' preface; and the volume forms a very convenient repository of arguments which leave little to be said on the burning question of the hour. The honor of being represented here will, in time to come, make brighter not a few reputations which have suffered in other connections.

A collaboration in the proper sense has produced the two-volume 'Life of Gladstone,' edited by Sir Wemyss Reid (London: Cassell; New York: Putnam). The laboring oar has been assigned to Mr. F. W.

Hirst, for the political narrative; Canon MacColl presents Gladstone the Theologian; his oratory is estimated by Mr. H. W. Lucy, and so on. There are numerous illustrations of varied quality; many curious. Here, for instance, is Leech's Lord John Russell chalking his No Popery on Wiseman's door and running away. For reference this work, which is continuously paged, is to be prized, especially as it is indexed.

We have been slow to notice the sumptuous yet admirably refined and enjoyable edition, in the original Spanish, of 'Don Quixote de la Mancha,' of which vol. I., comprising the First Part, with notes and an introduction by James Fitzmaurice-Kelly and John Ormsby, also in Spanish, has appeared from the press of David Nutt, London (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons). We reserve until the appearance of the concluding volume more extended notice of this welcome work, whose significance is due largely to a judicious collation of the text with that of the earliest editions.

We have from the Macmillan Co. a translation of Dr. Ahton Menger's work on 'The Right to the Whole Produce of Labor,' by M. E. Tanner, with an introduction by Prof. H. S. Foxwell. This treatise is too well known to students of economics to need description, and it is enough to say that it is essentially an historical and critical examination of Socialism. Prof. Foxwell's introduction is very long, being devoted to an account of the English socialistic writers, and he adds an equally long appendix containing a bibliography of this school.

The Philadelphia Free Library of Economics and Political Science publishes a 'Handbook of Labor Literature,' compiled by Helen Marot. While there may be some advantage in classifying this literature, the attempt to characterize a book in a dozen words is not likely to produce satisfactory results, and in this case we observe that some of these characterizations are altogether incorrect. Such a handbook is really nothing more than an index, inferior in most respects to the library catalogues.

The well-known publishing-house of F. Bruckmann in Munich has just issued a work entitled 'Das literarische München,' by Dr. Paul Heyse. It consists of portraits with brief biographical sketches of twenty-five of the most prominent literary men now residing in the Bavarian capital. The portraits are drawn from life by Paul Heyse, who wields the artist's pencil with the same skill as the poet's pen, and are admirably reproduced in the exact size of the original drawings. All are of Germans except our countryman E. P. Evans and the Norwegian Björnson. It is to be regretted that Paul Heyse, who is by far the most distinguished representative of "Literary Munich" at the present time, was too modest to include his own portrait, which ought to have figured as a frontispiece.

Prof. Dr. Julius Dieffenbacher's 'Deutsches Leben im 12. Jahrhundert' (Leipzig: Göschen) is a succinct description of the public and private life of the Germans in the twelfth century, embracing social intercourse, domestic affairs, courts of justice, castles, cities, methods of furnishing, heating, and lighting rooms, military organization, navigation, hunting and other sports, festivities, forms of salutation, superstitions, etc. The contents of the little volume, with its thirty illustrations in the text, serve to elucidate the two great epic poems of that

period, the 'Nibelungenlied' and 'Götteran,' and explain many things which might puzzle the ordinary reader.

The account of Kamchatka by Mr. G. E. H. Barrett-Hamilton, in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for May, is noteworthy for the condensed history of the exploration of this land lying "at the back of godspeed," and the bibliography of works and articles upon it. A region "still in all the violent activity of a vigorous volcanic youth," and where fog and storm reign almost perpetually, Kamchatka is attractive only to the naturalist and to the anthropologist; to the former, largely because of the intermingling of Arctic with southern forms. "The weird drawing cry of the Arctic fox and the tapping of woodpeckers salute the ear in strange incongruity, while the reindeer browses contentedly in a country which supports cattle and wild sheep." The natives, as a separate race, whose "mild and primitive habits and strange dwellings are of the highest interest," are fast passing away "under the combined influence of intermarriage with the Russians, of drink and disease." The best part of the peninsula is the middle region. "a land of fish and fowl in abundance, of bears and berries, and richly furred sables, of birch and larch woods, of peaceful, well-watered meadows, and hot springs overshadowed by awe-inspiring live volcanoes; a land full of romance and variety, where every nook and rock and corner is peopled each by its own presiding spirit in the imagination of the simple Kamchadale aborigines." Some attractive illustrations and a map accompany the article.

Recent numbers of the *Times of India* contain an interesting series of articles on a journey in western Tibet. This country is not a desert waste, but a land of superb Alpine scenery, crowned with mountains of eternal snow, studded with beautiful green valleys, and abounding in monuments of Buddhist antiquity. The town of Leh on the Upper Indus is a veritable Babel of high Asia. Here the caravans from China and Russian Turkestan meet those from Bokhara and the Punjab and effect the exchanges of a large and prosperous trade. The Tibetans are interesting for many things: two very palpable facts are that they almost never bathe, and that polyandry prevails among them. The polyandry is of the same kind as that which is so notable in the 'Maha-bharata,' to wit, the woman is married to three or four husbands; but those husbands are brothers or near of kin, and a single one among them acts as the real head of the family. One of the principal objects of this journey was the investigation of the famous Himalayan 'Life of Christ,' about which so much was said a few years ago. Careful inquiries of the abbot of Himls, the principal monastery of western Tibet, proved that the alleged "discovery" of Notovitch was naught else than an impudent forgery. Further particulars may be found in the number for April 1. page 292.

'Aboriginal Carvings of Port Jackson and Broken Bay,' by W. D. Campbell, forms No. 1 of the Ethnological series of Memoirs of the Geological Survey of New South Wales. It treats of the rock-carvings and cave-drawings which abound in the coastal districts north and south of Sydney. The numerous bays and creeks among wooded hills in this neighborhood provided unusual facilities for the sustenance and development of the abori-

ginal population, while the intricate waterways afforded protection and a means of communication. The tribes became numerous and powerful, individually robust and of large stature, and their leisure evidently enabled them to devote themselves to ceremonies and amusements. The surfaces of soft, fine-grained sandstone were extensively availed of by them for the depiction of animals and fish, weapons, deities, ghosts, and dances, and picture-stories of combats and incidents of the chase. It is remarkable that while so little attention was paid to habitations or personal comfort, so much labor should have been devoted to cutting these figures, sometimes sixty feet long, in the solid rock. The localities selected for these carvings include the tops of cliffs, the table-lands, which are here about 700 feet in height, and the ridges of hills along which the natives travelled. The caves and rock-shelters ("Gibber Gunyas") were utilized for drawings in charcoal, red ochre, and other substances. The evidence thus far collected is insufficient to fix the age of either drawings or carvings, although many of them were probably made centuries ago. Much of their meaning, too, has been lost with the rapid disappearance of the natives, as no attempt was made in the early years of settlement to put on record the folklore of these races. The memoir is illustrated by twenty-nine photolithographs, and a map of Cumberland County, showing the locality of the carvings.

In the last issue (vol. VI., No. 1) of *Euphron*, Hedwig Wagner establishes interesting relations between the poems of Tasso and the Norse heroic legends. Tasso's long sojourn in Northern Italy, whose aristocratic families prided themselves on their Germanic descent, and his early familiarity with the historians of Germanic races, seem to have awakened in him a sympathetic interest in the heroes and heroines of the barbarous peoples of the North. It was this partiality, according to the writer, which led the poet of the 'Jerusalemme' to endow two of his finest characters, Sueno (*che porta lo spavento negli occhi e in man la morte*) and Clorinda, with traits borrowed from historical and mythical beings in the 'Historia Danica' of Saxo Grammaticus.

It was a graceful act on the part of the Royal Geographical Society, and one which will contribute to prolong the "era of good feeling" between France and England, to confer its highest honors for this year on Frenchmen. The founder's medal is given to Capt. Binger for his explorations in 1887-'89 in the region included in the great bend of the Niger. The significance of the choice is heightened by the fact that he endeavored to extend the French control over territory claimed by the English. M. Foureaux, well known for his extensive travels in the Sahara during the past twelve years, receives the patron's medal. The only Frenchmen who previously to this time have received these honors are M. François Garnier, the traveller in Indo-China, and M. E. Reclus, the famous geographer.

The *Tour du Monde* announces the gift by a person, who desires to remain unknown, of five travelling scholarships for students, to be awarded by the Council of the University of Paris. To each successful competitor will be given \$3,000 for the actual expenses of his journey, \$100 to buy the books essential for a preparatory study of the route to

be followed, and a further sum of \$200 for the purchase of souvenirs of the journey. The total amount of the gift is \$16,500.

—In *Scribner's* for June, Theodore Roosevelt brings his "Rough Riders" to an end. It is a minute account of the doings of his regiment, and suffers from having been anticipated by the newspapers. It is impossible to escape the conclusion that he has avoided printing much that would have lent interest to his narrative. For instance, his account of the proceedings which led to the recall of the regiment from Cuba is extremely tame; we almost get the impression that "round robins" to generals, and letters from officers in the field demanding the recall of troops, are commonplace matters, such as are constantly met with in military literature from Cæsar to Jomini. The most interesting literary paper in the number is again the instalment of Stevenson's letters, which this time come from Davos-Platz in the Grisons. His letters often contain characteristic criticism of books, written *currente calamo*. For Zola (he was very fond of French) he says, "I have no toleration, though the curious, eminently bourgeois, and eminently French creature has power of a kind. But I would he were deleted. I would not give a chapter of old Dumas (meaning himself, not his collaborators) for the whole boiling of the Zolas. Romance with the smallpox—or the great one; diseased anyway, and black-hearted and fundamentally at enmity with joy." The mock-Horatian ode to G. Dew-Smith contains some good verses.

"Me, whether evil fate assault,
Or smiling providences crown—
Whether on high the eternal vault,
Be blue, or crash with thunder down—

with the classical anti-climax that follows, could hardly be improved.

—Among the illustrated articles in *Harper's*, perhaps the most readable is Dr. Henry Smith Williams's "The Century's Progress in Scientific Medicine"—one of a series to which we have referred before. We are still accustomed to contrast our happy therapeutics with those of Sangrado or the Chinese system; but we need not go so far either in time or space. The marvellous progress made in our own practice in a hundred years is quite enough. In running through the list of discoveries described by Dr. Smith, one is equally surprised at those which, it would seem, ought to have been known from the earliest ages, and those which are so recondite as to have rendered discovery impossible except at a late scientific period. That our fathers and mothers should not have been able to see through solid matter, or their physicians to detect bullets imbedded in their bones, seems natural enough; perhaps more natural than that we should be able to see our own skeletons. But that the procedure of "tapping the chest of a patient to elicit sounds," indicative of the condition of the interior, should have waited for discovery till the time of Napoleon, is hard to credit; when introduced, we are told, the profession was not easily convinced of its value. Auscultation and the stethoscope followed. Again, why should the pain-dispelling power of the vapor of sulphuric ether have remained unguessed, or at any rate unused, till the middle of this century? Antiseptics in surgery, too, sounds now like something that might have been hit upon at least before 1860, though we should not like to undertake to prove it. Of course any one can under-

stand that bacteria and bacilli were not to be seen behind every bush, and here we get into regions where the reader begins to lose his grasp of popularized medicine. We seem to be on the eve of discoveries which might revolutionize not merely therapeutics, but life itself. In view of the magical revelations of the last hundred years, nothing is any longer incredible, and the elimination of disease altogether suggests itself as the goal to be kept in view.

—The *Century* has an instructive and curious article on "The Tramp and the Railroads," by Josiah Flynt, who made the subject his own some years ago. In his view the tramp nuisance was, upon its introduction into this country—those whose memories go back forty years can recall a time when the word and the creature represented by it were both almost unknown in the United States—fostered by the loose discipline of the railroads. In other countries the tramp had had to travel by the help of his own legs, on the hard high road. He found here a country where not only were people permitted to walk along the railroad track, but good-natured brakemen and conductors were rather amused at "stolen rides," and apparently had no orders to prevent them. Consequently, the tramp rode instead of walking, and in a few years this country was the paradise of tramps. A vagrant could make his way without difficulty in a "side-door Pullman" from New York to San Francisco, or from Portland to New Orleans, living on the country, and, at the worst, ejected from one train only to take the next. Tramps are, according to Mr. Flynt, "discouraged criminals," and for discouraged criminals the railroad system of the country as it then was, offered something hitherto undreamt of—a locomotive haven of refuge. So the railroads multiplied the tramps, and rendered the general work of policing the country more difficult; tramps readily turning into criminals, and criminals back again into tramps, as opportunity offered and occasion required. But now a change has come. The railroads have begun to police their lines. They object to giving discouraged criminals free transportation, and, with the co-operation of the local authorities along the line, have begun to "corral" them, and hand them over to the authorities. Mr. Flynt has been invited by one line operating two thousand miles to inspect its system, and he pronounces it very good. Thus time brings about its revenges, and it begins to look as if the United States of the next generation might be, if not free from tramps, at least policed against them. But the railroads cannot do the whole work. What they do must be supplemented by a good country police, such as exists all over Europe.

—The *Atlantic* has an article on Robert and Elizabeth Browning, by Harriet Waters Preston, who complains of Mrs. Sutherland Orr's Life of the poet as being "neither a very thorough nor a very pleasing performance." The critic points out that it was by an accident of "astrological moment" that Browning was born outside the pale of the Established Church, and thinks that a similarity of early traditions had much to do with "the instinctive and complete comprehension of each other's mental processes which the Brownings always evinced." As to immediate heredity in the case of the poetess we are left more in doubt, for her mother "seems to have left no trace what-

ever upon her daughter's mind," while her father was a "degenerate." Properly speaking, neither Browning nor his wife "had any regular mental training"; Browning having had a little schooling in childhood, and some French, but "little beside." For one year he was a member of the London University, and was "well instructed in music, for which he had a great natural gift." He was a self-made poet, and so was she; and it is idle to generalize about them, for there will be no more such. One was a master of "the divination of individual human character as an organic whole"; the other was Mrs. Browning. We may "thank Heaven there will be no more Aurora Leighs," and even recognize an "hysterical note" that jars in her poetry as a certain other note—shall we say that of barbarism?—jars in his. But in the end we see that they must remain for ever among the *ames d'élite* of the nineteenth century—"true minds" actually married. "The Outlook in Cuba" is a paper by Herbert Pelham Williams, whose trouble is that he has Destiny on the brain, though he writes as if he knew more or less about the island. The true mark of the Destinarian is that he does not reason or argue about what it is best to do, but lifts up his voice and predicts. "We shall stay and take care of our own, and thus, by imperceptible stages, the present situation will glide into permanent control." Of course, there is an historical idea at the basis of this—we always have stayed in other cases; *ergo*, we shall stay in this case. But, stated in this way, the argument seems to have no attraction for the Destinarian, perhaps because he sees the opening which is given to the logical anti-annexationist to say, But this case is wholly different from the others. At any rate, he never discusses; as a prophet and the son of a prophet, he is above discussion. He describes and foretells. The Cubans, by the way, he describes as mainly liars, which, if true, cannot be considered as an argument in favor of their being taken into the United States. Liars should, we suppose, be "permanently controlled"—this is part of the white man's burden—but not naturalized. "Swapping lies" used to be considered good sport in the West, but the Cubans do not swap lies in the right way. They lie in a poor, slavish, inferior, Dago way, and not like free-born American liars. All Cubans, it seems, further, have "villainous faces," but good manners.

—The Graduate Club of Bryn Mawr College has recently published, through Macmillan, under the editorship of Dr. Maddison, a new edition of its useful handbook for graduates, first published in 1896. The revised edition is entitled "Handbook of British, Continental, and Canadian Universities," which is a modification of the original title, due to the fact that, since practically all European universities and colleges are now open to women, the information collected is of equal value to men. Students intending to work at a foreign university will find here many useful facts as to expenses, etc., that are not included in the *Minerva Jahrbuch*. There has been a decided advance, in the last two or three years, in the extension of privileges to women studying in Continental universities. In the case of German universities, however, the permission is usually restricted by the phrase "in special cases"; at some universities, *e. g.*, Strassburg, only "exceptional cases" are admitted, while at Halle a protest has been lodged by the doctors and

students attached to the hospitals against the action of the medical faculty in admitting women to the courses in medicine. It is to be regretted that, though even Berlin has recently admitted a woman to the doctor's degree in the philosophical faculty, Trinity College, Dublin, which is renowned for the quality of its teaching, still maintains its cautious conservatism. The reorganization of higher education in France receives, of course, special attention in the 'Handbook,' and it is noted that the recent arbitrary Russanizing of Finland may affect the position of women, hitherto unrestricted in Finnish universities; Russia, as is well known, having closed all its universities to women. The 'Handbook' is well and clearly arranged, and is encouraging reading for the friends of women's education; it should be of interest to many outside the field of regular student life. In not a few cases, the individual caprice of a Minister of Education or a professor can still exclude women; in more, they have no rights, and must put up with privileges, but the field of opportunity that now lies open is wide, and the fact that this 'Handbook' is no longer for the use of women only is an encouraging omen of the time when the question of "women's education," together with certain other "women's interests," will cease to have a separate and hence somewhat invidious existence.

—The Germans have, by the establishment of "Arbeiterkolonien," which offer to every man in need a temporary home and the opportunity to work for average wages, done much to counteract the evils of the tramp system, and especially to draw a line between the worthy and the unworthy poor. The central committee of these colonies, at a recent meeting held in Berlin, reported that there were now thirty-two such establishments scattered over the country, all managed by private societies and without Government aid; the majority under religious organizations. The city of Berlin has two colonies, and nearly every one of the Prussian provinces, as also the other larger political divisions of the Empire, such as Baden, Württemberg, Bavaria, etc.; the only exception being Mecklenburg. The largest is that at Wilhelmsdorf, near Barmen, under the leadership of the indefatigable Pastor von Bodelschwingh, who has about two dozen institutions of various kinds for the benefit of the poor and the needy under his control, with an income of one and a half million marks per annum, although there is not a cent of endowment. The number of working places in these 32 colonies is about 3,500, and up to the present time 105,000 colonists have been received. During the year 1898, the number admitted was 8,935. The applications have decreased in number during the present season, which is accepted as an indication that times have improved in Germany. These colonies are not for profit, but for the good of the poor, and it has been computed that each colonist costs 20 pfennigs a day in addition to what the colony gets from his labors, and that the 105,000 colonists have cost the friends of the cause an additional 8,100,000 marks. But as these men, if they had been allowed to tramp their way and beg, would have cost society at least 18,000,000 marks, there has been a financial saving of about 10,000,000. These figures were furnished at the Berlin meeting.

NEW LIGHT ON RUSKIN.

Ruskin; Rossetti; Pre-Raphaelitism. Papers 1854 to 1862. Arranged and edited by William Michael Rossetti. With illustrations. London: George Allen; New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1899.

Mr. William M. Rossetti has again dipped into the store of materials in his hands, and they have proved ample for the furnishing forth of another entertaining and valuable volume concerning his brother Gabriel and the Pre-Raphaelite movement. He has preferred to the method of autobiography or reminiscence that of "presenting, duly ordered and annotated, the solid documentary materials by which his reminiscences are confirmed, or on which they rest," and he has confined the annotation to the strictly necessary, so that he here provides us with the raw material of history, and his characters are portrayed for us in their own words.

The relative importance of the material of the book is reflected in the order of the three words of the title. We have something here additional to our previous information on the history of Pre-Raphaelitism, but nothing vitally important; we have a good deal of new matter about D. G. Rossetti, but it shows us the same Rossetti, brilliant, erratic, and untrustworthy, that we have already learned to know. But of John Ruskin we learn a deal that we had not known before, and the main interest of the book is to be found in the light it throws upon his nature and character. The matter of the volume is composed of letters, fragments of journals, and other manuscripts, to the number, in all, of 158, and of these 66 are letters of Ruskin, some of them of great importance, against forty letters by Rossetti and various smaller numbers by others, of whom Ford Madox Brown is one of the most important. In the author's own words, "Either Mr. Ruskin in relation to my brother, or my brother in relation to Mr. Ruskin, counts as the principal figure in this compilation"; and the first of these alternatives seems to us the true one.

It is always gratifying to know what an interesting man thinks of himself, and in one of these letters Mr. Ruskin has drawn his own character for us. We have "Ruskin by himself" at full length, and may well start with that as the basis of our picture, supplementing or correcting it by the testimony of others and of himself when not consciously engaged in self-revelation.

"You constantly hear a great many people saying I am very bad," says he, "and perhaps you have been yourself disposed lately to think me very good. I am neither the one nor the other. I am very self-indulgent, very proud, very obstinate, and very resentful; on the other side, I am very upright—nearly as just as I suppose it is possible for a man to be in this world—exceedingly fond of making people happy, and devotedly reverent to all true mental or moral power. I never betrayed a trust—never wilfully did an unkind thing—and never, in little or large matters, depreciated another that I might raise myself. . . . If you hear people say I am utterly hard and cold, depend upon it it is untrue. Though I have no friendships and no loves, I cannot read the epitaph of the Spartans at Thermopylae with a steady voice to the end; and there is an old glove in one of my drawers that has lain there these eighteen years, which is worth something to me yet. . . . My pleasures are in seeing, thinking, reading, and making people happy (if I can, consistently with my own comfort). And I take these pleasures. And I suppose, if my pleasures were in smoking, betting, dicing, and giving pain, I should take those pleasures."

This is Ruskin as he saw himself. Now let us have a *per-contra* of Ruskin as seen by a sturdily honest man, Ford Madox Brown. The scene is Rossetti's studio:

"There, while I was smoking a pipe in my shirtsleeves, 'enter to us' *Ruskin*. I smoke, he talks divers nonsense about art hurriedly in shrill flippant tones. I answer him civilly, then resume my coat and prepare to leave. Suddenly upon this he says, 'Mr. Brown, will you tell me why you chose such a very ugly subject for your last picture?' 'I, dumbfounded at such a beginning from a stranger, look in his face expectant of some qualification, and ask, 'What picture?' To which he, looking defiantly, answers, 'Your picture at the British Exhibition. What made you take such a very ugly subject? It was a pity, for there was some nice painting in it.' I, from his manner, coupled with the knowledge of his having praised the subject to Gabriel a few days before, being satisfied that he intended impertinence, replied contemptuously, 'Because it lay out of a back window,' and, turning on my heel, took my hat and wished Gabriel good-bye. Ruskin seemed by this time in high dudgeon, and would not look at me as I left the room. So much for my first interview. . . . It would appear that his vanity was hurt at my not hanging longer on his skirts, and vented itself in impertinence."

Of course, Brown was touchy and too sensitive to a real or fancied slight, but when we remember that he was the first to practise Pre-Raphaelite doctrines, a most conscientious artist, and, perhaps, the real founder of the school, and that Ruskin never once found occasion to mention any of his works in public, we do not wonder that this interview was never repeated, and that Ruskin became for him "the great prohibited," whose name he would not have mentioned. Add to this the other known fact, that Ruskin could never see any merit in the work of Millais after their personal quarrel, and we are led to think that while he was right in thinking himself "very resentful," he was singularly wrong in considering himself "just." Of justice or of moderation he is alike incapable. He is, as Brown called him before their meeting, "the incarnation of exaggeration." "I am very positive about a great many things," he says of himself; but he is superlative always. Miss Siddal's drawings are "better than Rossetti's," and some little Gothic reliefs at Rouen, "the finest things I know in all the world." How many different things we have learned, at different times, are the very finest! And how infallible he is, whether in praise or blame. "There was nothing noticed in the pamphlet that was out of the way. My business is to know all sorts of good—small and great, no matter how small—and to attack all sorts of bad, no matter how great. I am going to run full butt at Raphael this next time." You see he is quite sure that he knows this business of his.

That Ruskin was really "fond of making people happy," there is here much evidence to show. He was tirelessly kind and generous in his relations to Rossetti and Miss Siddal, supplying them with money and help, and doing it in the most delicate way; constantly striving, as in this very letter, to make it seem that there was no obligation, and that everything was done for his own pleasure and advantage. Some of the letters to Miss Siddal, in which he tries to convince her that she need have no hesitation in accepting all that he offers, and need feel bound to nothing in return, are entirely charming. And yet it is easy to see how he was continually "sticking pins into" Ros-

setti, as the latter phrased it. He felt that he must regulate all the affairs of the couple in whom he was interested; tell Rossetti what he must paint and how he must paint it; tell Miss Siddal just where she must go for her health, and decide whether or not Rossetti is to be allowed to join her. He thinks Rossetti a genius, and tells him so, but tells him also that his "taste is as yet unformed in verse"; asks him to "show me some things in color," yet lays down the law to him as a master might, perhaps, do to the humblest of his pupils. Here is his style on practical matters: "I don't say you do wrong, because you don't seem to know what is wrong, but just do whatever you like as far as possible—as puppies and tomtits do. However, as it is so, I must think for you—and first, I can't have you going to Paris, nor going near Ida, till you have finished those drawings, and Miss Heaton's too." And here is his style on the technical practice of art: "Just remember, as a general principle, never put raw green into light flesh. No great colorists ever did, or ever wisely will." This tone of *ex-cathedra* instruction becomes so noticeable that one feels it is not all a joke when the critic writes to the artist: "You are a conceited monkey, thinking your pictures right, when I tell you positively they are wrong. What do you know about the matter, I should like to know? You'll find out in six months what an absurdity that St. Catherine is."

Rossetti was not the most docile of men, and must have fretted and fumed under all this. It is not in nature for a poet and a painter to enjoy being lectured like a school-boy about his art, or, for that matter, about his debts and his habits; and so we are somewhat prepared for the note of pathos in one of the last letters here given: "I wish Lizzie and you liked me enough to—say—put on a dressing gown and run in for a minute rather than not see me; or paint on a picture in an unsightly state, rather than not amuse me when I am ill. But you can't make yourselves like me, and you would only like me less if you tried." "No friendships and no loves," he has said, and one begins, perhaps, to understand why.

NOVELS AND SHORT STORIES.

The Maternity of Harriott Wicken. By Mrs. Henry Dudeney. The Macmillan Co.

Strong Hearts. By George W. Cable. Charles Scribner's Sons.

The Span o' Life. By W. McLennan and J. N. McIlwraith. Harper & Brothers.

Bonhomme. By Henry Cecil Walsh. Toronto: William Briggs.

It takes courage to open a book called "The Maternity of Harriott Wicken." A scientific lady novelist might by accident be gay over "The Motherhood of Harriet," but with "The Maternity of Harriott" we know that she must be deadly. The prologue to the drama justifies this premonition, and the last scene does not shame it. Close upon this last scene a conversation is recorded between Dr. Owen, an old-time lover of Harriott's, and Mrs. Megson, her maternal aunt, who had borne her infant niece away from the horrors of the prologue and brought her up as her own child, in Brixton, never doubting that prosperous suburban circumstance could coerce a dreadful Wicken into a perfect counterfeit of a respectable Megson. "Before her marriage," says Dr. Owen, "I

spoke to you as plainly as I could. She ought not to have married." "Fiddle-dee-dee," responds Mrs. Megson; "when I was young, people never thought of such things—it isn't decent." We have so long been familiar with public discussion of the sort of things on which Mrs. Megson thus peremptorily laid taboo, that we believed her species to be extinct, and the fact that a suburb of London still harbors beings with a fatuous worship for decency does something to explain the extreme bitterness with which suburbs are always spoken of by English novelists who have achieved escape from them. Without wishing to pose as an apologist for criminal squeamishness, it still seems but fair to Mrs. Megson to say that the "things" behind Harriott Wicken were so bad that her aunt's reticence might be attributed to a quality poetically known as the milk of human kindness, and to surmise that all the nerve of all the lady novelists of the last decade might not suffice for a bare statement of such things to a young girl very much in love and wanting to be married. Further, it may be urged in Mrs. Megson's behalf that no ghost stories about decadent Wickens (idiots, drunkards, harlots) could have compelled this particular Wicken, who by instinct loathed suburbs and Megsons, to renounce a rich, good-looking, well-mannered lover ready to lead her out of Egyptian darkness into an enchanted land of promise—that is, prosaically, bear her away from Brixton and plush-covered chairs and tea with jam (it is amazing how these escaped suburban novelists hate tea with jam), and set her down in an artistically furnished West End flat with a choice of all the market affords for dinner. At all events, Harriott does marry Daniel Damril (probably to intensify an ominous situation, she is never spoken of as Mrs. Damril), cuts Brixton, and may be considered equipped to imitate or expiate the sins of her fathers. For imitation she shows but a weak capacity, and for that reason, perhaps, is called to a rather thorough expiation by becoming the mother of a daughter who at two years of age is declared to be a hopeless idiot.

Up to this point the author shows no originality. She writes better than most of her sisters, with more vitality and probability. For acrimonious precision in description of English suburbs and suburbans she excels Mr. Giesing. May they be forgiven if they have set down anything in malice! But when Harriott awakens to her child's condition and feels that the Wickens are to blame, that there is nothing of the normal, healthy Damril about it, then the author grasps the tragic possibilities of an ill-balanced, untrained nature, and uses them in a way that gives her preëminence in her group. Hereafter the dead Wickens count for nothing in Harriott's tragedy; she, a woman of small mind and no spirituality, becomes the unthinking slave of the most normal feminine instincts, love and jealousy, and both instincts combine to develop that overwhelming maternal passion for her wretched baby which is the cause of her worst mistakes and irretrievable disaster.

For the moment, at least, the gift of writing tragedy of high, poetic strain is withheld from a thankless people by resentful gods. We live for the most part physically if not basely, and any impulse to sing about the spirit soaring triumphantly above disaster and pain and wrong is probably blighted by the feeling that few would listen to the song. The only

model that life appears to offer to literature for tragedy is harsh and narrow; a spectacle of human nature impoverished in spirit, battling doggedly and hopelessly towards inglorious defeat, ignoble extinction. The almost exclusive use of physical nature as a figure for fate and retributive justice announces a generation that has lost faith and fine ideals. Much of the literature thus inspired is pseudo-tragic, more of it is weak, foolish, immoral, unquestionably ephemeral—born dead. But a number of foreign authors and a few of our own have spoken for their generation in words that will last and by which posterity must judge us. It is just possible that 'Harriott Wicken' may thus survive, because it has directness and coherence and intensity, which are among the qualities that make for long life in letters. Facing such possibility, we may take comfort in the reflection that Mrs. Megson's unthinkable things have been uttered as decently as they can be, that hideous vice is mentioned only historically (though in scorn of the injunction to speak nothing but good of the dead), and that Harriott's last supreme sacrifice to her husband, so smooth, so shallow, so unequal to pain, suggests that there may be a spirit of man that goeth upward different from the spirit of the beast that goeth downward to the earth.

By way of introduction to his volume called 'Strong Hearts,' Mr. Cable says: "This cluster of tales is one, because from each of its parts, with no arguments but the souls and fates they tell of, it illustrates the indivisible twinship of poetry and religion." Here is a declaration that *Lied und Trüm und Glauben* have not disappeared from the world, and, so far as Mr. Cable's instances go, the declaration is made perfectly good. One, and not the least, of Mr. Cable's claims to distinction as a writer of fiction is that he has pulled manfully against the stream of tendency, and has chosen for representation chiefly people who are pure and lovely, and character of good report. This is not to say that he depicts immaculate creatures above temptation, but only that he finds people with enough inward strength or grace to resist and conquer temptation. His first subject here is common—a man's fight with a devouring passion for drink. "The Solitary" is not dramatic, not heroic in any striking fashion; but he touches the heart and the imagination. Beaten or victorious, one would remember him and admire him as a man who had put up a good fight. The second tale is delightful, because the "Taxidermist" is so exquisitely good, and his wife not a whit behind. In this and in the "Entomologist," Mr. Cable returns to the Creole quarter of New Orleans, and touches it with that tender grace which captured us all many years ago. The third tale is more complex, both in incident and in emotion. A silly woman very nearly succeeds in bringing about scandal and crime, but the strong heart of the stupid moth-hunter's wife averts danger without so much as a scene. She gets timely aid from the yellow fever (for the time is during the scourge of 1878). Most of us get our notions of what goes on in a fever-stricken town from the newspapers, but Mr. Cable seems to have neglected that source of information. He does not speak of any one who stood at his gate aiming a shot-gun at intruders, nor of husbands and mothers who forsook infected wives and children. On the contrary, he tells about people who opened their gates to the sick,

and about one who feared the sickness so little in comparison with moral disaster that she could say, "Thank God it is only the yellow fever."

During the eighteenth century the writers of realistic fiction had their innings, but in the nineteenth the Romantics have scored nobly with fiction about the eighteenth. Two episodes at least are inexhaustible—the expulsion of the Stuarts and the fall of New France. In *"The Span o' Life"* we make the acquaintance of Hugh Maxwell of Kirkconnel, the Chevalier Maxwell who fought and was beaten at Culloden, yet lived to fight and be beaten again at Louisbourg and Quebec. His tale is in three parts, the first and last told by him and the middle by his sweetheart, Margaret Nairn, an adventurous lady who followed her lover across seas and kept up her courage by singing:

"The Span o' Life's nae lang enough,
Nor deep enough the sea,
Nor braid enough this weary warld,
To part my love frae me."

The authors have blended history and romance ingeniously and smoothly. If there is a fault of manner, it is that Maxwell's narrative is a little too bland and circum-spect; it savors rather of the "gentleman of the desk" with whom he disclaims affinity, than of a blustering soldier presumably full of strange oaths. Miss Nairn's contribution is a trifle chilly, but her correct composition checks any inference of personal impropriety that the cynical might wish to draw from her unconventional behavior. But, after all, it is only in the very best historical romances that the people count for much apart from the happenings; and to have told so many dramatic events, to have painted so many picturesque scenes, as well as the authors of *"The Span o' Life"* have done, is to have come out second best in their class. The illustrations are admirable; they illustrate the tale and adorn the book.

The Canadian habitant is receiving much attention, in both verse and prose—enough, perhaps, should he hear of his vogue, to make him learn to read English, or even that unscrupulous broken English which some of his interpreters put in his mouth. In a volume of sketches and stories entitled *'Bonhomme'* he would recognize himself with pleasure. The author, who combines in an unusual degree the powers of accurate observation and sure, sympathetic intuition, has presented several common phases of *Bonhomme's* outward life with graphic fidelity, and his heart with unpretentious frankness and probability. He does not appear as a curiosity, or a freak; he is just an average man, who has retained through centuries a primitive naturalness, sometimes pathetic, sometimes passionate, much affected but not set apart from his species by the accidents of ancestry, of a tongue foreign to surrounding communities, and of not knowing how to read. Mr. Walsh shows him in common characteristic occupations, and elects to show him (as a writer of fiction, however realistic, must elect) in interesting and crucial moments. Being able both to see and to divine and to estimate the interchangeable debt of circumstance and character, his people and their *milieu* appear inseparable; they explain and complete each other. The sketches are better than the stories, in which the development is sometimes awkward and the drama a failure. This is probably because the author has not settled down to a

narrative method, but is groping and experimenting. His dialogue is perfectly vivacious, being an almost literal translation of *Bonhomme's* native phrase, but, speaking in his own person, he is at times uncertain, obscure, and in grammar imperfect. Nevertheless, *'Bonhomme'* is an entertaining volume for the story-reader, and a very hopeful one for those concerned to catch a fresh, strong note in fiction.

A Life for Liberty: Anti-Slavery and Other Letters of Sallie Holley. Edited, with introductory chapters, by John White Chadwick. With illustrations. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1899.

The splendid anti-slavery tradition of the Jays and the Adamsses does not rob this biography of its unique distinction in being that of an anti-slavery worker in the second generation. Myron Holley did not commence agitator, and his early eminence grew out of his official part in the construction of the Erie Canal; but Eliza Wright's Life of him is, after all, properly classified with abolition literature. He was a large factor in the formation of the Liberty party, whose objects possessed his mind to the time of his death. He did not give up everything for the cause—few Liberty party men did or could, as few politicians except journalists ever do. His zeal, however, he imparted to his daughter, the subject of this memoir, and she ended by devoting herself wholly, at first to the propaganda of Garrisonian anti-slavery doctrine, and in her beautiful old age to the elevation of the freedmen on the soil of the Old Dominion.

Mr. Chadwick opens his introduction with a legend of good women to whom Sallie Holley became a coadjutor and companion. Without magnifying her natural gifts or her ability, he estimates justly her services as a lecturer and a teacher, and finds the essential worth of her correspondence in its imaging the domestic side of the abolition circle in all grades of culture and condition. We perceive her to have been fond of the refinements of living, distinctly elegant in her dress and in her color sense, of marked literary taste and interest (she was a graduate of Oberlin), a welcome guest in the home of affluence and intellect, yet readily accommodating herself to the poorest and most slovenly hospitality accorded her in the name of humanity, and for the last twenty years of her life dwelling among Virginian blacks in a mission which, had it been in Africa itself, would have been deemed heroic by all the churches.

"I recall," says Mr. Chadwick, "no other letters and journals of the period that furnish us with so vivid a conception of the work done by the agents of the Anti-Slavery Society. As we read, it is as if we, too, were going to and fro in the land, and up and down in it, enduring many hardships, enjoying much delightful hospitality, alternately elated and depressed, pathetically pleased with very modest contributions, sitting in heavenly places with some of the best people in the world, and in others less celestial with some of the most peculiar and fanatical. There were even those who seemed to think with Tolstoi that cleanliness is inimical to social equality, and that the dirtier they were the better."

She had a buoyant temperament and much humor, saw truly, charged her letters with good anecdotes, to which her editor sometimes adds equally good, as when he tells of Lucretia Mott permitting him to advertise her speaking in his pulpit, contrary to the

Quaker notion of inspiration, saying, "The Spirit always gives me about twenty-four hours' intimation."

In Rensselaer County, N. Y., Miss Holley wrote to her *alter ego*, Miss Caroline Putnam, in 1854:

"You would laugh to hear all the criticisms these Quakers are guilty of regarding me. One said she thought I dressed too gay; another that I laughed too much; a third that I did not visit enough. A fourth wished I would speak oftener, and a fifth said I did not eat enough, and that I had large self-esteem. Still another said I ought not to receive money; to her mind it was just the same as a 'hiring ministry.'"

All these counts were characteristic except that of self-esteem. She was undoubtedly a very effective speaker, having a fine deep voice and excellent delivery, with a great capacity for pathetic expression, but she could never bring herself to take the platform in the presence of the elders in the cause. The Rev. Samuel May, general agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, who laid out a considerable part of her work for her, writes: "I am told that her New Testament readings and comments were of wonderful force and beauty, and that her lectures invariably moved to tears." But he adds, "*I never heard her speak!* So sensitive was she that, even when she lectured in Leicester, she made a point that I should not go, though my wife was going."

It was another sort of sensitiveness that she herself chronicles in writing from Bucks County, Penn., in 1852:

"I heard a touching story the other day. A poor colored man, who has lived a few years in this State, joined the church one year ago, but has not yet partaken of the sacrament. His minister secretly asked him why he had not. 'Oh,' said the poor fellow, 'I once had a brother, and he was sold to buy Communion plate, and, somehow, I can't partake.'"

The large part of the memoir which relates to Miss Holley and Miss Putnam's self-denying labors among the freedmen at the mouth of the Potomac we earnestly commend to any Southern man or woman truly concerned about the "problem." These Christian ladies were not deceived by any philanthropic glamour. In December, 1878, Miss Holley writes from Lottsburgh to Gerrit Smith's daughter, one of their most generous benefactors:

"We celebrated Christmas in our school-house, and shall also New Year's Day. These poor white as well as colored people flock to our doors to get a present holiday times. Last Wednesday, more than three hundred souls came, and to each one I had the pleasure of giving something off our gay Christmas tree. It is pitiful to see these poor whites with their blank, lean faces. Too silly or proud to attend, or to allow their little children to attend, our colored school! And to grow up without knowing the alphabet!"

"The religion of these colored people is very demoralizing. It has no connection with moral principle. They have just had a 'three days' meeting' in the old stolen schoolhouse, and made night hideous with their horrible singing and prayers, and dancing in a wild, savage way."

And again (August, 1879):

"This whole summer long I have had nobody to talk with but Miss Putnam and these poor colored folks! These white women who hold themselves high, are sick with bilious fever or rheumatism a great part of the time. Their habits of living are horrible. Fat bacon, poor black coffee, and bread made with saleratus and eaten hot from the fire. It is awfully rainy, and the colored people are holding their 'protracted meeting.' I expect nothing less than that all will be down sick with chills after it is over. They use immense quantities of tobacco—men and women both smoke—then

hold all-night meetings, and shuffle and scuffle and sing and scream in the greatest excitement, and call it being 'happy in the Lord.'"

For a final quotation, take this in comment on a new teacher who had, before Miss Holley was aware of it, taught the children to sing a hymn,

"How sweet to rest
For ever on my Saviour's breast."

"The colored people are already a great deal too much for 'rest.' They are disinclined to effort, and the prospect of an eternity in heaven where all is 'rest' is amazingly alluring. It is only by immense and long-continued effort that I can rouse them to a very moderate degree of labor, and it seems to me a positive injury to minister to their laziness by teaching such hymns. I greatly prefer those that inculcate the truth, that life here and always must be a battle," etc.

Miss Holley alternated with Miss Putnam in leaving their Inferno for a rest in New York, where among her latest pleasures was listening to Prof. Davidson's Dante lectures. The Rev. W. C. Gannett, who ministered at her funeral in 1893 (the good woman had nearly filled out her seventy-fifth year), remarked aptly upon "her own Dante-like face as she lay in the casket." This resemblance can hardly be inferred from the full-face portrait, one of many in this volume which reinforce the anti-slavery gallery. Miss Holley herself made a striking comparison when, on hearing Frederick Douglass speak in the Boston Music Hall, she wrote: "He looked very well; in no way an unfit companion for the Beethoven stationed behind him." His picture, too, is here, for the adornment of Mr. Chadwick's pious and altogether admirable labor of love, over which we might easily linger.

Women and Economics. By Charlotte Perkins Stetson. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co.

The As-Suchness of Woman is a well-worn theme, and confession to a weariness of it as a topic is a suitable preface to saying that Mrs. Stetson's book seems to us the most significant utterance on the subject since Mill's 'Subjection of Women' reached a class of thinkers never before touched by any views later than those of Noah. This is far from agreement with all of Mrs. Stetson's conclusions or even premises, or from always finding logical connection between the two. What is asserted is that the subject is approached from a new point of view, with a new largeness of outlook, both backward and forward; a new business capacity, so to speak, in arraying the pros and cons on the field of debate; a new imaginativeness in interpretation, and finally a temper which, being good, is perhaps newest of all. While it would be easy to ridicule some of her propositions and caricature some of her arguments, it is still easier not to do so, but to dwell and ponder upon their serious and lofty aspirations. It is a book which invites and should lead to reasonable and scientific discussion.

The main argument is that the long economic dependence of woman on man as her source of food constitutes a false economic relation between them, and hence is responsible for an exaggerated and mischievous differentiation of the sexes beyond what is seen in any other animal creature, causing, through mal-apportionment of the world's work, a distortion of human rela-

tions and human qualities. It would be simple to reply in the old couplet that man has not a microscopic eye, "for this good reason, man is not a fly"; but such retort is promptly disarmed by the proclamation that, evil as have been the effects on woman, it is this very process which has made of man a higher being than the fly, by evolving the paternal qualities. From the purely utilitarian male carried about in the wings of the clipped in extra numbers for fear of loss, the masculine half of creation in man has risen to the man-mother, performing the world's duties, his own, and many of woman's. Here, after her natural sex functions, are, according to Mrs. Stetson, too exclusively those of dependent nurse and house servant. But before the reader has time to suggest that practically all industries and all professions are now open to women, our author meets us with the exultant admission that the change is here, brought about by neither the will nor seeking of man or woman, but by the force of social evolution, working as painfully now as it has worked before, yet, as she enthusiastically believes, bringing us out into "better motherhood and fatherhood, better babyhood and childhood, better food, better homes, better society." "It is already happening. All we need do is to understand and help." So, then, woman's long servitude has helped to form certain fine traits in man, yet has encouraged him too in hardness and the lust for power. Upon herself the effect has been dwarfing and enslaving, promoting "a feverish, torturing, moral sensitiveness, without the width and clarity of vision of a full-grown moral sense." She may rejoice over what she has accomplished, but the reaction is at hand in which alone full development lies.

The argument is an interesting one, and full of suggestion, that, as women have become over-sexed through sons of economic dependence on man, so, through becoming in greater measure their own providers, they will lead the whole race, both men and women, back to simpler living and simpler relationship, and thus forward a higher life in which the worst evils of humanity will shrivel out of existence from sheer non-nutrition. "Not the sex-relation, but the economic relation of the sexes has so tangled the skein of human life." The new order is to bring about "a union between man and woman such as the world has long dreamed of in vain." As Mrs. Stetson's search for causes goes back to the beginnings of life, so her conclusions reach forward to a millennium which she firmly believes is having its inauguration.

A few chapters are given to detailed suggestions of improved ways of living. These are to include the abolition of the private kitchen, even as the private laundry and bakery have largely disappeared. The kindergarten and the ballot-box are taken for granted as essentials for which no arguments need be adduced; the one ill-natured sentence of the book, indeed, occurs in this connection, where the writer alludes to "that crowning imbecility of history—the banded opposition of some women to the advance of the others." She feels it necessary, however, to make a special plea for the outside day-nursery, where the babies can spend some hours of each day in being "a baby" and not "my baby"—realizing, doubtless, that many a woman reader (like the husband

who plumed himself on never praising to his wife his mother's pies—"except mince") will consent to the banishment of the kitchen stove, the family dining-room, the domestic broom, but will draw the line at the baby. It would be unjust, however, to this dignified book to try its cause by extracted sentences. In such wise, one might make easy inference that the home and the family are of lessening importance; that "mother's doughnuts" are necessarily indigestible, and cousinly affection a fast-dying relic of patriarchal days. Such criticism would be nearsighted. The book is one to be read with one's best historic glasses on. But even so it must be added in candor that we think not enough value is attached to the educational influences of family friction, of doing what one does not want to do, of the bondage to duty which, after all, is humanity's only freedom.

Field, Forest, and Wayside Flowers. By Maud Goings (E. M. Hardinge). Baker & Taylor Co. Pp. 411.

This work is illustrated by three types of pictures: full-page reproductions of photographs, copies of well-known botanical figures, and certain drawings from life. The photographs are mostly very good, but many of the drawings are altogether too large; in fact, they do not bear a right proportion to the size of the page, and therefore they present an unpleasant appearance. They may even prejudice the casual reader against the volume. It is probable that almost all who take the volume in hand will deplore the unattractive character of the majority of the illustrations. But if the reader will forgive this lack of judgment on the part of the publishers, it is more than likely that the work will later heartily commend itself on account of the excellent text. Here and there little slips will be observed, such as the persistent misspelling of Delpino's name; but these errors are, perhaps, to be laid at the door of the proof-reader. To leave these imperfections aside is an easy matter, for the greater part of the text is exceptionally interesting. The reader is guided along, without fatigue, through faithful accounts of the structure and behavior of many groups of our common plants. In a very successful manner, the author takes up point after point in the history of the plants under discussion, and places the readers in possession of the modern views respecting the subject. Many of the descriptions of structure are admirable in every way, and in a few instances, where the author has had occasion to present the very latest aspect of the case, the proportions have been well kept.

With a few substitutions, where the phraseology savors of kindergarten instruction, the work is one which can be profitably studied by amateurs of every grade of advancement. To beginners, the work is a safe guide, because the errors, on the whole, are trifling and not likely to mislead. To more advanced students, who have not kept up with the times, the pages are worth careful perusal. Nearly all of the more important phases of plant-life are considered in their succession as regards time, from spring to winter and the winter's sleep. The treatise has been well planned upon a modest scale, and the aim set before the author has been reached. Success in the execution of the plan fully justifies her in unveiling her pseudonym.

Explorations in the Far North. By Frank Russell. Being the Report of an Expedition under the Auspices of the University of Iowa during the years 1892, '93, and '94. Iowa City: Published by the University. 1898.

Premising that by the term "Far North" is meant that portion of British America which lies "beyond the Great Slave Lake," we have in this volume an account of the series of explorations made by our author in that region for the purpose of obtaining specimens of the larger arctic mammals, especially musk-ox, and incidentally of "picking up everything he could lay his hands on." Broad as were the instructions, they seem to have been liberally interpreted, and it is but scant justice to add that, in carrying them out, Mr. Russell made good use of his opportunities. Certainly, when we consider the character of the region in which he labored, the means, necessarily somewhat limited, that were placed at his command, and the fact that, constituting, as he did, the entire personnel of the expedition, he was obliged not only to secure his specimens, but also to prepare and care for them, we can but admire the pluck and persistence which enabled him to prosecute his work under circumstances that would have daunted a less resolute spirit. It is all very well, as we can easily understand, to gather specimens of this kind in fine weather, and it cannot be much of a hardship to prepare them, when gathered by others, over a good fire and amid comfortable surroundings; but it is quite another thing to carry on either or both of these operations at the close of a hard day's work with the paddle, or amid snow and ice, with the thermometer at from 20 to 60 degrees below zero, a blizzard blowing without, and for fuel only a tent pole. Such, in fact, were some of the experiences that befell our author in the course of the different expeditions, not always successful, that he was obliged to make after buffalo, musk-ox, etc.; and though he was too much of an enthusiast to flinch from his task or complain of its hardships so far as he was personally concerned, yet he sounds a note of warning when, at the close of a most successful hunt after musk-ox, he advises sportsmen, *qua* sportsmen, to keep out of the "No-wood country," as the Indians call it, if life and health are valued.

In making these local expeditions (and, roughly speaking, the same may be said of all travel in that region), the only mode of conveyance is by canoe or dog-train, according to the season of the year. With both of these our author became more or less familiar; and to any one interested in a story of adventure, told in a simple, straightforward manner and without any beating of tom-toms, we can commend this account of his experiences by flood and field. Without going into particulars, it will be sufficient to say that, in the course of his expeditions, sometimes alone, but oftener with a band of Indians, he travelled over 2,200 miles by dog-train; and what makes the feat more remarkable is the fact that he had but one team of four dogs, and that there were times when the load averaged over a hundred pounds to each dog and the path was over an unbroken waste of snow. This, however, is but a part of the record, for, leaving out of consideration the occasional lift in one of the few steamboats by

means of which the Hudson Bay Company keeps up an intermittent communication with its more northerly posts, it is probable that the distances covered in the course of his summer excursions, in canoes, were not less great. In fact, one of the longest, as it was one of the most venturesome of his expeditions in these frail barks, was made on his way home, when he descended the Mackenzie to its mouth, and then, turning westward, he skirted along the shores of the Arctic Ocean to Herschel Island. In the first part of this journey he was alone, but from Fort McPherson onward he had three companions, among whom was the Count de Salville. At Herschel Island he was lucky enough to find several American whalers that were not yet free from the ice. Upon one of these he took passage, and on the 27th of October, 1894, he reached San Francisco, having thus completed, for the first time, the descent of the Mackenzie to its mouth, and the return to civilization around Alaska.

For the scientific results of this expedition a word of commendation may not be out of place. In round numbers, they consist of some two thousand specimens, catalogued in the University Museum under 1,300 heads, and embrace certain of the mammals, birds, fishes, and insects peculiar to the region traversed. To this is added a collection of ethnological material from the Eskimo and the various Indian tribes with which our author came in contact; and though he modestly tells us that, when engaged in this work, he did not understand the Indians as well as he has since come to do, and was not, therefore, in sympathy with them, yet when dealing with these people he most interests us so far as he throws light upon their present condition. Of course, we do not expect to find among them any great amount of aboriginal material, for they have been in contact with the whites for a hundred years and more, and have lost many of their arts and industries; and as many of them can read and write and all are nominally Christians, they may be said to be semi-civilized. And yet, when we see how persistent are some of their beliefs and customs, we may well doubt whether they have made any real progress. Thus, for example, we find that on Easter Sunday, before setting out on their hunt for musk-ox, they assembled in the chief's lodge for prayers, after which they had a feast, in which the meat was divided in Indian fashion—the best pieces to the leaders and the poorest to the women. Before, however, beginning their festivities, "grace was repeated in concert," and then the chief "threw a tongue and a small ball of pemmican into the fire," just as was the custom among our own Indians when the whites first came among them. Instances, like this, of the persistence of savage belief crop out, more or less frequently, in the report, and give it a value independent of its other merits. The ethnologist will find in it much to repay careful study.

Throne-Makers. By William Roscoe Thayer. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1899.

Mr. Thayer's "Throne-Makers" are four in number, Bismarck, Napoleon III., Kossuth, Garibaldi; and to the essays on these great historical characters he adds four more, entitled "Portraits," which have for their subjects Carlyle, Tintoret, Giordano Bruno, and Bryant. The space of the volume is

almost evenly divided between its two distinct parts, but there is this superficial difference between them that whereas the "Portraits" have already been printed in the *Atlantic Monthly* and other magazines, the "Throne-Makers" now become public property for the first time. To make a further analysis, Mr. Thayer has already disclosed his interest in the large political movements of the century, and also his enthusiasm for Italy. This remembered, a glance at the table of contents brings out the persistence here of the same tastes, for the papers on Carlyle and Bryant are the only ones which deal neither with modern politics nor with the Italian nation, and both of them were suggested by centenary occasions.

Even in a volume of short and somewhat miscellaneous essays one naturally casts about for a certain unity of purpose which shall hold the scattered pieces together. Mr. Thayer does not write as the champion of a synthetic philosophy, whether historical, political, or social, but we find a few clear motives pervading whatever he says, and to these we shall restrict our notice. First of all comes an unwavering love of the ideal. A passage at the close of his essay on Giordano Bruno expresses his attitude not merely to that bizarre representative of the later Renaissance, but towards the roots and sources of human action. "By his death Bruno did not prove that his convictions are true, but he proved beyond peradventure that he was a true man; and by such from the beginning has human nature been raised towards that ideal nature which we believe divine." A second strong note which Mr. Thayer sounds is reverence for personal power wherever it can be discovered in subjection to elementary moral restraints. He has been deeply affected by Carlyle, and defends his master from the charge that, "in his exaltation of the strong man, he worships crude force."

"Let us grant," continues Mr. Thayer, "that on the surface the accusation seems plausible; but when we seek deeper, we shall discover that he exalts Cromwell and Frederick, not because they were despots, but because, in his judgment, they knew better than any other man, or group of men, in their respective countries, how to govern. Their ability was their justification; their force but the symbol of their ability."

By an easy corollary Mr. Thayer detests the "Bham Force" of Napoleon III. without the least attempt at disguise, and we cannot imagine him countenancing the 2d of December had it been executed by the genius which planned the 18th Brumaire—or indeed under any circumstances whatever.

Lastly (and the point is connected with the foregoing one) Mr. Thayer's essays have no savor of the democratic styles Massini "the ind his comment upon the ge France to make Napoleon for Sedan is, "A free pe ruler than it deserves"; ing the value of Bismar phasizes the Prussian is nation, or rather the P progress towards the union without deriving ciple of monarchical loys

"Bismarck knew that men might talk eloque they loved to be gover their genius was mecha umphed by directing the their genius. He would

appealed to the love of liberty, by appealing to which Cavour freed Italy, or to the love of glory, by appealing to which Napoleon was able to convert half of Europe into a French province. Bismarck knew that his Prussians must be roused in a different way."

The literary style of the volume, while in no sense sinking to tameness, is free from conspicuous and unpleasant mannerisms. At rare intervals a word like "transcience," or expressions like "Platonic aversion" and "levy in mass," intrude themselves upon one's notice, creating an impression of slight irregularity; but our criticism of Mr. Thayer's manner is that it suitably expresses his mature and thoughtful reflections.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Adams, J. C. *Nature Studies in Berkshire*. Putnam. \$4.50.
Allen, G. *Adventures*. Putnam.
Bayly, A. *Orange Secreto*. A. & C. \$1.25.
Boardman, Theolog. *7 of New England*
Blackman, A. *Taking of Hawaii*. Macmillan. \$2.
Blok, P. *het Nederlandische*
Bramsey, J. *at J. B. Wolters*.
Simpkin, *il. 1899. London:*
Nostrum, *rw York: D. Van*

B. *Kenny, James. Poems, Scottish and American.*
C. *J. S. Ogilvie Co. \$1.*
Cl. *Lloyd, O. E. State Trials of Mary Queen of Scots.*
Cl. *Sir Walter Raleigh, and Capt. William Kidd. Chicago: Callaghan & Co.*
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D. *MacKintosh, Prof. Robert. From Comte to Benjamin Kidd. Macmillan. \$1.50.*
D. *Mémoires du Comte de Moré (1758-1837). Paris: Picard & Fils.*
D. *Miell, A. B. Poems. John Lane. \$1.50.*
D. *Mills, Pierre. Au Congo Belge. Paris: Collin & Cie.*
D. *Monkhouse, Allan. A Deliverance. John Lane. \$1.25.*
D. *Morley, Margaret W. The Bee People. Chicago: A. C. McOlurg & Co. \$1.25.*
D. *Neileon, George. Annals of the Solway until A. D. 1307. Glasgow: James Mac Lehone & Sons.*
D. *North, Sir Thomas. Plutarch's Lives. Vol. v. [Temple Classics.] London: Dent; New York: Macmillan. 50c.*
D. *Ohnet, Georges. Au Fond du Gouffre. Paris: Ollendorf; New York: Dyreen & Pfalger.*
D. *Pemberton, Max. The Garden of Swords. Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.50.*
D. *Porter, R. P. Industrial Cuba. Putnam. \$2.50.*
D. *Roosevelt, Theodore. The Rough Riders. Scribners. \$2.*
D. *Lane. \$1.50.*
D. *Watson, David K. History of American Coinage. Putnam. \$1.50.*

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 15, 1899.

The Week.

The more the President's betrayal of civil-service reform is defended, the worse it looks, both for him and for his apologists. Poor Mr. Gage is rapidly adopting the melancholy hypocrisies of the spoliemen. Unable to break the force of the damaging attacks of veteran reformers like Mr. E. P. Wheeler, he falls back on that hoary old shibboleth of the looters, that he is in entire sympathy with the merit system, but that he is no "bigot" about reform, and desires above all things to make it "practical." This is the precise defence of the drunken temperance lecturer. He was a prohibitionist, he told the astonished deacon who found him embracing the lamp-post, but not a bigoted one. Unluckily for Mr. Gage, on the same morning that his dodging reply to Mr. Wheeler appears, Senator Hanna comes along to upset the whole apple-cart by brutally declaring that the President's order was intended to get rid of the appointees whom Cleveland "saddled upon the Republican party." This makes it needless for Mr. Gage further to hurt his own reputation by writing more whitewashing letters.

It was not simply the pledge which Mr. McKinley made to the people of the country generally that the President broke when he issued his recent order, but a further personal promise which he made to one of the leading civil-service reformers of the country. Mr. William D. Foulke of Indiana testifies that when he called at the White House with other reformers a year ago, and after the President had spoken of the necessity of excluding some places from the operation of the rules, he (Foulke) said that they hoped that, if he did this, he would at the same time include in the classified service some other places, at least equal in number and importance to those excepted, so that it would appear in the order itself that no backward step was taken; and that the President answered that he "intended to include a great many more places than those which were excepted." But despite this promise, not a single office was included in the order when it finally came, and, naturally enough, to Mr. Foulke "the failure to include these places seems to be more surprising than the exceptions actually made." By the way, speaking of this evidence from Indiana to Mr. McKinley's faithlessness, does not the present situation call for the revival by Mr. Lucius B. Swift of his *Civil-Service Chronicle*, which he suspended because he thought the time had come when there

would be no "backward step" in this matter?

The civil-service order has stripped the mask from the President. We see him now in his true character. He is the same man who, as Governor of Ohio, spoke the clergy and philanthropists fair, but turned over the charitable institutions of the State to the spoliemen as no Democratic Governor had ever dared to do. He is the man who said he was against Hawaiian annexation, but put it through; against a war with Spain, but allowed a group of Congressmen to "hold a stop-watch" on him till he brought it on; against taking the Philippines, but took them. In all, his method has been one and the same—to start with a mind absolutely blank of conviction, and a will wholly without the power of initiative; to say little except to agree heartily with both sides; to put off decision till the last moment, but finally to go with the crowd. The only satisfaction—and we confess it is a melancholy one—to be got out of the exhibition of himself which the President has made in this violation of personal and party pledges, is that his adulators will hereafter be dispensed from their nauseous task. If crawling on their bellies before him no longer deceives the public, they may fairly beg off from the job.

"No Civil Service for Hershey." Such is the head-line over a dispatch from Harrisburg, Pa., and the story which this dispatch tells is one that is duplicated from many another place in every part of the country where there is an important federal office. Hershey is Collector of Internal Revenue at the capital of Pennsylvania. When he succeeded to the office by Quay's appointment (his commission being signed by William McKinley as the Senator's clerk), he found a number of gaugers and storekeepers who had been appointed during the Cleveland administration. Hershey wanted their places for henchmen of Quay, but they were honest and efficient, so that there was no ground for their removal, and even if they had been removed, the men who wanted the offices would not be likely to pass the competitive examination required. But within forty-eight hours after the President issued his order turning over these places to the spoliemen, Hershey had turned out three of these Democrats and installed three Quay workers, and the rest will have to go as soon as it can be decided whose claims for their places are strongest.

An element of truth there undoubtedly

ly is in all the rumors about friction between the members of the Philippine Commission, given now as a reason for President Schurman's early home-coming. The trouble has been not in the personnel of the Commission, but in its contradictory instructions. President McKinley has bidden both warriors and peace-makers a hearty godspeed. Otis was to push things, while Schurman was to soothe and conciliate the natives. No such combination of peace and war was ever known before, and it is no wonder that the wires from Manila have been kept hot with inquiries which policy was to prevail, peace or war. McKinley, with characteristic large-mindedness, has ordered both policies to prevail. He strongly approves of Otis and tells him to go on with his killing, but just as strongly approves of Schurman and urges him to go on waving the olive branch. If this looks like a policy of drift and muddle, the moral is that it is well to have an Executive who can make up his mind. The President's orders to Otis and Schurman, as we gather them from results, must have been modelled upon the famous softening down of the Ten Commandments:

"Thou shalt not kill, but need'st not strive
Officiously to keep alive."

The *Tribune's* Washington correspondent is doing excellent work in exposing the topheavy, job-ridden organization of the War Department. We do not know if the Administration will consider itself "knifed" by such articles in such a paper, but we do know that a knife was never more clearly called for. A simple comparison of records shows how absurdly overgrown the Department is. The Secretary may not have known how to organize victory, but he did know how to organize a bureau stuffed with favorites and incompetents. In 1863, with a million men in arms, Secretary Stanton was able to do all the work of his office with a clerical force of 665 men. But the numbers had grown to 1,366 in 1897, when the entire military establishment amounted to only 29,000 men. How the war "emergency" enabled Alger to swell the rolls still further, and with questionable legality, the *Tribune's* correspondent shows convincingly, and with abundant specifications. But the magnificent Alger waves all this aside, and, with a significant glance at McKinley, as much as to say, "Turn me out if you dare," asks, "What of it?"

Ex-Minister Barrett, who represented the United States at the court of Siam under President Cleveland, and afterwards spent two years in the Philippines, addressed the Union League Club of Chicago last week on the subject of

the political and commercial importance of those islands. Before commenting on his speech, it is well to glance at a former utterance of his on the subject of our policy in the Philippines. On the 12th of January last, in a speech before the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce, he said:

"May I humbly go on record as declaring that it would be far better for the United States to treat this leader [Aguinaldo] and his people with caution and consideration, eventually obtaining the end to be desired without serious loss of life and great expense, rather than peremptorily demand his absolute surrender, be forced into a most unhappy conflict which would, from its guerrilla nature, mean the loss of hundreds of good lives, the expenditure of large sums of money, and, saddest and worst of all, the development of a feeling of hatred and revenge towards Americans among eight millions of subject natives which the kind treatment of a hundred years cannot remove?"

The unhappy conflict against which Mr. Barrett warned the authorities at Manila and at Washington has taken place and is still in progress. It has entailed the loss of hundreds of good lives, and the expenditure of large sums of money, and undoubtedly it has provoked a feeling of hatred and revenge which will outlast the present generation.

Now Mr. Barrett says that if he were asked what was the great signal result of the last war with Spain, and which has amply repaid us for all the difficulties brought upon us by our assumption of sovereignty over the Philippines, it is simply this: "That it has suddenly and unexpectedly made us the first Power in the Pacific." It is this which compensates us not only for all the American blood shed in Cuba, but also for all that has been, or is yet to be, spilled in the Philippines. Now, what is meant by being the first Power in the Pacific? It means having the power to kill the largest number of men, burn the largest number of cities, and destroy the largest amount of property in a given time. This is what every speaker and every hearer of such words understands by them. Sometimes the phrase is varied a little, as, for example, when the newspapers of Paris talk about making the Mediterranean a French lake. That means having the power to sweep off, destroy, or drive out all other naval forces. Two questions properly follow Mr. Barrett's assumption. One is whether the acquirement of the power to do the most killing, burning, and destroying in a given time in the Pacific Ocean can be considered an advantage to the American people. The other is whether this power came to us by reason of the war with Spain and the seizure of the Philippines. If both of these questions must be answered in the negative, then Mr. Barrett appears to us to have deteriorated as a teacher since he addressed the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce last January.

The kind of war that is now going on

in the Philippines was described by a French writer, André Bellesort, in 1897. His article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* telling what he saw there, when the Spaniards were trying to conquer a people fighting for their liberty, is republished in *Littell's Living Age*. The Spanish officers with whom he talked said that they saw no probable end to the insurrection; that even if they succeeded in buying Aguinaldo, the whole thing would break out again in three months, and that if they would not buy him, Spain would eventually be exhausted; that European soldiers could not stand the climate, and that they were in a very bad strait. "The spectacle of these men, whose courage is unimpeachable, stranded there, and spent with fatigue and homesickness, was heartrending." In short, these Spanish soldiers were undergoing the same tortures that ours are suffering now, and for the same cause—i. e., in order to subjugate a free people. A lieutenant-colonel entertained M. Bellesort with tales of his skirmishes with the insurgents, expressing his hearty detestation of a campaign of snares and ambushes. They were perpetually harassed, he said, by invisible foes, who never would stand up to a fair fight. The insurgents knew to a man how many soldiers were operating against them, but the Spaniards never knew whether there were five, or ten, or a hundred thousand men opposed to them. Moreover, the Filipinos were brave men. They would dance and brandish their bolos at the very muzzles of the Spanish guns. Neither pain nor the fear of annihilation could daunt them. These are the kind of men that we send the flower of American youth, descendants of Revolutionary sires, to kill and be killed by. Oh, Liberty, how many crimes are committed in thy name!

A telegram from Washington says that a private cablegram from Admiral Dewey to a friend in that city expresses his unwillingness to accept the donation of a home, but adds that he would be glad to have any money collected for his benefit used in the establishment of a soldiers' and sailors' home. It is added that the committee having charge of the fund will continue their collections, and that when the sum originally intended to be raised has been secured, a decision will be made as to its disposition. This is equivalent to an abandonment of the undertaking. The sums contributed daily had fallen so low that the project had almost passed out of the public mind. In order to give it a fresh start, a plan was proposed of asking the National Banks of the country to pledge themselves for the moderate sum of \$25 each. Such a call, backed by a high official of the Treasury Department, it was thought, would produce the amount required. Most probably the movement will now collapse, for, however worthy

may be the alternative charity proposed, such a project does not meet the intentions of the original donors. The whole scheme was nonsensical, and, to use a much-abused word, un-American. Buying houses for military and naval heroes is not wholly without precedent in our country, but such donations have been extremely rare and have never been bestowed upon the winner of only one fight, however meritorious he may have proved himself to be. Admiral Dewey has shown all the qualities of naval greatness that his limited sphere of action permitted, but that sphere was not sufficiently wide to call for a public subscription. Even if it had been wider, Admiral Dewey is not the man to accept gratuities on account of it.

One of the pleasing little assumptions of Imperialists has been that the main thing is to seize territory, and that the settling and civilising will attend to itself. The theory has already had a good deal of a shock in our experience in the Philippines. We have the islands fast enough, but if there were any good way to let them go, how gladly would we do it. But for this deepening conviction that the United States is now completely stocked up with tropic islands, we should have undoubtedly heard a great outcry over the acquisition of the Carolines and the remaining Ladrones by Germany. As it is, no one is most predatory calling upon the war-ship "call" to help along A by seizing the B them taken by G mur. We know Pacific islands n so happy. Yet ample page befo had not been so filled with the ne we could not sto tures of other n ficial has been describe the con region for the France and Eng of going to war. tory between L Tanganyika, he s reigns." Almost Congo has a "p hand all the time or even so-called exceed a mile be venture even a m mean to be m eaten." Here is seamy side of In

Next to Platt, disappointed at the ship contest. The vanilla machine has been made, through

the support of the State's delegation to some candidate whose friends in the Senate would in return help Quay in his struggle to be seated upon the appointment of the Governor. Moreover, Quay, like Platt, wanted a man in the Speaker's chair who would feel under obligation to the bosses, and who could be depended upon to recognize that obligation whenever they should "put on the screws." Incidentally, he hoped to get the clerkship of the House for a personal follower. But, as things have turned out, Gen. Henderson gets the place without any help from Quay, and there has been no chance even to trade the clerkship for the support of the Pennsylvania delegation.

Gen. Henderson is so strong a partisan that he will not stand out stubbornly against any policy upon which the Republican Representatives in Congress shall agree. His instincts and tendencies, however, have been so plainly manifested in the past as to indicate that he will not push forward the cause of imperialism. So recently as last winter he declared that "I look with aversion upon increasing the regular army of my country," that "I have the gravest doubts of the wisdom of this country taking the Philippine Islands, to govern them as United States territory"; and, further, "If you ask me would I enforce a government upon the Filipinos against their will, I answer, 'No.'" It is reassuring to have a Speaker who, upon the testimony of so good a civil-service reformer as Representative McCall of Boston, "has been outspoken for civil-service reform when it showed little signs of popularity in the House." On another important issue Gen. Henderson has earned from the same good judge the commendation that "he is sound upon the money question." The new Speaker has progressive ideas in matters outside the ordinary range of legislation. He was an earnest champion of the movement to establish a free library in Washington, and he was active in securing the passage of the law to prevent prize-fighting in the Territories and the District of Columbia, defending the severity of the punishment proposed—imprisonment from one to five years—by saying that it was "the judgment of the best people in America that severe penalties should be enforced to break up this practice."

That the affair at Coney Island on Friday evening was a genuine prize-fight is universally admitted. It closed with the defeated contestant insensible in the ring—completely "knocked out." Chief Devery sat close by during the contest, but in no way interfered with it, nor did he express any disapproval of its violent ending. Before he started for the scene, he favored the public with a frank expression of his views, "The law is

plain," he said. "It is meant to allow younger men to familiarize themselves with the manly art. We are living under a liberal government, and it will be liberal as long as I am here." There is no doubt whatever about the "liberality" of our present police dispensation of law. The Mazet inquiry has shown that to us, though it was perfectly well known before. Few things are more universally obvious than a "wide-open" city. Devery's view of prize-fights is identical with Capt. Price's view of "dives" and "hells," expressed on the witness stand: "There should be such places in all large cities." They are needed for the education of our youth in the manly and kindred arts. They are part of our "liberal government" as administered by Croker and his kind. What more appropriate under such a government than prize-fights at regular intervals? Who opposes prize-fights any way? Why, nobody except reformers, and the people of the city have decided, by the kindly assistance of Platt and Tracy, that Crokerism is preferable to reform rule.

It is an interesting coincidence that the same year should witness the cleansing of the pest hole in Cuba which has been the chief source of yellow-fever infection in this country, and the taking of the first step along the road of thorough-going sanitary reform in the city of the United States which has always done most to spread the disease after it secured a lodgment. Havana has bred the pest by the shameful neglect of the fundamental rules of public health under Spanish rule, and New Orleans has cultivated the epidemic by a neglect only less discreditable. It seems incredible that in this country a city of over a quarter of a million inhabitants, at the close of the nineteenth century, could be without a system of drainage and sewerage, but such is the condition of New Orleans to-day. Last week an election was held to decide whether the property-holders of the city would vote a special tax of two mills per annum, above the ordinary State and city taxes, to be levied for forty-three years, to raise the necessary funds to drain and sewer the city, and to provide municipal waterworks. The agitation had been under way for nearly a year, and at first the reformers were not sanguine of success, but a combination of public-spirited men and women carried on a campaign of education which finally converted almost everybody of either sex, women taxpayers having the right to vote on such questions in Louisiana. The whole country is to be congratulated on this result, as it means that within a few years New Orleans will stand among the most progressive cities in point of public health, and that the United States will no longer maintain in one of its chief ports a breeding-place for epidemic diseases.

The upset of the Dupuy Ministry looks like fresh evidence of the frivolity that has made a sport of cabinets and parties in France during the past ten years, yet it was time for M. Dupuy to depart. He had taken the position that although Dreyfus had been convicted on false testimony, yet the chiefs of the French army, who were responsible for all the injustice that had been done, should not be prosecuted or disturbed. This was an impossible position. It was impossible to say that Dreyfus was innocent and that Mercier and Boisdeffre were innocent also. The Republican party of France, which had committed itself to a new trial for the prisoner of Devil's Island, could not stop short with that. It must go on to the logical consequences of so grave a decision. It must finish the job by trying not merely Esterhazy and Du Paty de Clam, but the men in higher places above them. It was this necessity which drove a sufficient number of the supporters of President Loubet over to the opposition when the vote was taken on the resolution, which was practically a vote of want of confidence. Unsettled questions have no pity for the repose of prime ministers.

The great interest taken by the Prussian royal family in the recent congress at Berlin for the prevention of tuberculosis, and the message which Queen Victoria sent to it, expressing her warm approval and blessing, have been referred to by European correspondents as striking proof of the attention now given to disease problems. But it would be strange indeed if, after the revelations which have been made in recent years regarding the ravages of the deadly tubercule bacillus, sovereigns did not take an interest in the war which medical men have declared against it. If by the invasion of some savage horde more than 70,000 men, women, and children were killed in one year in Great Britain alone, it would be considered the paramount duty of the Queen and Parliament to give every minute of their time to the extermination of the invaders; all the more if it were certain that the same number would be killed every year following by the same enemy. Why, then, should not some attention be given to the enemy that slays those 70,000, even though that enemy be invisible and so small that hundreds of him could find place on the point of a needle? Germany has at present about 1,300,000 sufferers from phthisis, according to the estimate of Prof. Leyden, and 170,000 die annually from this disease. In fifteen years the United States lost over 2,000,000 by tuberculous diseases; and from figures carefully compiled for years it is known that one person in seven or eight dies in America and Europe of tuberculosis, a preventable disease if we but knew, a curable disease, no doubt, when we know more.

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT.

The editors and statesmen who, having relegated the Declaration of Independence to obscurity, are now insinuating that a different kind of Constitution would be a good thing, may well ponder the observations of Prof. A. V. Dicey in an article in the June number of the *Harvard Law Review*. It was early pointed out, when the acquisition of the Philippines was under discussion, that the form of government prevailing in the United States was, in some important respects, ill adapted to imperialistic schemes. As long as the treaty with Spain lacked final ratification, however, discussion of this question was tabooed as academic; but now that the thing is done, and old men have seen visions while young men have dreamed dreams, the matter is up again. So representative a paper as the *Boston Herald* has lately, in a leading editorial, announced its conviction that a parliamentary system is what we need, and that the sooner we get it the better off we shall be. It seems to be assumed, without argument, that the English system is the only one that will help us out of our difficulties. Prof. Dicey, whose authority on the subject will not be disputed, gets at the matter from an unexpected quarter by raising the question, Will the form of parliamentary government be permanent?

The prevailing belief in the superiority and permanence of the parliamentary type of government rests mainly upon two grounds—the success of the system in Great Britain, and its spread throughout the world. Of the truth of both these facts there can, of course, be no doubt. Whatever may be thought of her policy or her methods, no one can deny that England is, in the judgment of the world, an extraordinarily successful nation. Moreover, with the exception of the United States, every great Power having a constitutional form of government has followed, more or less closely, the English model. It is not the facts, however, but the inferences hastily drawn from them, that Prof. Dicey calls in question. Has the situation, he asks, the significance commonly attributed to it, after all? Is Great Britain prosperous because she has a Parliament and a responsible ministry; and are her competitors prosperous, also, in proportion as they have imitated her? Is the parliamentary system an essential characteristic of a civilized or progressive state?

On this point Prof. Dicey's observations are worth considering. To begin with, as he points out, the constitutional history of England is quite exceptional. Physically detached from the continent of Europe, its insular position has been its political salvation. It is difficult to believe that a people compelled by their geographical situation to maintain large standing armies as a protection against powerful and hostile neighbors, could

ever have developed the free institutions which go to make up political liberty, but to which a military force at the command of the sovereign is a constant menace. Furthermore, while the parliamentary system in England has been the product of long and slow growth, its adoption by other countries has been very recent. Much of the form of the English Constitution was settled under Edward I., who died in 1307; but until the outbreak of the French Revolution, in 1789, the system remained, in general, the exclusive possession of Great Britain, and not until after the middle of the present century did it become practically universal in Europe. But why its spread? Largely, Prof. Dicey thinks, because the patent success of England has made it fashionable, and partly because nations, after a revolution, are prone to indulge in political imitation. It is the fashion to have a Parliament, a Ministry, and an Opposition. Countries as unlike as Canada and Japan have copied the virtues and the weaknesses of the system. But it is largely a fashion, after all, and, like "style" and "good form" in other things, is petted and praised while in vogue, and liable to be discarded when its novelty has worn away.

But there are deeper grounds of doubt. "Faith in Parliaments," says Prof. Dicey, "has undergone an eclipse; in proportion as the area of representative government has extended, so the moral authority and prestige of representative government have diminished." The faith in the saving power of parliamentary institutions, so manifest during the first half of this century, has given way to scepticism and distrust. Seventy-five years ago the people's dearest interests were cheerfully intrusted to the wisdom of a legislative assembly; to-day, we frame constitutions of portentous detail, denounce the party system, and clamor for the referendum and proportional representation. The fathers fought for representative government as the only guarantee of civil and political liberty; the sons cry out that the blessings are small and the evils very great. Parliaments are no longer a novelty, nor are their proceedings secret, and the combination of frequency and publicity has worked to their discredit.

The severest criticism of parliamentary government, however, comes from the acknowledged failure of parliaments to do successfully the work now demanded of them. For destructive work they are well fitted. The abolition of feudal privileges and class distinctions, the demolition of governmental forms and legal codes, and the punishment of enemies and traitors, are operations which representative assemblies have shown much skill in performing. But the legislation demanded at the present day is essentially constructive; and it is here that parliaments and con-

gresses alike have thus far earned small measure of gratitude. The reason, as has often been shown, lies in the inherent unfitness of a large and miscellaneous body of men for the performance of work primarily demanding knowledge, experience, and skill. The protection of property, the assurance of personal rights, and the uplifting of the masses of the people, are the tasks of modern parliaments; they are also the tasks that no parliament has yet performed in any but a bungling way.

Prof. Dicey modestly suggests that his reflections have speculative rather than practical interest; but their significance for us in this country is not altogether remote. Parliamentary government has through centuries become part and parcel of the whole political habit of mind of the English people; but it is not part and parcel of ours, nor have we, historically, any sufficient preparation for it. Seriously to advocate such a change is to demand a form, trusting to luck to give us the substance later on. The whole argument, indeed, rests on the assumption that henceforth we are to do as England does, which is sheer nonsense. If we set out to become an empire, we may very likely have to further amend our Constitution to bring that about; but until we have secured purity in elections, a sound civil service, and a President who will keep his word, we can anticipate no greater success from a parliamentary form of government than we can have whenever we will from the government we now possess.

TRUE EMPIRE-BUILDERS.

Mr. John Morley, in his speech to a Liberal Association on May 25, said that we heard a good deal nowadays about empire-builders, but that we did not always discriminate the true ones from the sham. "Is the only empire-builder," he asked, "the man who goes into Africa or anywhere else, makes a syndicate, takes land from the natives, kills them if they object, acquires a new patch on the map and colors it red?" Mr. Morley proceeded to answer his own question by speaking of Cobden and Bright and those who worked with them to extend English commerce and to spread abroad in the earth the arts of peace, as the men who really laid the foundation of the present British empire.

There is a very simple and conclusive test which can be applied to this matter, in this country as well as in England. Who pays the cost of empire? Whatever else is true of Imperialism, British or American, it is an expensive luxury. It cannot be run on the cheap. The budget swells as glory increases. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, like the chairman of ways and means, has to find his additional millions every year to meet the bills which Imperialism sends in with unfailing re-

gularity. Where does the money come from? Not from new territory annexed or colonies or protectorates; they are a drain on the Treasury, not feeders. It is the home industry that is taxed to pay for enterprises abroad. It is the impost upon foreign trade and upon domestic commerce, the tax on merchant and banker, upon manufacturers and corporations, which alone enable the Government to pay its sailors and soldiers and ministers and consuls and special agents of expansion. Empire is founded on taxation, and therefore the men in any country who build up its wealth, extend its commerce, develop its industries, carry on its business, are the true artificers of its imperial power.

It is perfectly true, then, as Mr. Morley said, that the statesmen who struck off the shackles from English trade contributed more to make the British empire strong and enduring than any general or explorer or annexer of them all. In like manner is it true of the United States that we are not to look for our real empire-builders to Congress or cabinet, to army or navy, but to our workshops and counting-rooms, ships and railways, and wheat and cotton fields, inventors and captains of industry. There are the sources of our wealth, and what is more, the sources of our national prestige. Who are the men who to-day are doing most to impress the world with the potency of this nation? Not our Admirals or Generals, least of all our Congress, but the manufacturers who are snatching away from all competitors contracts for bridges and steel rails in Egypt and India, and who are selling locomotives in England and ships' plates in Scotland. These are the men who, by their enterprise and skill, are making Europe "sit up" as it recognizes the commercial giant across the sea.

Here we have suggested to us the proper way for the United States to "take her place among the nations." According to our upstart Imperialists, this phrase means going in for a lot of undesirable territory inhabited by undesirable people, keeping them in order, and entering in general upon a course of international swagger and quarrelsomeness. This is very like the parvenu's idea of the pleasure of being rich—to get drunk often and to make a beast of himself. But to take our place among the nations to show them what organized industry can do, what diffused intelligence can make a people capable of, what invention and education and humane reforms can achieve—this is a very cheap thing in the eyes of our Washington vulgarians, who reckon up national power by guns and colonial syndicates and conquered peoples; but it is, nevertheless, the true patriotic ideal to work and live for.

Another overlooked element in imperial strength is peace. In the mouth of

Napoleon III., the phrase, "L'Empire c'est la paix," was tricky and insincere, yet there is a great truth in it. Nothing is more remarkable in the long reign of Victoria, under whom the British empire has grown to be what it is, than the Queen's ardent and constant desire and labor for peace. Some one has lately unearthed a sermon preached in St. Paul's by Sydney Smith, at the time of her Majesty's accession, in which occurred the following passage:

"A second great object which I hope will be impressed upon the mind of this Royal lady, is a rooted horror of war—an earnest and passionate desire to keep her people in a state of profound peace. The greatest curse which can be entailed upon mankind is a state of war. All the atrocious crimes committed in years of peace—all that is spent in peace by the secret corruption or by the thoughtless extravagance of nations, are mere trifles compared with the gigantic evils which stalk over the world in a state of war. . . . I would say to that Royal child, Worship God by loving peace—it is not your humanity to pity a beggar by giving him food or raiment—I can do that; that is the charity of the humble and unknown—widen you your heart for the more expanded miseries of mankind—pity the mothers of the peasantry who see their sons torn away from their families—pity your poor subjects crowded into hospitals, and calling in their last breath upon their distant country and their young Queen. . . . Extinguish in your heart the fiendish love of military glory, from which your sex does not necessarily exempt you, and to which the wickedness of flatterers may urge you. Say upon your death-bed, 'I have made few orphans in my reign; I have made few widows; my object has been peace. I have used all the weight of my character, and all the power of my situation, to check the irascible passions of mankind, and to turn them to the arts of honest industry; this has been the Christianity of my throne and this the gospel of my sceptre.'"

This reads almost like unconscious prophecy—a sketch of the real policy the Queen has steadily pursued. She and her Ministers are to-day ruling an empire vastly greater than that of 1837, but they know that peace is essential to its continuance in unabated strength, and so the more England's might grows in their hands, the more they strive to make its every display peaceful. Industry and commerce and peace—these three are the great empire-builders, and the greatest of these is peace.

BIMETALLISM ABROAD.

The Gold-Standard Defence Association of Great Britain has issued a pamphlet giving a summary of the bimetallic controversy to date. The last chapter supplies information concerning the present views and doings of the bimetallics in England, derived from the testimony of Lord Aldenham and Mr. Robert Barclay, the President of the Bimetallic League and the chairman of its executive committee. Both of these gentlemen consider the subject still alive. Both of them think, however, that the battle ought to be fought hereafter on a basis of a ratio of 22 to 1 between silver and gold instead of 15½ or 16 to 1, and, what is still more singular, they think that the United States would cooperate

in that plan. The only evidence offered is a personal letter from Secretary Hay to Lord Aldenham (published some time ago) in which the writer says: "Our cabinet, like your own, is considerably divided in opinion upon the question of practical bimetallism. Neither the President nor a majority of my colleagues have in the least changed or modified the views which they held last year in regard to the great desirability of an international agreement on the subject." He added that the Government of the United States was "open to consider the question of the ratio," and that he had no doubt that France was equally so, but that the present Government of the United States would not initiate new negotiations. This letter was evidently intended to shelve the question, but it appears to have conveyed to the minds of Lord Aldenham and his colleagues the notion that, if England herself would initiate new negotiations, the United States would assent to a ratio of 22 to 1. The magic of this ratio is that it would make the metallic value of the rupee equal to 1s. 4d., or the price which the Government of India seeks to maintain for it. Hence these tears of joy.

The pamphlet of the Gold-Standard Defence Association then considers the attitude of the Democratic party of the United States on the subject, holding that this country is the most important factor of the bimetallic movement, if there is still such a movement. It presents evidence on the one side showing that silver as a political issue among us is dead, and on the other that it is still alive. It leans, however, to the opinion that, if not dead, silver has ceased to be the dominant issue, and hence that the English bimetallics are deluded if they expect help from the United States in the near future.

This is a safe conclusion, and it may be added that if the English bimetallics are "banking" on the conception that Mr. Bryan and his supporters will join them in favoring the ratio of 22 to 1, they are vastly mistaken. They do not understand the force of catchwords in American politics. The words 16 to 1 have grown up with the present generation of silverites. Very few, indeed, know what they mean, or what any ratio means. Hence their suspicions will be aroused by any attempt to substitute new words in place of them. To introduce such a change it would be necessary to explain to the masses, first, what is meant by 16 to 1, and then what is the significance of the change, and why it is deemed advisable. No large proportion of them could ever be brought to a clear understanding of the reason; but if it could be made plain to them that the "dollar of the fathers" was to be sacrificed in order to meet the views of the Hindoos, a howl of derision would be heard from one end of the land to the

other. Not even Bryan could hold his party together on such a platform.

The truth is, that the life has entirely gone out of silver as a political issue in this country. All the talk that is now heard of it is a formality. It is uttered for the sake of appearances and to keep up a pretence of consistency. This is especially true of Bryan's talk. He prates about silver in order to keep himself in evidence as a candidate for the nomination, but there is no heart in what he says. The Democratic *hot polloi* are for Bryan, not because he is for silver, but because he was their standard-bearer in 1896, their hero and martyr. Mr. Bryan himself does not put silver in the foremost place in his speeches and magazine articles, but he introduces just enough of it to keep the campaign of 1896, and himself as the central figure in it, before the people. He does not mean that the old platform shall be forgotten, but neither does he mean that the campaign of 1900 shall be fought on that issue. He knows that a repetition of the campaign of 1896 would be another defeat for him, because the silver issue is not the one which people are now thinking and talking about. What the chief issue may be is not yet certain. It may be Imperialism, it may be Trusts, it may be McKinley's surrender to the spoilsmen, but it cannot be silver, for the reason that fresh interest cannot be pumped into it.

As regards international bimetallism, neither Bryan nor his party ever took any interest in it, or cared anything about it. They never contributed any votes or influence to the promotion of it. They have always looked at it askance. They have considered it a manœuvre of the Republicans when hard pressed, a trick adopted to gain time and stave off a decision. For this reason, in their platform of 1896, they cut themselves loose from all such devices, and demanded free and unlimited coinage of silver "without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation." If English bimetallicists are looking to the Bryanites for aid and comfort in the future, they are relying on a party which never had any sympathy with them in the past, and would consider the ratio of 22 to 1 as a laughing-stock if not an impiety.

The pamphlet of the Gold-Standard Defence Association gives a résumé of the bimetallic movement on the continent of Europe since the collapse of the Wolcott Commission. The silver propaganda existed in only three countries, France, Germany, and Belgium. No new steps have been taken, and only one meeting has been held since the failure of the Wolcott negotiation. On the 13th of December, 1897, the German Bimetallic League held a meeting and passed a resolution saying that while the opposition of the English bankers might delay bimetallicism, it could not be permanently prevented. In France M. Méline

made a speech of no particular importance, and since then the question has been allowed to slumber.

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE TRANSVAAL.

The breaking off of the negotiations between Sir Alfred Milner and President Krüger, with the admission that they were fruitless and will not be resumed, is taken in England as a very serious event. Such it undoubtedly is, though the hot-heads who are jumping to the conclusion that it means war are likely to be disappointed. Lord Salisbury has found a way out of more than one seemingly hopeless diplomatic *impasse*, and it will be strange indeed if he does not devise some means of peaceable adjustment of the Transvaal difficulty. Yet the British Government is bound to do something. Mr. Chamberlain has gone too far to retreat. He has taken the position that the situation of thousands of British subjects resident in the Transvaal is intolerable, and if renewed diplomatic pressure does not induce the Boer authorities to make it tolerable, force will be resorted to in the end. There can be no doubt about that.

As to the points at issue between the two countries, a fair outside judgment would be that the Boers are technically right on all, but morally wrong on all. In strict legality, and by the hard-and-fast terms of the London Convention and international law, we do not see that Mr. Chamberlain has any case. He is estopped, in the first place, from asserting any right to interfere with the internal government of the Transvaal. Whatever verbal disputes may be raised over the precise terms of the London Convention of 1884, the broad fact remains that Lord Derby, in an official English interpretation of that convention, explicitly declared that under it the Boer Government would be "left free to govern the country without interference." The only reservation was that any treaty negotiated by the Transvaal with a foreign state "shall not have effect without the approval of the Queen."

But Mr. Chamberlain argues, or at any rate his friends argue, that England, by the very fact of enjoying a suzerainty over the Transvaal, has the legal right to demand, on behalf of British residents, a redress of grievances. This is an unsound argument. It is like a farmer insisting that because a neighbor has no right to cut a road through his land without his consent, therefore he is entitled to compel his neighbor to repair a barn or drain a pond. On the bare terms of the convention, England is not in a position to exact anything relating to the internal government of the Transvaal as a matter of pure legal right. Because a man owes you \$10, you cannot reason, from the general ground of your being his creditor, that he is bound

to pay you \$20, or whatever you please to demand. Krüger is as strenuous as Shylock in pointing to the letter of his bond and the law, and is legally in an even more impregnable position, since there is no likelihood of any Portia arriving on the scene.

On one point—the dynamite monopoly—Mr. Chamberlain has openly maintained in the House of Commons that the Boer Government has been guilty of a breach of the London Convention. He bases this contention upon the clause guaranteeing that there shall be no interference with the commerce of British subjects in the Transvaal. But the point is strained. The dynamite monopoly does not discriminate against the British as such. In effect it hurts them, but it is not a measure specifically directed against them as Englishmen. A heavy tax on beer, or on the mineral water which the unlucky dwellers in Johannesburg are compelled to drink to escape being poisoned, would bear hard on the English, yet it could not be held to be a breach of the Convention. In fact, though Mr. Chamberlain asserted that the law officers of the crown sustained him in his contention, the weight of legal opinion is decidedly against it. Krüger has not been asleep. He has solicited the opinion of eight distinguished international lawyers—one of them Prof. Westlake of Cambridge—and all are unanimous in holding that he is quite within his legal rights, so far as the dynamite monopoly is concerned. So he is, undoubtedly, in the other burning question of the naturalization laws of the Transvaal Republic. These are outrageous and oppressive, yet the legal competence of the Boer Government to enact them cannot be questioned.

Yet with narrow legal right on his side, as respects every point in dispute, President Krüger and his Government are taking a position which cannot be morally maintained. As Mr. Balfour said last week, the Boers are denying "the elementary rights of civilization." The grievances of the foreign residents of the Transvaal are great. They have a large part of the property, and pay much more than half the taxes, of the country, and yet are left almost absolutely without representation in the Government. Full citizenship can now be acquired, we believe, only after a residence of fourteen years, and even then under onerous and humiliating conditions. The inhabitants of Johannesburg are not even allowed a voice in municipal affairs. The city is wretchedly governed, is, in fact, a "death-trap"; yet the dwellers in it have no way of exerting political power to bring about a sanitary reform and remove a constant peril to life. To all appeals and remonstrances, the stolid Boers return a Papal *non-possumus*, or a Tweedie "What are you going to do about it?" and go on taxing and vexing and poisoning their Outland-

er victims, and forbidding them the right even to educate their children as they would. Now this, all must agree, is a situation to which an end should be put in some way. By urging upon Krüger and upon the world, as it is evident from Mr. Balfour's speech that the English Government means to do, the duty of having some regard to natural human rights, as against technical legal power, it will be in a position to secure general sympathy and support if, later, it has to extort by force what should have been yielded to reason and the larger justice.

HEINRICH KIEPERT.

Last year, when Heinrich Kiepert celebrated his eightieth birthday, his friends and former pupils, as well as geographers who had come under his wide-reaching influence, presented him, in characteristic German fashion, with a stately volume, a *Festschrift*, to which each had contributed an article on some subject near to the heart of the aged and beloved scholar. But even then Kiepert had so far succumbed to the maladies arising from extreme old age that he could take but little part in the festivities held in his honor, and now he has passed away, having failed to round out his eighty-one years.

Kiepert was a born worker, and in consequence the range of his knowledge became marvellously wide. His devotion to truth was absolute, and he was fired by an unflagging enthusiasm for his science which nothing but death could quench. Now that death has claimed him, his passing leaves a peculiar gap in the ranks of the devotees of the science of geography, which at present none may fill—certainly not as the master filled his post. He was a thoroughly rounded geographer; there was absolutely no corner of the globe, however remote, about which he could not give every detail known to science up to date. In so far, he will have successors. But Kiepert was more: he was an archaeological geographer, if the term be allowed, and as such he stood alone and unapproachable. As archaeological geographer, Asia Minor was his hobby, his pet, his peculiar delight, upon which he expended much time in a variety of ways. He made journeys in Asia Minor at four different periods of his life, the last falling in his seventieth year (1888). The simple statement that he had collected every scrap of knowledge that bears upon Asia Minor, however sweeping it may seem, has a much wider implication than most readers will imagine. Of course Kiepert had at his fingers' and his pencil's ends Greek and Roman literature relating to Asia Minor; of course he was thoroughly at home in the mighty 'Acta Sanctorum,' the 'Acta Conciliorum,' the mass of Greek and Latin inscriptions which are profitable for geography, not to mention such minor things as the Byzantine lists, Hierocles, the Itineraries, and all that modern travellers of European nationalities have had to say upon the subject. But after he had learned all that down to the bottom, and had drained from all these sources every fragment of knowledge in a measure unattained before by any man, he found that he needed much more of which he knew nothing as yet, much that was sealed to him.

He determined to unseal the sealed. This involved the learning of modern Greek, Turkish, and Arabic, in order to find out what the writings in those languages might have to tell him in regard to the geography of his beloved Asia Minor, and to this task he set himself, and set himself successfully. By this means he became possessed of a kind of knowledge unattainable by the average geographer. For instance, he knew what the Turkish archives, Turkish lists, and Turkish so-called maps could tell him. This knowledge he used not only in his cartographic work, but also to control the vagaries of ignorant but well-meaning travellers. The present writer's road-notes on Asiatic topography have a host of marginal annotations by Kiepert, whose accurate information made him able to say (to choose two out of many instances): "No, this is incorrect; you have wrongly heard *Allah* when the word spoken was *Ala*," or, "The Turkish lists do not bear you out."

His knowledge was not held as a hidden treasure; he had much, and he gave freely. He had gained it, however, in order to add to it, and though he gave freely, he was but sowing the seed, and he expected some return in kind for every geographical gift. No one ambitious of exploring remote and unfamiliar corners ever applied to him for an up-to-date map of the region without getting one that included every known detail; for at once the untiring worker betook himself to that mighty table in the big room in the Lindenstrasse, and in due time the traveller had his trusty guide. But much of this sort of work brought no return to Kiepert, for selfish, thoughtless, or lazy men failed to make those additions to knowledge which the master had finally hoped for—failed often to make any report to him; and the otherwise so genial man was full of bitterness in speaking of such cases. But when some return, however imperfect, was made to him, then every single word was weighed with the greatest care, and every single compass-bearing was made to do its part in shaping the mighty map upon the mighty table. He shirked no toil in utilizing for science the returns thus made, and when one traveller entered the aforementioned big room, he was greeted with the words: 'Ach, mein lieber, theuerer Herr, Ihr Journal hat mir so ziemlich ein Vierteljahrchen meines Lebens gekostet.' As they stand in print, these words might be regarded as reproachful; but as they came from his mouth they conveyed to the mind of the hearer the greatest compliment, and in hot haste the good wife was summoned to come and help welcome the man who had robbed him of three months of his life. And warmly affectionate the welcome was.

What Kiepert has done for Asia Minor cannot be measured; he has done everything, and much that goes under the name of other men is in the end Kiepert's. When he began to study the country, its geography was where Ritter had left it; with the exception of the seaboard, which might be reached by European ships, it was practically an unknown land, whereas now there are few regions that have not been explored and mapped, and this state of affairs is due in greatest measure to Kiepert, either directly or indirectly. As a member of the Central-Direction of the Imperial German Archaeological Institute, he has been the immediate and inspiring cause of many of the recent

explorations, just as he was the indirect cause of much that was done in the preceding decades.

The purpose of this note is to emphasize one phase of his manifold nature; to praise him is really impertinence. An outline of his life and a list of his works may be found in any encyclopædia.

FRANCISQUE SARCEY.

PARIS, June 1, 1899.

The death of Francisque Sarcey, the theatrical critic of the *Temps*, has been quite an event, and has for a few days distracted the public mind from the too famous and engrossing *affaire Dreyfus*. Parisians have always been passionately fond of the theatre, and this taste is universal; you will find it in all classes of society. It is even more strongly marked in the people and in the small bourgeoisie than among the wealthy classes and the aristocracy. With the small bourgeoisie the theatre replaces all the amusements of society. Our shopkeepers, after having worked all day, delight in going with their wives to some restaurant, and, after a good dinner, hearing a good play. Without having had any classical education, they acquire a sort of taste, not of the highest sort, to be sure, but still sufficiently accurate and refined. They have their favorites, their likes and dislikes; they are, as a rule, very indulgent, and never show their discontent by hissing, notwithstanding the old rule of Boileau:

"C'est un droit qu'à la porte on achète en entrant."

Francisque Sarcey may be said to have been the idol of this numerous theatrical public, chiefly composed of the French bourgeoisie. He had himself received a very high culture, having been a distinguished pupil of our Normal School; but he was essentially what we call a bourgeois, a word of difficult definition, which connotes some of the best attributes of the French mind—common sense, poise, judgment—as well as some defects, such as a certain want of imagination, of exaltation, of enthusiasm. The intellectual ideal of the bourgeois of the Francisque Sarcey type is a combination of Epicurean wisdom, of the gaiety of Rabelais, of the moral sanity of Molière, of the clever and witty rationalism of Voltaire. Francisque Sarcey received at the Normal School the solid education which forms our best Latinists; but the Normal School forms very few Hellenists—the idealism of Greece is wanting in its pupils. They are all more or less Romans, and their literary productions, full of substance and of logic, are lacking in grace and imagination. It would be difficult to find more finished types of the state of mind and intellect which I am attempting to describe than Francisque Sarcey and Edmond About. These men were together at the Normal School and became very intimate friends. Sarcey was eminently a "Classic" (such was the name given to those who stood by the ancients, by Boileau, Racine, Corneille, Molière, the great writers of the *grand siècle*). The French University was the stronghold of the Classics, the fortress which had to be defended against the Romantics. The war between the Classics and the Romantics, which was very bitter at one time, ended finally in a treaty of peace; even the most ardent Classics could not fail to recognize the genius of Lamartine, of Victor Hugo, and of Musset.

The French Theatre, which is a state institution, governed by the famous decree signed by Napoleon at Moscow, is naturally devoted to the Classics, and their plays form the "repertory." It was impossible that modern plays should not from time to time be played at the French Theatre, especially as, after 1830, there came a succession of dramatists who formed a very remarkable phalanx. Sarcey did not oppose, on the contrary, he gave great encouragement to, the modern school of dramatists; but he insisted all his life long on the necessity of continuing to play the "repertory." He maintained that Racine, Corneille, and Molière should always be played for the débuts of new actors and new actresses at the French Theatre, and that they should never be allowed to appear in modern parts before having shown themselves at home in the great plays of our best classic authors. This was, in his eyes, a necessary discipline. He had, of course, some difficulty in defending his ground against the new artists, who find it so much easier to play modern and amusing parts than to give their full value to the beauties of a literature which is not exactly the representation of modern life and the echo of modern sentiments. It is, however, to the credit of Sarcey that he succeeded in imposing on the French Theatre a discipline which has greatly contributed to make it the model theatre of our time.

He was not so fortunate in other points. He made a perpetual crusade against the exaggeration of the importance given in the modern theatre to what we call the *mise en scène*—that is to say, the scenery and all its accessories. He maintained that this excessive devotion to purely material details was not favorable to real art; that the interest of a drama or of a comedy was to be found in the dialogue, in the development of a situation and of characters, and that the attention of the spectator was not to be absorbed by a show of furniture, of costumes, of palaces, of fine rooms. In the Middle Ages, in the great mysteries which were played before the people, the scenery was of the simplest. There were great boards behind the actors, on which were written in big letters: "This is Jerusalem," or, "This is Constantinople." The tragedies of Corneille and Racine did not require much scenery; fidelity to the old rules of Aristotle's three unities implied unity of place during the five acts of a tragedy. The actors played all their parts in the costume of their own time. We can now hardly imagine *Phèdre* or *Iphigénie* in powder, with silk gowns and hoop-petticoats, or *Augustus* and *Nero* in the dress of the courtiers who came to applaud them; but there is very little doubt that the spectators of the seventeenth century felt as keenly the beauties of the tragedies of Racine and Corneille as we ourselves do. The antique world which is shown to us is, after all, also a conventional world; the Greeks of the time of Pericles, the Romans of the time of Augustus, would probably not recognize themselves at our French Theatre, careful as we may be of our scenery.

One of the reproaches which Sarcey directed against the exaggerated care we now take of the scenery, is the long time required for the arrangement of the stage between the different acts—an interval so long that modern representations become a real fatigue in Paris, lasting as a rule as late as midnight, so that the worn-out spectators

cannot be in their beds before half-past twelve or one o'clock.

The best part of Sarcey's life was spent at the time of the great triumphs of Augier, of Meilhac, of Sardou, of Alexandre Dumas the younger, of Palleron. He had the pleasure of witnessing and of fostering the triumph of a dramatic school which realized his conception of art: the study of life, the observation of the play of human passions, presented to the public by classical methods. By this I mean that the development of the plays of these dramatists is methodical, that there is a certain unity in them, that all the incidents converge towards a definite object. The analyses which Sarcey made of the dramas of these authors are marvellous when you consider that they were always written the day after their first representation; their clearness, their lucidity, their criticism cannot be sufficiently praised. They were always written *con amore* even when the critic felt the necessity of being severe. He was often severe towards Sardou. Though he admired the infinite cleverness of this extraordinary *metteur en scène* and the ease with which he found his way out of the most complicated plots, he could never quite forgive his excessive preoccupation with the scenery, the dress of his personages—the picturesque part of the drama—which, in his opinion, became too great a distraction for the public and absorbed too much of the attention of the author himself.

Sarcey had a great partiality for Meilhac, and always took pains to find even in his farces some elements of high comedy. Meilhac was essentially a Parisian; his work may be compared to a glass of champagne—there will soon be little left of it, but it gave much pleasure to the generations who understood all its allusions and criticisms. How long will the works of these writers be played? I remember a feuilleton of Sarcey's in which he prophesied that two plays only were sure to remain in the "repertory," to take rank among the classics, the "Gendre de Monsieur Poirier" and the "Demi-Monde," because they both struck a new chord and dealt with passions which are permanent in the human heart.

Sarcey was much surprised and perplexed when he had to give an opinion on the production of a new theatrical school which affected to ignore or to despise all the rules of the past. The "Théâtre Libre" was founded by an actor of great talent, named Antoine. It did not pretend to anything except to give the public what the disciples of the new method (or rather want of method) called *des tranches de vie*, slices of life. No real drama, no real plot, no complications, no intrigue, nothing but dramatic photographs, something in the style of a living cinematograph, in which people not only move but talk. It is undeniable that this "Free Theatre" has had its utility; it accustomed the public to realism on the stage; it broke through many conventions; it was no longer necessary for the drama to end with a marriage or a death. The devotees of the new school set forth the incidents of life and its situations, but many such situations have no issue. Sarcey was very conscientious. He was horrified by some of the productions of the Théâtre Libre, which, in its worst development, became the "Théâtre Rosse" (a word I find hard to translate). He was indignant with its coarseness, its indecency, its impudent contempt of all propriety. He nevertheless

took the trouble to follow, night after night, the representations of the new school, and, when there was a pearl on the dunghill, he was honest enough to pick it out.

It would be interesting to show the influence which the Théâtre Libre has had on the new dramatists, such as Donnay, Hervieu, and the rest—Sarcey did not attempt to deny it. The present school of our best dramatists is decidedly purely realistic; it is also pessimistic, and deals by preference with social subjects. It does not adopt the old motto, "Castigat ridendo mores"; it is marked by a certain sadness, even in its gaiety. Sarcey encouraged its efforts, though he was himself of a robust, healthy, and cheerful disposition. He will not be replaced, in my opinion, for many years to come, as a theatrical critic. He thought he had a mission, and he fulfilled it with an earnestness and a zeal beyond praise.

THIS YEAR'S SALONS.

PARIS, May 1, 1899.

It is impossible to come away from the latest Salons without feeling just a trifle depressed and discouraged. One thinks of the immense activity during the last hundred years, one remembers the endless movements and schools and revolutions that have come and gone since the National Assembly of 1791 made an end for evermore to the old tyranny of the Academy; and then, in the face of this spring's exhibitions, one cannot help asking to what purpose has been all this agitation, all this energy, all this striving, all this struggling. A few thousand artists may exhibit in the place of the few hundred of a century ago, but the greatness of art depends not in the least upon numbers. Indeed, it is one of the most melancholy features of this huge collection that such acres of canvas and paper, such a wilderness of plaster and marble and bronze, should yield such an absurdly small crop of good, or interesting, or even irritatingly bad work. Now that the two Salons, as last year, are sheltered under the single vast roof of the Palais des Machines, one is more than ever impressed by the mere size of these two annual shows, by the army of men and women who have chosen art as their profession. But more amazing still is the fact that, as one makes one's way through the labyrinth of galleries, there should be so little to arrest or hold the attention. There is much that is workmanlike and able, most of the exhibitors prove in their performance the excellence of their training. In any other profession, in any business or trade, the same amount of ability and knowledge would be of inestimable advantage and lead surely to success. But the artist stands in need of higher qualities, of more original virtues—qualities and virtues not to be manufactured even in the studios that turn out competent workmen by the dozen. We are disappointed only because we expected too much, and the present Salons are really nothing more than useful reminders of the century's folly of expectation.

Of course, the exhibition of the Société des Beaux-Arts (or the Champ-de-Mars Salon) is by far the stronger and pleasanter of the two. In the first place, it is smaller and therefore not so wearisome. The hanging and arrangement are much more to be commended. As a rule, there is but a single line of pictures—never, except in the case of very

tiny canvases, more than two; and the pictures that are thus more easily seen are distinctly better worth seeing. I can imagine that any one who visited the Salon for the first time would be positively amazed at the high level of accomplishment attained; but to all those familiar with the artists and their work there are signs, if not of exhaustion, certainly of fatigue. Naturally, the loss of Puvis de Chavannes is very seriously felt. His large decorative panels may not always have been of equal merit, but they were never entirely without charm, distinction, and, above all, the repose that could not but prove a relief in the midst of the sensations of the year. And his absence is the more keenly realized because in their place now hangs only the little portrait, simple, sombre, reticent, that he painted of his wife when she was still the *Princesse Cantacusène*, while the large decorative work by other artists seems to violate every canon of his artistic creed. It comes as something of a shock to find Dubufe consecrating to his memory a canvas of gigantic scale, on which the dead master sits, with appropriate sadness, among nondescript symbolical figures in emerald-green draperies and violet wings, color and design both as completely out of sympathy with his aims and methods as well could be. Nor do I see much hope of his mantle as decorator falling upon the shoulders of those who evince most desire to wear it—upon either Anquetin or Boutet de Monvel, for example. There is astonishing vigor and force in a big allegorical "Battle" by Anquetin, a mass of men and horses with impossible arching manes, wrestling and grappling together in deadly combat, but so violent, so confused, you can but regret the misdirected energy of a painter of whose power there can be no question. I see that a French critic makes much of the fact that the work was done in some forty days, but the merit of a picture has absolutely nothing to do with the time and labor bestowed upon it. As for Boutet de Monvel, he has apparently taken one of the small colored illustrations from his "Jeanne d'Arc," enlarged it, and given precisely the same composition in colossal proportions, but worked out with the minuteness and elaboration of the old illuminator. Brilliant reds and yellows and purples that were amusing on the printed page of a small book become offensive and glaring when made to cover vast spaces. The decoration is for the church at Domremy, which is so dark, I am told (I have never been there), that exaggerated brilliancy is absolutely necessary, if the decoration is to produce its effect. This may be so, though I doubt it, and, in any case, I think it a mistake to show the design in the uncompromising light of a well-illuminated gallery. I also think it a pity that a ceiling by Besnard should be hung up on the wall like a picture, where you can tell nothing about it. Dark foliage and rose-colored draperies set against the deep blue of a starlit sky suggest an agreeable harmony, but I should not venture to answer for it until I saw the ceiling in place, nor do I feel that I can appreciate the panels he exhibits with it in their present surroundings.

These are some of the most striking works, principally, if I except the Besnards, because of their size. To turn to smaller canvases is to find men like Carrière, Aman-Jean, Lhermitte, Picard, Raffaëlli, Gandara, and Blanche repeating more or less the same subjects or same designs or same effects we have had

from them in the past: M. Carrière becoming more vague, more mystical, more tragic than ever, though his theme may be one in itself so joyous as the morning greeting between mother and children; M. Aman-Jean's refinement, for the moment threatening to dwindle into feebleness. Then M. Simon, once so promising, grows more photographic in his portrait groups with every year; M. Cottet, once so original, is degenerating into a mere slave of his mannerisms. With regret, one discovers that Mr. Whistler sends nothing; nor is there anything by Mr. Sargent or Mr. Dannat. Mr. McLure Hamilton has but two little portraits—characteristic and accomplished—in the place of the group of several he exhibited last spring. And Mr. Alexander's ingenuity seems to be failing him, for his favorite model appears upon but one canvas, there twisted in a new and graceful curve over a violoncello. Even the sensationists have come to an end of their resources. M. Jean Béraud's hitherto fertile invention has carried him no further than a theatre rehearsal, and this year, at any rate, he must retire before M. Jean Veber, whose rather loathsome fight between two naked women, with hideous old hags for on-lookers, fascinates the crowd; and also before M. De Groux, M. Louis Legrand, and M. Piot, who, each in his way, makes a bid for notoriety by madness of method, a perfect saturnalia of paint. The religious picture, too, is disappearing. M. Dagnan-Bouveret, recently the most enthusiastic exponent of the Scriptures, now confines himself to a portrait, and it is chiefly M. Carolus-Duran who keeps up the tradition by a Crucifixion, melodramatic, bituminous, ineffective. Really the best and most genuine work comes from the landscape painters—from M. Cazin and his follower, M. Billotte, from Ménard, Griveau, Mouillé, and several others, more or less strong, whose canvases reveal a curious romantic tendency. The reign of Realism, of Naturalism, of *Plein-airisme*, of Impressionism, is clearly at an end—that is, for the present generation.

In the section of drawings and prints, I am conscious of the same fatigue, the same exhaustion. I looked in vain for the old gaiety of experiment, the old triumphant solution of new problems. Men like M. Helleu, M. Florian, M. Renouard are not represented. Fine woodcuts and wood-engravings, some printed in color, are still sent by M. Lepère, color etchings by M. Raffaëlli, color lithographs by M. Gottlob and M. Heidebrinck, remarkably clever etchings by M. Louis Legrand; but the greater number of exhibitors are content to copy or imitate men already acknowledged as masters. Perhaps it should be noted that many artists are beginning to show the sketches and studies for their pictures, a capital plan, helping one, as it does, to understand their aims and intentions. But interest centres chiefly about a roomful of drawings by M. Cazin, as refined and individual as his paintings, wonderful little studies of towns—a street or a *place* charmingly suggested—or else of the quiet, uneventful sketches of field or open country, where he so often seeks his inspiration, or of women and children; studies these that make one wish he had not devoted himself so exclusively to landscape. The drawings are mostly in chalk or pencil on white paper, sometimes on gray paper, when they borrow something of the tranquil, tender color of his twilights and his moonlit nights.

There is never very much sculpture in the Champ-de-Mars Salon, but what there is, usually, is good. This year the greatest success is scored by Mr. Saint-Gaudens with his "General Sherman." In its quiet dignity, it impresses one, the moment one's eyes fall upon it, after passing, as one must to reach it, all the flamboyant, restless, contorted, posing statues of the other or Champs-Élysées Salon. There is so much character, so much authority, in the gaunt, spare figure, erect and alert in the saddle. The cloak, flying back in the wind, gives just the right suggestion of movement, though I understand that Mr. Saint-Gaudens means to modify it slightly, thinking that, as it is, it detracts somewhat from the fine sobriety and reticence of the whole composition. It is interesting to find another American, one hitherto known only as a painter, making his appearance as a sculptor: Mr. McLure Hamilton, whose bust of his mother is so able, so expressive in its simple severity, one might think it the work of the master sculptor, rather than the apprentice. M. Rodin, probably to his own great satisfaction, has not created the excitement of a year ago. The now famous "Balsac" is succeeded by a life-size "Eve" in bronze—an Eve after the fall, sad and ashamed, her arms crossed over her breast, her head bent low. It is beautifully conceived, full of emotion, subtle and strong in the modelling, but it seems to me that M. Rodin never succeeds quite perfectly in his larger designs. I like better the small, spirited bust of M. Falguière which he is also showing.

One wonders if the exhibition of this bust is not M. Rodin's way of explaining to the public that he does not in the least resent the fact that the commission for the Balsac monument has been handed over to M. Falguière. The new Balsac is, for me at all events, what the French would call the *clou* of the Champs-Élysées Salon. M. Rodin's Balsac was so indisputable a failure, and yet, at the same time, so fascinating, so exasperating because it came so near being the work of genius he meant it to be, that it is inevitable curiosity should mingle with one's desire to see the attempt of the man who has had the temerity to come after him, and so challenge comparison. M. Falguière, evidently, has been overwhelmed by the delicacy of his position, and, as if convinced that imitation is really the sincerest form of flattery, has made his Balsac as much like M. Rodin's as a sculptor of so opposite a temperament could. The new Balsac sits, where last year he stood, his hands no longer concealed, but crossed comfortably and inelegantly over his knees; he wears the same indefinite garment, partly dressing-gown, partly great coat; he is quite as shapeless and still heavier; and if there is less of melodrama in his pose, there is more of clumsiness. M. Falguière is commonplace, colorless, while M. Rodin's fault was an excessive individuality or daring of treatment. The latter tried to express too much—the whole history of romance, so his admirers insisted, instead of the character of one man. M. Falguière has tried to express too little, and has let the great genius go masquerading modestly as an amiable bourgeois taking his ease by his own fireside. If he but succeeded, M. Falguière is reported to have said, "Cela en fera deux de beaux." But he has not succeeded, and the result is two failures, not two masterpieces. M. Frémiet,

too, I think, has lost a fine opportunity. To him has been intrusted the statue of De Lesseps to be set up at the entrance of the Suez Canal, and he has imagined nothing nobler and more dignified than a man—no doubt the portrait is irreproachable—in a dress-suit, one hand holding the map of the canal, the other outstretched in the most conventional and theatrical of gestures.

If, for the rest of this exhibition, though the larger of the two, I have left myself but little space, I have done so intentionally. There is little to be said that has not been said before many times. Again one is confronted with the enormous canvases, the big *machines*, meant to capture by sheer force the attention they could not claim by merit alone. M. Jean-Paul Laurens is always an exception. His large historical compositions are designed for a definite purpose. This year he shows a ceiling for a public building in Toulouse, scholarly, but, with its persistent reds, less restrained and sober in color than usual. Of the others, even M. Tattgrain, who once knew how to put a picture together, is beginning to sacrifice everything to the gruesomeness of his details, so that, in his "Saint-Quentin pris d'assaut," the eye wanders aimlessly from group to group, from figure to figure, as in a "yellow" journalist's picturesque report, never by chance taking in the effect of the dramatic scene as a whole; and, unfortunately for the painter, a picture of this kind is forgotten as promptly as the printed report. The work that tells, in the only fashion an artist should care to have it tell, is found rather in the melancholy gray landscapes of M. Pointelin, who may keep on for ever painting the wide, desolate moorland, the long barren hills he loves, but who does it with such feeling for the poetry of light and air that they have all the variety of Nature herself; in the stately, formal compositions of M. Harpignies; in the little idylls of M. Fantin-Latour. These are, as they have been so often before, the few good things that reconcile one to such a waste of paint. I thought, too, that the work of a few American exhibitors—a delightful little Dutch baby by Mr. MacEwen, the well-drawn cattle by Mr. Bisbing, the low-toned pastorals by Mr. Truesdell—were, in their refinement, pleasant contrasts to the typical Salon picture. The seas of Mr. Boggs and the tulips of Mr. Hitchcock also stand out with something like distinction.

The prints and drawings here have always been dull and unimportant compared to the series at the Champ-de-Mars, and now, with M. Fantin-Latour and M. Willette both absent, they are more forlorn than ever; an occasional innovation in the shape of an experiment in color, a single lithograph by M. Dillon, two or three worth noting by M. Huvey, and M. Leleu, and the wood-engravings by Mr. Wolf are not quite enough to compensate one for wading through such a large collection of indifferent interest.

Perhaps I ought to add that in both Salons more and more attention is being paid to the purely decorative arts, and that in the New Salon a prominent and distinguished place is given to Mr. Tiffany's glass, which is also, by the way, being shown just now in London. N. N.

Correspondence.

TEMPERANCE AND EXPANSION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The United States having emerged from the smoke of the Spanish war, with Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines more or less attached to her, it is pertinent to ask what effect these new and (to the United States) strange relations will have on the temperance question.

Our inquiry need not take us far afield. Expansion means forcible subjection of the countries over which our self-appointed authority extends; forcible subjection means the maintenance of a large army, and, notwithstanding the plain prohibition of Congress, the beer canteen, according to the opinion of the Attorney-General (an opinion fearfully and wonderfully made), is allowed to attach itself like a leech to our army under a pretext of the shallowest and emptiest sort. It is not necessary to picture here the evils that follow in its wake. The mere fact that the best and most experienced officers of the army, such men as Gen. Miles, Gen. Shafter, and Gen. Brooke, are stoutly opposed to the canteen, is sufficient to condemn it in the eyes of the average layman. Yet this curse bids fair to be a permanent adjunct to our army, and therefore to our new idol, expansion.

But there is another and quite as atrocious a way in which expansion is affecting temperance. One of the chief pretences with which we have apologized for the shooting down of the Filipinos in cold blood is that we intend to convert them from barbarism and to make them moral and upright. Nevertheless, during the American occupation of the Philippines, between three hundred and four hundred saloons have been established in Manila alone. It seems incredible that such a revolting condition can be possible, and yet so undeniable is the fact that our comic papers have begun to picture the bar-room and the free-lunch counter as the sort of American free institutions that we shall give the Filipinos.

The worst of the matter is, that there is no promise of improvement for the future. Our uniform treatment of the Indians in supplying them with "fire-water," contrary to treaty stipulations and to the instincts of morality and humanity, and the recent repeal of the prohibition law in Alaska, augur badly for the needed relief.

HENRY FREDRICKS.

PHILADELPHIA, June 10, 1899.

AN ENGLISHMAN IN RUSSIA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Prof. Kittredge has directed my attention to a postscript of William Smith's letter of the 15th of May, 1873, sent from Yaroslav in Russia to his brother James Woodcock in Kent, contained in Thomas Wright's "Queen Elizabeth and her Times," vol. 1, p. 422. It runs as follows:

"Brate Yakobe possaldie peregottoui pro mina Jonnisko gottory Crosshinko ye mollo-dinko. protiuo ya preyeado doma I possalli Cholombite ut misna barbara Wode ye velly onna ys doute mina golli te take. Displesse pro mina brate boudes dessinaert.—Pro brat weyo, WILLIAM SMITHE."

In a footnote the editor says: "This postscript was no doubt intended to astonish all

his friends in Kent." In this statement he is, however, mistaken, for the postscript was meant as a confidential note to his brother, as the translation of it will soon show us.

Ever after the discovery of Russia by the English in 1553, English merchants and their agents and military adventurers resided in Russia. Mention of this fact is made in Smith's letter, by which we are also informed that his brother had been there before: "This country of Unslund [mistake for Rusland] is greatly changed since you were here, and things goeth not so convenient with Englishmen as it hath done." During their long sojourn in Russia, many Englishmen acquired a speaking knowledge of the Russian language, and to one of them we owe the earliest collection of Russian ballads in existence, made in 1613. To this matter I shall return at some future time. The passage given above is written in Russian. After making various allowances for misprints, incorrect readings of the editor, and superficial knowledge of the language of the writer himself, we get the following intelligible translation:

"Brother James: Please procure for me a wife, one that is pretty and young, against the time of my return home, and please make my obeisance to Barbara Wood, and tell her to wait for me. If you succeed in doing this for me, you will be unto death the brother—Of your brother,

"WILLIAM SMITHE."

This pretty sixteenth-century romance of which we get a glimpse through the Russian language is probably unique in English history. It would be interesting to know whether Smith ever was united to his lady-love.

LEO WIENER.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., June 7, 1899.

THE OSCITANT PROOF-READER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Not many more amusing misprints are likely to be found than one in Saintsbury's "Short History of English Literature" (1898, p. 262), where the well-known line of Sidney's first Sonnet is quoted:

"Fool! said my nurse to me, look in thy heart and write."

W. H. B.

Notes.

Dodd, Mead & Co. will shortly publish the only authorized edition of the early novels of Henry Seton Merriman, which have been revised, condensed, and in part rewritten. They have nearly ready the "Autobiography of Mrs. Oliphant."

Henry Holt & Co. announce "The Hooligan Nights," reminiscences of Alf. Hooligan, thief and counterfeiter, edited by Clarence Rook, a London journalist.

D. Appleton & Co., The Century Co., and the Doubleday & McClure Co. are to publish in conjunction the fifteen-volume edition of Kipling's works, which is to be marketed by the Book Department of the H. B. Claflin Co.—altogether a very unusual enterprise.

The Macmillan Co. have in hand the authorized translation of Clara Tschudi's "Life of Eugénie, Empress of the French," and the "Reminiscences" of Clement Scott, the veteran dramatic critic of the *Daily Telegraph*.

Small, Maynard & Co., Boston, are issuing "The Yellow Wall Paper," an early

magazine story of Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Stetson; and 'On the Birds' Highway,' by Reginald Heber Howe, Jr.—coast bird-studies from Maine to Maryland, with some 60 illustrations.

'The Martial Graves of Our Fallen Heroes in Santiago de Cuba,' by Dr. Henry C. McCook, will shortly be issued by George W. Jacobs & Co., Philadelphia, with photographs, charts, and maps.

William Ellis Jones, No. 5 South Twelfth Street, Richmond, Va., invites subscriptions to the 'Word-Book of Virginia Folk-Speech,' by Dr. B. W. Green of Warwick. Only 300 copies will be printed.

A new work on 'Embroidery,' by Lewis F. Day and Miss Mary Buckle, will be brought out in London by B. T. Botsford, and in New York by the Messrs. Scribner.

The latest volume in the new edition of the writings of the late John Addington Symonds is the fourth appearance of his 'Introduction to the Study of Dante' (London: Black; New York: Macmillan).

Mr. Brett's 'Cumulative Index to a Selected List of Periodicals' for 1898 (Cleveland: The Helman-Taylor Co.) forms the third annual volume of this important key to "authors, subjects, titles, reviews, portraits"—the last item not the least. We need only add that the periodicals here indexed number one hundred, and that especial pains have been taken to make the year's necrology complete.

Mr. John Coleman Adams's 'Nature Studies in Berkshire [Mass.]' (Putnam) will not secure him the literary rank of Burroughs, Bradford Torrey, or Thoreau, and his text pales in quality beside the photographure illustration of Mr. Arthur Scott, his collaborator in the making of a handsome volume. These views are all charming and characteristic, and unusually successful in catching cloud effects.

Mr. R. P. Porter confesses to the haste with which his 'Industrial Cuba' (Putnam) has been compiled. Yet as a record of information, as distinct from the author's opinions (some of which seem to have been even more hastily put together than his facts), the book is of considerable value. The existing Cuban tariff printed in full, the account of internal taxes and of the apportionment of public revenue, with the chapters on sanitation and transportation, furnish the best portion of Mr. Porter's statistical exhibit.

There is unaffected modesty in Burr McIntosh's title, 'The Little I Saw of Cuba' (F. Tennyson Neely), and the author, a newspaper correspondent, who left the island as a yellow-fever convalescent, makes no pretensions of any kind. His journalistic style is not commendable, but his observations with the Rough Riders are a respectable contribution to the material for that history of the Santiago campaign which has yet to be written. Mr. McIntosh leaves us in no doubt as to his likes and dislikes, and among the latter he, with a mind devoid of sectionalism, includes equally Gen. Shafter and Gen. Wheeler. His own photographic views give a better idea of the country than most we have met with, and much enhance the value of a narrative of some hardship and personal disappointment.

F. Anstey's 'Love among the Lions' (D. Appleton & Co.) is clearly by the author of 'The Tinted Venus,' is characteristically ingenious in concealing the plot, and is brief enough not to weary. If it adds nothing to the author's reputation for humorous extravagance, it cannot fail to provoke a smile in the reader.

The Jewish Publication Society of Ameri-

ca, Philadelphia, is ably carrying on the task of popularizing Judaism and keeping its best spirit alive. It has issued some books of high scientific value, such as the translation of Graetz, Schechter's 'Studies in Judaism,' and Dembitz's 'Jewish Services,' along with others of much lighter weight which need not be particularized. Their last publication, Abrahams's 'Jewish Literature' (275 pages, including an excellent double-columned index of twelve pages), takes medium rank. It is an introductory sketch of Jewish literature from the Mishna to Mendelssohn, and is brightly written, clear, and accurate. Of course, the treatment is of the slightest—within such limits none other were possible—but the arrangement is good; each of the twenty-five chapters has a pointed heading and closes with a little English bibliography guiding to further study. The references to Arabic thought and literature might be more exact, but that lies off the writer's track, and, besides, there are few English books in which such references even approach exactness. His little book fairly accomplishes its claim, and will take a useful place in the strange but just and healthy Jewish *renaissance* which is upon us.

Volume ix. of the Harvard Studies in Classical Philology (Boston: Ginn & Co.) is largely devoted to the memory of the two great and well-beloved teachers whom Harvard lost in the summer of 1897. The memoir of Prof. George M. Lane is written by his former pupil and literary executor, Prof. Morris H. Morgan, while that of Prof. Frederic D. Allen is the work of his colleague and friend, Prof. Greenough. The two memoirs, which are accompanied by excellent portraits, together with a number of posthumous papers, now furnished with revisory notes, make this volume of the Studies of particular interest to many classical students. The influence of Prof. W. M. Lindsay of Oxford, who was an instructor at Harvard in 1898, is shown in a series of seven studies in Plautus, mostly the work of his American pupils. Other articles are "Hidden Verses in Livy," by M. H. Morgan, and the "Nonius Glosses" of the late J. H. Onions, with note by Prof. Lindsay; while the last two-score pages of the volume are taken up with a careful and painstaking analysis of the "Versification of Latin Metrical Inscriptions except Saturnians and Dactylics"—the work of Prof. A. W. Hodgman of the Ohio State University.

Karl Dieterich's 'Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache von der hellenistischen Zeit bis zum 10. Jahrhundert nach Chr.' (Leipzig: Teubner) is a late addition to the constantly increasing list of German studies dealing with the history of the Greek language. This work has special reference to such inscriptions, papyri, and manuscripts as have come down to us from the period 300 B. C.-1,000 A. D., and deals especially with the *συνή* or Greek of the Hellenistic period, and its relation to the dialects of to-day. The connection of ancient with modern Greek, a language long despised by philologists, has now been assured by the works of such scholars as Krumbacher, Hatzidakis, and Thumb, whom Dieterich follows; and future investigations into the Greek of any period can hardly be made without some reference to the modern *Gemeinsprache* and dialects. The importance of modern Greek as a development of the ancient, and the fact that it is able to throw light on many difficulties of ancient Greek investigation, explains the extraordinary ac-

tivities of German scholars in this direction during the last decade.

Mr. Charles F. Lummis is about to print in his *Land of Sunshine* (Los Angeles, Cal.) an accurate translation of the Viceroy Revilla Gigedo's report on California, the clearest and closest summary of Pacific Coast affairs and explorations from San Blas to Nutka, 1767-1793, that we possess. It has not been printed heretofore in English. It will run for about four months in the magazine.

A map of the theatre of military operations in Luzon, on a scale of nearly three miles to the inch, prepared under the direction of the Military Information Division, is the special feature of the *National Geographic Magazine* (Washington) for June. Com. H. Webster, U. S. N., contributes a readable account of the Samoans, accompanied by illustrations, in which, referring to their singular hospitality, he says that "traveling parties can go from end to end of the group without expense for food or lodging, and the official 'Large House,' maintained by each village, is seldom vacant. This peculiar institution is provided by contributions from every family in the place. One of the results of this type of hospitality is that the Samoan has become a great traveller. Large parties, resembling our 'tourists,' band together and go from town to town and from island to island." The Samoan is fond of games of skill, especially of a kind of quoits and of cricket. So strong a hold has the latter game taken upon the natives that it was no uncommon experience to find a village "utterly deserted by its inhabitants, for the entire population would be in a neighboring clearing, watching or taking part" in the game. It is not surprising to learn from another writer that the Samoan is averse to labor, and that those who have attempted agricultural pursuits in the islands have been compelled to import laborers. The rates of wages are "\$1 per day for laborers, or \$10 per month with food; mechanics from \$3 to \$5 per day; clerks, \$50 per month and board, and bookkeepers \$100 per month and board. There are now constantly from 1,000 to 1,500 foreign laborers in the islands." The editor makes a short statement in regard to the work of the National Geographic Society and its organ, which has afforded an opportunity for the publication, in a popular form, of information that might otherwise have lain buried in voluminous reports. The Society has now 1,100 active and 500 corresponding members, and a special effort is being made to increase its membership, in order, among other things, to enlarge the magazine and to add to its attractiveness and value.

The *Annales de Géographie* for May contains an interesting description of a type of a primitive house as shown in the stone structures of southern Italy, known locally as *trulli*, *caselle*, and *specchie*. The trullo, or bee-hive house, is a small hut built of "dried" stones laid without cement, covered with a cupola of the same material. The casella consists of several trulli joined together. The specchie are large truncated stone cones, and were no doubt originally intended for watch towers. Few of these buildings, except possibly some of the third class, are of great antiquity, the peasant of this district to-day regarding the trullo not only as the most economical, but also the driest and healthiest of habitations. There are several illustrations,

and a map showing the distribution of the different classes of these buildings, born of a land known in classic days as "*petrosa Apulia*." There is also an illustrated description of the irrigation works now in process of construction at Assuan and Assiut on the Nile. At the former place at the time of the writer's visit (February, 1899) there were 6,000 laborers employed, of whom 500 were Italians, the remainder natives. Referring to the common idea that in Egypt all things are immovable and unchangeable, he says that "it seems to us, on the contrary, that in few countries are modifications, economic, geographic, and historic, at the present time so profound and so rapid." Pure science is represented in this number by an article on the geography of plants, founded on a recently published work, by A. F. W. Schimper, on 'Plant Geography on a Physiological Basis.'

In *Petermann's Mittheilungen*, number four, is the first part of an elaborate study, by Paul Langhans, of the distribution of Germans and Czechs in northern Bohemia. In eight districts examined, a comparison of the census of 1880 with that of 1890 shows that in two districts the Germans, in six the Czechs, have increased. A. Gaederts continues his account of his preliminary survey in the province of Shantung in the interests of the proposed German railway. He gives some figures showing the great commercial activity which prevails, and the present cost of transportation of the principal products, raw silk, cotton, coal, plaited straw, tobacco, vegetables, and fruit "in great quantities and of good quality."

"You may make a canal or a railway without the consent of a people, but you cannot make a system of justice," said Sir John Scott in a recent address in which he explained the methods whereby he, as judicial adviser to the Khedive, obtained this consent. Acting on the principle that, in judicial reform, "better men, not new measures," were demanded, he began by making provision for the education of Egyptians in Occidental law. Succeeding steps were the removal of hopelessly incompetent and corrupt judges, and the replacing the seven tribunals in which several judges sat, with numerous single-judge courts placed in all parts of the country, over which a strict supervision is held. The result is that cheap and prompt justice is brought within easy reach of every peasant. "There are fewer crimes in Egypt than there are in England in proportion to the population"; but when they are committed, the criminals, whatever their rank or position, are tried by the native judges, who show an independence amazing from the Oriental point of view. "One of the richest and most influential men in Lower Egypt" and a prince, cousin of the Khedive, have been sentenced recently by native judges to a convict prison, the one for forgery, the other for assault. Sir John sums up his work in these closing words: "I found in 1890 a set of native tribunals that were struggling for existence. I leave behind me a set of national tribunals which will, I trust, be the backbone of the country for all time."

The proverbial excellence of the Prussian system of popular education is once more disproved by recent debates in the Landtag. The scarcity of agricultural labor during certain seasons has led the landowners of the Eastern provinces to urge the passage of a law by which the time and duration of school sessions shall be made to depend more large-

ly than heretofore upon "local conditions." In the course of the debate it was shown that there are large districts in Pomerania where the children attend school only during the early morning hours between 5:30 and 9:30. Half-day schools are common in other places. In the province of Posen the dearth of teachers is such that a thousand positions are vacant, and there are schools in which two hundred children, or more, are under the charge of a single teacher! Elsewhere, children under nine years of age are not admitted to school for lack of room. (See the *Pädagogische Zeitung*, May 11, 1899.) It is surprising that in Mecklenburg, which in political matters is so far behind Prussia, the number of pupils entrusted to one teacher does not exceed fifty, about one-half of the average in Prussia, while even in Saxony, probably the most advanced of all German States in matters of popular education, the average number of children to one teacher is seventy-three. It is evident that the efficiency of the school depends largely upon this proportion.

—The report of Mr. Douglas Brymner on the Canadian Archives (Ottawa) once more calls attention to our Government's neglect of the manuscript sources of American history in Europe. The Library of Congress, where transcripts should be found, has never expended a dollar to obtain them. The Pennsylvania Historical Society, under Mr. Stone's direction, has done more than any other society in this good work. The field is practically unworked, however many partial attempts to make an impression may be pointed out. Mr. Brymner has not only systematically taken transcripts of all that the Records Office in England could afford, but he now announces the arrival of copies made in Paris, extending from 1575 to 1767. Instead of Washington being the centre of historical research in the British and French records, Ottawa offers a far richer opportunity, and one that cannot be offset by the Library of Congress for many years. The existence of these deposits serves to attract original material, as the deposit with Mr. Brymner of papers relating to Bougainville proves. The expense of obtaining the transcripts is not heavy; and were a few of the larger libraries to combine, it would be one of the best undertakings for advancing the study of history at a very low cost. No one who has had occasion to write of colonial matters has failed to feel the need of such records. The delay and expense of applying direct to London are prohibitory to individual effort; but a coöperative plan would be simple and effective.

—In his report for 1899, Mr. Brymner covers the records of Upper and Lower Canada during the Dalhousie and Maitland régimes. Certain documents, of especial interest, are printed in full as an introduction, among them being a hitherto unknown letter of Gen. Wolfe. He wrote, in June, 1759, in a tone of irritation at being ordered to Halifax to serve under the orders of one who had just been promoted over his head: "Rather than receive orders from the government of an officer younger than myself (though a very worthy man) I should certainly have desired leave to resign my commission; for as I neither ask nor expect any favor, so I never intend to submit to any ill usage whatsoever." The disputes between Lord Dalhousie and the Assembly are noticed, and some remarkable examples of methods of criticising the actions of the ruling party cited. Whether the question was one of salaries or of a mo-

nopoly of offices by a few families, there was always an opportunity for recrimination. The social and political vicissitudes of Judge Willis are touched upon—a disturbing influence as marked as the matter of Mrs. Eaton in Jackson's day. One woman's differences with another woman threatened the very policy of the state. The history of the land companies in Lower Canada is very interesting, as they repeated some of the earlier experiences of our States in dealing with their Western lands; while the "naturalization question" arising from the election to the Assembly and rejection by the Crown of Barnabas Bidwell, an alien, fitly brings the report to a close. This resulted in an alteration in the law, but not in a satisfactory settlement of the question. Mr. Brymner's editing shows care, and this new volume is one more excellent product of his office.

—Mr. A. H. Garland's legal reminiscences ('Experience in the Supreme Court of the United States, with some Reflections and Suggestions as to that Tribunal,' Washington: John Byrne & Co.) are chiefly remarkable for their modesty. Most people of his distinction would have made a couple of octavo volumes out of himself, while here we have only a hundred small pages. They are readable, and here and there the author makes a good point, as where he observes, of the late Justice Bradley, that it is doubtful if any man ever sat on the bench of the Supreme Court who knew "more law and more sorts of law than he." A good story of Roscoe Conkling and "Matt" Carpenter is given. Conkling, with a record of a case coming on at once in court in his hands, applies to Carpenter for light on a point about which he says he is "troubled," and asks what he, Carpenter, would do about it. Carpenter's reply is, "Why, I would employ a good lawyer." Mr. Garland gives a long list of cases in which he was engaged in the Supreme Court, but the one which will perhaps cause his name to be longest remembered was *Ex parte Garland*, in which, as he somewhat grotesquely puts it, "the right of lawyers against legislative encroachments" was vindicated. So conspicuous at the time did this judgment make him that *Ex parte* became a sort of Christian name for him, as *Ad interim* did for another character of the Reconstruction period.

—The apotheosis of wood-engraving appears in 'The Portfolio of National Portraits,' just issued by R. H. Russell of this city. These portraits (India proofs, signed by the artist) are all on the grand scale, and are all from the same graver; but this latter circumstance would, we venture to say, never be inferred by one ignorant of the fact. It is a point of greatness on which we have had more than once occasion to insist in the case of Mr. Gustav Kruell's work (for it is his which is in question), that it is absolutely devoid of technical mannerism; varying partly with the subject and partly with the artist's growth in mastery. The Sherman and the Grant are illustrations of the first, the two Lincolns of the second cause of this individual treatment. On the whole, the development has been towards a richer coloring, and this seems to have been attained even in mere impression—in the Lowell, for instance, as compared with the earlier prints. Mr. Royal Cortissoz, who supplies an introduction, and a judicious comment on each print, rightly dwells on the immense qualities of the Sherman portrait, surpassed by no other of the eight as interpretation of character,

or as a *tour de force* of the graver, which in the background simulates painting and in the general relief the plastic art. Of all, this portrait seems to us most alive. Besides those already enumerated are heads of Webster, Garrison, and Lee—the marvellous Webster substantially finished in seven days, and calculated to stand the test of seven centuries; the Lee, the latest in the line, and nobly treated, with a sort of arboreal background contrasting with the repose of the person. These seven characters belong to a storm-and-stress period almost forgotten were it not for the pension-budget, and are felicitously grouped. The proofs and letter-press are enclosed in a noticeably elegant carton, and may be so preserved, or the portraits may be framed by the happy possessor.

—The second volume of Prof. Friedrich's 'Ignaz von Döllinger' (Munich: Beck) describes Döllinger's eventful career from the beginning of the reactionary régime of the Bavarian Minister Abel in 1837 to the dissolution of the revolutionary Frankfort Parliament in 1849. A queer occurrence, as viewed in the light of later events, was the removal of Prof. Kaiser from the theological faculty of the Munich University in 1841, because he taught the doctrine of papal infallibility, declaring the Pope to be the source from which Holy Writ derives its authority, and the absolute sovereign of the reasoning faculties and the laws of thought. He even stated that the successor of St. Peter might be "personally an unbeliever, a blasphemer, and a heretic," yet in his official capacity, as "the organ of Jesus Christ," he would be, in all his utterances and decisions, unerring and inerrable. This idea was then denounced by the highest dignitaries of the Church as "a crazy notion" and "an abominable heresy," and the genial and tolerant Görres tried to excuse it by characterizing Kaiser as "somewhat crack-brained" (*etwas rappe- lig im Gehirn*). Thirty years later this tenet, which had been censured by the bishop as the centre of a "whole snarl of false doctrines," was made a "dogma of the Church," which all good Catholics were bound to accept on pain of excommunication. It is no wonder that a serious scholar like Döllinger, who had seen the evolution of the system and its culmination in the Vatican decrees, should refuse to turn a somersault in the arena of dogmatics at the command of the master of the ring. He was honest even in his errors, and intellectual high-vaulting either for place or pelf was not in his line. One of the most interesting chapters is that on the Tractarian Movement in England and Döllinger's relations to it. As a Catholic, he naturally rejoiced in the conversion of prominent Englishmen, and each case of this kind was celebrated with enthusiasm by the Görresverein in Munich. Subsequently these conversions were a matter of deep regret to him, since they served to strengthen the specifically Romish and Jesuitical element in the Catholic Church and contributed essentially to the victory of "curialism" in 1870. Indeed, Manning began to inveigh against Döllinger even before the Vatican Council, and afterwards denounced him with extreme bitterness because he failed to recognize an "impulse of supernatural grace" in the decree of papal infallibility. The account of the Lola Montez episode, and of the row which "her foot of marvellous beauty of form" kicked up in church and state as well as in academic circles, is only another contribution to the history of the foibles and follies of the

house of Wittelsbach. As a member of the Frankfort Parliament, Döllinger was far more liberal than the majority of the Conservatives, with whom he naturally associated, and never sacrificed his personal convictions to party fealty. He was an ardent advocate of German unity and a German national church, but soon saw that the time had not come for the realization of these ideals.

THAYER ON EVIDENCE.

A Preliminary Treatise on Evidence at the Common Law. By James Bradley Thayer. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1898.

When a book covers so much ground as this, and is the result of so many years' patient research, it is often difficult to review it at all. Not only must many of its interesting features be passed over in silence for want of space, but as to those selected for discussion, the candid critic must disavow competency to do much more than to give a slight idea of the scheme of the book, and to recommend careful study and comparison of it with the work of the author's predecessors. Prof. Thayer's studies have already attracted wide attention, and promise to attract more; his book is the only investigation of the subject by a lawyer and writer on law of the first rank since the appearance of Stephen's Digest, and it deals with the law of evidence in a manner to most American and English lawyers wholly new—a treatment which may be said to combine the historical, the rationalistic, and the legal methods. As to the authority of the author, it is so thoroughly recognized on both sides of the Atlantic that it is only necessary to say that he has made the subject his own. To our generation he speaks as the master of it.

The idea which underlies the whole book is that what we call the "Law of Evidence" is an historical product of jury trial, or, at any rate, a product of causes of which the development of jury trial was among the effects. Hence, the first four chapters deal with jury trial and its predecessors; *e. g.*, trial by oath, ordeal, and battle. These chapters were published two years ago, in advance of the rest of the book, and reviewed by us at the time. (See the *Nation*, No. 1624.) It is unnecessary here to do more than call attention to the fact of this historical foundation; the remaining chapters now published are most important for their bringing prominently into view the rationalistic aspect of the law of evidence. In reading them, one of the things which force themselves continually upon the attention is the opposition between the probative system adopted by the common law and the logical laws of proof, which, being laws of the human mind, not only underlie, but continually come into conflict with it. Among the matters which are discussed by Mr. Thayer in a way to arouse the liveliest interest, are "Law and Fact in Jury Trials," "Legal Reasoning" as applied to the ascertainment of facts, "Judicial Notice," "Presumptions," "The Burden of Proof," the "Parol Evidence" and the "Best Evidence" rules.

A superstition which the author's researches tend to destroy is one embodied in the maxim, *Ad questionem facti non respondent iudices, Ad questionem juris non respondent juratores*. This lies at the very threshold of the subject, for all matters of evidence are matters of fact; and if it be really true that

all matters of fact must be passed upon by the jury, and all matters of law by the court, we have at least an important guide to the Law of Evidence. But research shows not merely that there is no hard-and-fast line to-day, but that there never was one. Not only do all general verdicts of a jury, such as the very common one of "Not guilty," involve a conclusion of law (p. 253), but the courts settle and always have settled many questions of fact for themselves.

"Was the deed that was put forward 'raised' or not? If a party claimed the right to defend himself as a maimed person, was it really mayhem? Was a person who presented himself and claimed to be a minor, really under age? A stream of questions as to the reality, the *rei veritas*, the fact, of what was alleged before the justices was constantly pouring in. A prisoner, for example, had confessed; on being brought into court, he declared that it was by duress of his jailer. Was this so? To find this out, the justice took the short cut of sending for several of the fellow-prisoners and the jailer, and questioning them all in the prisoner's presence, and he found that it was not true. This, again, is just as it is to-day. Courts pass upon a vast number of questions of fact that do not get on the record or form any part of the issue. Courts existed before juries; juries only came in to perform their own special office; and the courts have always continued to retain a multitude of functions which they exercised before ever juries were heard of, in ascertaining whether disputed things be true. In other words, there is not, and never was, any such thing in jury trials as an allotment of all questions of fact to the jury." (P. 184.)

A conspicuous illustration of questions of fact disposed of habitually by courts is found in the construction of writings (p. 203). *Rules of construction and interpretation* which a court lays down to a jury are, of course, matters of law; but when a judge tells the jury that a particular clause in a contract has a particular meaning, he is disposing of what is in reality a question of fact. If every question of fact went to the jury, what the parties meant by the words they have used would certainly go to them, yet in many cases the court takes it upon itself to say what they meant, and will not tolerate the introduction of evidence as to intention, even though the result be to give the contract a meaning very different from what the parties are likely to have intended. We are consequently driven to the conclusion that when it is said that such and such a question is a question of "law," it may merely mean that it is a question which the court will dispose of, even though it be a question of fact. In other words, any question disposed of by the court is a question of law, though it be really a matter of fact; any question disposed of by the jury is a matter of fact, though it really involve a question of law. But, unless our aim is to perpetuate a gross confusion of language, we ought rather to speak of "questions for the court" and "questions for the jury." The superstition that all questions of fact must go to the jury, and that all questions of law are for the court, crossing the Atlantic, attracted the attention of those pseudo-law-reformers who were engaged for a whole generation in undermining the authority of judges, as an anti-popular branch of government. In their minds it became converted into the doctrine that the judge ought to have no right to indicate to the jury even his own view of the facts, and, as a result, statutes have been widely passed in our States prohibiting judges from expressing any opinion as to the facts, and confining their function to a mere statement of the

testimony and the law. This is not trial by jury at all, but a new and bastard species unknown to our ancestors, and, fortunately, still repudiated by the Federal Courts, in which the judge retains much more than in State Courts his ancient power and influence (p. 188, note 2).

What is the "Law of Evidence"? The answer to this question, according to the author's view, is contained in four very interesting chapters, on "Legal Reasoning," "Judicial Notice," "Presumptions," and "The Burden of Proof." If they do not answer the question finally to the satisfaction of all, they certainly throw a flood of light upon it. To the practising lawyer, the law of evidence at any time means only the sum of rules governing the admission and exclusion of evidence in courts of justice. In our system, wherever jury trial exists, nothing is evidence which the court of last resort decides it was error to admit as such; anything is evidence which (admitted by the trial court) is held by the court of last resort to have been properly submitted to the jury. The main question here is perhaps less what is the law of evidence than what are the principles which have governed, and do govern, the development of our law of evidence. At any rate, in these chapters the author shows in a striking way that a great part of what our text-writers are forced to discuss under the head of Evidence should logically come under that of legal reasoning. For instance, there is the subject of judicial notice. Not all matters of fact need to be proved. Of matters of common notoriety, courts take notice without proof. That the sun rises in the east, that night succeeds day, that alcoholic liquors, taken in excess, produce intoxication, that ice is frozen water, that fire burns and that cold freezes, are matters which no court requires to be proved. Yet all this is given as part of the "Law of Evidence." According to Mr. Thayer, the doctrine of judicial notice has no special connection with evidence, but belongs "wherever the process of reasoning has a place, and that is everywhere." A very great proportion of the cases involving judicial notice arise upon some question of pleading, or the construction of a written instrument, or the interpretation of conduct. In short, the function of "taking judicial notice" of notorious facts is a part of the process of reasoning *ad hoc*.

Then why, it may be asked, not agree at once that it is so? Probably because it may come up as a question of evidence. In the course of a trial, it may become a question whether a fact is notorious or must be proved. The judge decides that it is notorious, and an exception is taken. The court of last resort decides that the trial judge is right, and we have at once a new so-called "rule of evidence," that the particular matter in question is notorious, and that courts must take judicial notice of it. This rule is now part of the law of evidence, no matter how absurd it may seem, and in future editions of Greenleaf the case must be cited. Such is one of the results of our system; but it is nevertheless unquestionably true that the law of judicial notice pervades the whole *corpus juris*, existed long before the common law or jury trial was ever heard of, and would even survive our law of evidence itself.

In the same way Prof. Thayer shows that presumptions and the burden of proof belong rather to the domain of legal reasoning than

to that of the Law of Evidence. Presumptions are only probabilities resting on experience, or public policy, invoked to supply a lack of facts; the burden of proof is only either (a) the principle that the actor must sustain his case by a preponderance of proof, or (b) the burden which rests on one side or the other, at a given stage in the case, of going forward with evidence. All this has nothing to do with the Law of Evidence. It is part of the ratiocinative machinery of judicial inquiry.

In a correct view, then, the Law of Evidence means something much more restricted than it does in the ordinary textbook. It relates merely to "matter of fact offered to a judicial tribunal as the basis of inference to another matter of fact" (page 388). It "prescribes the manner of presenting evidence," *e. g.*, by requiring that it be given in open court, by deposition, etc.; it "fixes the qualifications and the privileges of witnesses, and the mode of examining them," and chiefly it determines, as among probative matters, "what classes of things shall not be received" at all—this function of exclusion from the consideration of the jury being the characteristic one of our Law of Evidence (p. 264).

The distinction which Mr. Thayer has drawn between the principles of legal reasoning and the Law of Evidence is destined to have very wide-reaching effects on the study and development of the whole subject. As will be perceived, it is in some important respects at variance with the system of Stephen. That author made the foundation of his Digest the canon of relevancy—the principle that all the facts in issue, and relevant to the issue, and no others, may be proved. Now, relevancy, in a rational system, has no special relation to evidence. It is a matter of logic. We do not introduce evidence irrelevant to the issue, for the same reason that a judge does not introduce irrelevant remarks in an opinion—because it has no bearing on the matter in hand; and hence the canon of relevancy is not a test, especially as we know, as a matter of fact, that numerous relevant things are every day excluded, such as hearsay, *res inter alios acta*, opinions, and evidence of character. Outside of the domain of jury trial these things may all be relevant and probative; how can their being ruled out be reconciled with Stephen's canon of relevancy? On looking into his Digest it will be found that he has effected a reconciliation by a very extraordinary and characteristic legal *tour de force*: he introduces two kinds of relevancy—logical and legal relevancy. When he finds that evidence, though logically relevant, is, by a rule of law, excluded from the consideration of the jury, he says it is "deemed to be irrelevant." When something is admitted which is logically irrelevant, he says that it is "deemed to be relevant to the issue, whether it is or is not relevant thereto."

What was needed to disentangle this metaphysical juggle (which, by the way, was quite unnecessary as a philosophical basis for Stephen's work) was the application of the historical combined with the analytical method. The history of trial by jury shows that the reasons why certain evidence is excluded had no connection whatever with relevancy, or any mental acrobatics by which what is irrelevant is "deemed to be relevant," and vice versa; while analysis shows plainly that

relevancy is a logical matter lying at the foundation of any system of trial, or proof, or reasoning. It is a law of the human mind, not of the common law. The true way to state the matter is therefore this: Apart from legal rule, anything which is relevant to the object of the inquiry—*i. e.*, to guilt, ownership, liability for breach of contract—would be admissible, provided it had a probative character. To be probative, however, as to a particular issue, it must be relevant to that issue. A fact, to be probative, must have a tendency to induce a belief in some other fact. A fall in the mercury proves a fall in temperature. Evidence of the fall in the mercury, at sea, is relevant to an inquiry as to whether we are approaching an iceberg, but not to an inquiry as to our rate of speed. Now, in a judicial inquiry in which the decision of the matter at issue is submitted to a jury, numerous things naturally probative and relevant are excluded, for reasons which are connected with the historical development of jury trial, just as other things are excluded on grounds of public policy; *e. g.*, cumulative evidence is excluded after a time *ut sit finis litium*. But it is these rules of exclusion which constitute the bulk of our Law of Evidence.

Yet, as jury trial becomes for ordinary business less and less important, these artificial rules are gradually encroached upon by exceptions, and we seem to be slowly getting away from the mechanical system of the past two hundred years (the Law of Evidence is mainly the product of the present century, as may be seen by turning to Blackstone, who devotes only a page or two to it), and there is a tendency to admit more and more all proof logically bearing on the matter in hand for what it is worth. Our Law of Evidence grows, mainly, as Mr. Thayer shows, because the bill of exceptions and writ of error enable a litigant to carry up to the tribunal of last resort, after a trial by jury, almost any sort of question which may suggest itself in the guise of a question as to the admissibility of evidence. This, however, is no essential part of our common-law probative system, and has been done away with to an enormous extent in England. In a final chapter the author discusses "The Present and Future of the Law of Evidence," showing that he thinks that, as a rule, the decision of the trial court as to the admission of evidence ought to be final, unless a clear case of abuse or denial of justice can be made out. At present the object of the system seems to be as nearly as possible to make more and more complex a piece of machinery for the multiplication of unnecessary trials, in order that the Law of Evidence may increase in volume and incomprehensibility.

In our effort to explain we have said too little about the interest of the book, which to a lawyer, or student of the law, may fairly be called absorbing. No one can master its contents without feeling that he has been admitted to a share in a profound and original learning, which has pervaded and transfused an old subject with new light. A change seems to have taken place both in ourselves and in what we have been examining. The mystery is a mystery no longer; we have the key at last.

LETTERS OF DEAN SWIFT.

Unpublished Letters of Dean Swift. Edited

by George Birkbeck Hill, D.C.L., LL.D.
New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co.

These letters of Swift to Knightley Chetwode were formerly placed in the hands of John Forster, to be used in his biography of the Dean; but Forster's untimely death before he had reached the period which they cover prevented their publication. Forster, in his preface, refers to them as "the richest addition to the correspondence of the most masterly of English letter-writers"; but, though certainly interesting, they hardly justify that description. Still, there is so much that is mysterious and enigmatical about Swift, and so much in these letters that is characteristic of the man, that their publication is very welcome. The editor has affixed to each letter copious notes explanatory of the circumstances and allusions, which are a model of intelligent and faithful editing.

Knightley Chetwode was an Irish gentleman of ancient family and good estate, whose acquaintance Swift made soon after his retirement to Ireland; and as they agreed in profound discontent with the existing state of things, and in hatred of the Whigs, they soon became great friends, and so continued for about seventeen years (1714-1731), when they squabbled and the correspondence seems to have come to an end. Swift, unfortunately for himself, and for others besides himself, had been poisoned by his residence in London and the flattery of the great. His natural arrogance and self-esteem had been pampered almost to the verge of insanity. In his mind's eye he saw himself a bishop, perhaps a primate, moulding the councils of cabinets and guiding the affairs of a nation. The Whigs having failed to reward him as he thought he deserved, he went over to the Tories, who flattered him to the top of his bent; and the foot of the rainbow seemed but a few paces ahead when the death of the Queen and accession of the house of Brunswick shattered all his hopes, and sent him to his Irish deanery to rage against the Whigs and his ill fortunes, to hate Walpole and the Government, to hate Ireland, its climate, and its people, and gradually to stretch his very energetic powers of hatred and scorn until they included the whole human race.

The earlier of these letters deal mostly with troubles with his choristers, his horses, and his servants. It has taken him six weeks to get rid of "a great cat" left behind by his predecessor, an animal of such unexampled noisomeness that he believes her to be a Whig. He is also afflicted with an ugly old housekeeper, whom "the ladies" (Stella and Mrs. Dingley), on the score of the proprieties, will not let him exchange for a good-looking one. Moreover, he is bothered with debt, having to pay £1,000 for the residence, the first fruits, and the patent. The pressure of these debts and other heavy expenses no doubt increased his natural bent towards parsimony, so that in his later years we note a singular conflict between stinginess and generosity.

In 1715 he writes more about public affairs. He is suspected of Jacobitism, and there are rumors of proceedings against him. He is evidently uneasy, and at one time seems to have been thinking of the possible expediency of flight. Though he kept clear of downright treason, yet he had much sympathy with the Jacobite party, and had many friends in its ranks. Of the Duke of Ormond, who was impeached, he wrote to Pope, "You

know . . . how dear the Duke of Ormond is to me. Do you imagine I can be easy while their enemies are endeavoring to take off their heads?" Yet this affection does not hinder him from writing to Chetwode: "Yesterday's post brought us an account that the Duke of Ormond is voted to be impeached for high treason. You see the plot thickens. I know not the present disposition of the people of England; but I do not find myself disposed to be sorry at this news."

He solves a case of conscience for his correspondent, who was a Jacobite in heart, and who did not see how he could remain faithful to his principles, and yet abjure the Pretender and swear that he held George I. to be the lawful sovereign. Swift tells him, first, that private men are not to decide upon titles to crowns; secondly, that "lawful" means "according to the law that now is," and, "as the law stands, none has title to the crown but the present possessor." Therefore, the most irreconcilable Jacobite could take the oaths with an easy conscience, for, *as the law stood*, George was the lawful King and James an unlawful pretender. The Vicar of Bray could have been no more dexterous casuist.

There are no letters between 1715 and 1718, and but two in the latter year. There is also a wide gap in Swift's collected correspondence at this time. Probably this was due to the bad state of his health, as he has been complaining of deafness and vertigo. The correspondence is resumed in 1721. He is troubling himself little about public affairs, but is planting elms in the cathedral churchyard, and exasperating his flock by removing ancient tombstones. His deafness is increasing, and he can converse with none but "trebles and counter-tenors," whose high voices he can hear. His partly genuine and partly assumed cynicism and hardness of heart are so predominant in much of his work that it is pleasant to come across a touch of tenderness. He writes on March 13, 1721-2, "I have the best servant in the world dying in the house, which quite disconcerts me. He was the first good one I ever had, and I am sure will be the last. I know few greater losses in life." This faithful servant was buried in the cathedral, and "his grateful master" commemorated his modest worth in an epitaph.

In 1730 Swift had laid aside the indifference with which he had for years professed to regard all matters of state policy, and had come out in the new part of a champion of the Irish people. But by the Irish people Swift always means the Protestant Irish and those of English descent. For the Catholic Irish population he had not the slightest sympathy, and indeed regarded them chiefly as vermin. The Protestant Irish, however, were at least worthy of his contempt. But in Irish affairs he now saw an opportunity for attacking the Whigs and the Whig ministry. The oppression of Ireland by iniquitous legislation had been a grievance of long standing, and it had been steadily aggravated during Anne's reign by a succession of laws expressly designed to destroy Irish manufactures. But of late years a policy had been adopted of building up an English party in Ireland, whose persistent endeavor should be to make Ireland more completely subservient, and to destroy every vestige of national feeling. This policy met with strong opposition among the Protestants themselves; old enemies were reconciled in the sight of a common danger, and there was a movement tending to the formation of an Irish party. Swift seized the opportu-

nity to deal a blow at the Whigs, and entered the arena as an Irish patriot in his anonymous 'Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufactures,' in which he urged union in hostility to England and a rigid non-importation policy.

In the fall of 1724 Swift, after writing about pears, peaches, and cherry-brandy, drops in a casual way the remark, "There is a Draper very popular, but what is that to me?" This is of course an allusion to the famous "Draper's Letters," which had begun to make a stir. The affair of Wood's patent was the very fulcrum he needed for the lever which was to shake the ministry. The injury to Irish manufactures was an old grievance; but here was something entirely new which might be invested with any terrors. Ireland was suffering from a scarcity of small coinage, which lack entailed great hardship and loss upon the poor. A certain Wood had undertaken to furnish a supply of copper coin, if given a patent. The profit which a token coinage always yields would in this case go to Wood, and not to the English exchequer; but to the Irish people this could make no particle of difference. Nor did it make any difference to them how fine the copper in the coinage was, so long as the issue was limited to a reasonable quantity, and the coins not a legal-tender for large sums. It is true that Wood bought his patent with a bribe to the Duchess of Kendall; but that was a loss to Wood or to the English exchequer, not to Ireland. In fact, as we can now see, Wood's coinage would really have been of advantage to Ireland, and no doubt Swift knew that very well.

It would be out of place here to comment at length on the Draper's Letters, which ought to be republished as the perfect *cademum* of a demagogue. All the arts of the sophist, all the devices by which a credulous people can be deluded, are here displayed in perfection, from insinuations, suppressions, assumptions of false premises, bold denials of fact, down to downright lying and self-contradiction. The Draper declared that the coins were of vile metal; that while twelve English pence contained eleven-pence worth of pure copper, twenty-four of Wood's half-pence contained only one penny's worth—both extravagant falsehoods. Sir Isaac Newton, Master of the Mint, testified that Wood's coinage was as fine as the English; but Swift contemptuously ignores this, goes on assuring the people that it is mere dross, and then makes the amazing assertion that Wood purposely makes his half-pence bad, so that he can counterfeit them himself! Why he should want to do this, and how he could do it if he wanted, Swift (knowing his public) does not trouble himself to explain. He over and over warns the shopkeepers that they will all be ruined, as they will be forced to exchange their good wares for this worthless trash; and then, turning to the workingmen, coolly tells them that they will be ruined also, as their wages will be paid in worthless trash which no shopkeeper will take! It took the audacity of a Swift to put forward such an argument, and the genius of a Swift to see that the people would believe both statements. He triumphed; the ministry yielded, the patent was withdrawn, and Swift was the most popular man in Ireland.

The letters following are much occupied with Swift's increasing infirmities, and with the domestic troubles of Chetwode, who is about to separate from his wife. In one

of 1786, in answer to some inquiry his correspondent had made about the poem "Cadenus and Vanessa," Swift says that he "forgets what is in it," that "it was a task performed on a frolic among some ladies," and "a private humorous thing," and adds: "She it was addressed to died some time ago." He is annoyed that people talk about "such a trifle," but their conduct "only gives me the ungrateful task of reflecting on the baseness of mankind." Many besides Swift have reflected on human baseness when they have read the piteous story of Vanessa.

In 1731 ill-feeling sprang up between Swift and Chetwode, it is not clear from what cause, as some of the letters of this period have been suppressed or destroyed. Swift writes with supercilious contempt, to which Chetwode sharply replies, and thus "the friendly correspondence which had spread over so many years, is brought to a close with mocks and gibes." Such is the editor's conclusion, but the present reviewer will venture to express a doubt whether this was really the close, and whether the quarrel was not made up after all. In the letter on p. 247, which is inserted in 1731, just before the quarrel, Chetwode deplors Swift's long and severe lameness, and gives him advice about it. Now Swift, we know from the published correspondence, was lame from a severe strain during almost the whole year 1732, but not, so far as we know, in 1731; and the editor confesses that he does not know how to account for the discrepancy. But this letter of Chetwode's is *undated*, nor is there a word in it which might not have been written in 1732. Where, then, is the difficulty of supposing that, after the falling-out of 1731, there was some sort of a reconciliation, and that then this letter was written? Indeed, there is a sort of guarded politeness in it, and apparent fear of being misunderstood, which would be natural under those circumstances.

On the vexed question of Swift's marriage, these letters throw no light. When he has occasion to speak of marriage, it is in the character of a bachelor, as in Letter 53, where he says, "Those who have been married may form juster ideas of that estate than I can pretend to do." The editor seems to be one of those who (rightly, the present reviewer thinks) disbelieve it. He calls attention to the fact that, in Swift's written prayers for Stella's recovery, no word seems to indicate any closer relation than that of strong friendship and regard. This fact would have great weight if we could accept these prayers as the spontaneous outpourings of the writer's heart, and not as manuscripts to be printed some day.

The book is enriched with interesting portraits and views, and is almost wholly free from typographical errors, though "Pemsall" for "Perusall" on p. 1, may puzzle some readers.

Pitt: Some Chapters of his Life and Times.
By the Right Hon. Edward Gibson, Lord Ashbourne. With portraits. Longmans, Green & Co. 1898.

We know that in some quarters disappointment has been caused by the scope of this work. It was hoped that Lord Ashbourne was preparing a connected and extensive biography, something which should be more interesting than the wooden narra-

tive of Bishop Tomline and more detailed than Lord Rosebery's sketch—something, even, which should prove more generally adequate than Lord Stanhope's 'Life.' But now, on its publication, the new book is seen to be little more than a series of loosely connected chapters, with large gaps between, and not in the least comprehensive. Thus Pitt still remains without his long-expected and final biography, much to the regret of Tories and other ardent admirers. With this view we feel a certain degree of sympathy, for Lord Ashbourne could have rendered useful service by going thoroughly over the whole ground, and by reason of his personal connections he was in an excellent position to do so. Still, there is no just reason why he should be assailed for the ill performance of a task which apparently he never undertook. He produces a large number of new documents—family and political letters in the main—and illustrates certain phases of Pitt's career more fully than has been done before. He cannot be said to have wrought anything monumental; but within the self-appointed limits he is reasonably successful, and should not be pounced upon for failure to execute what was no part of his design.

The papers hitherto unpublished which Lord Ashbourne now brings forward are derived from private muniment rooms rather than from the national archives, and, as being less accessible than public property, lend a special value to the volume wherein they are contained. During twenty-five years Pitt was in close and constant correspondence with the chief families of England, and, owing to his official eminence, the letters would be carefully preserved. Perhaps the most important collection of Pitt holographs which still remains in private hands belongs to Mr. Ernest Pretyman, M.P., a great-grandson of Pitt's tutor at Cambridge. Dr. Pretyman is better known under his later name of Tomline. Pitt appointed him Bishop of Lincoln, and was deterred only by the royal negative—after a serious correspondence—from making him Archbishop of Canterbury. Perhaps no one stood closer to the Prime Minister than Tomline, and although his own account of Pitt is a failure, he possessed and handed down a splendid set of documents. The late Lord Bolton and the present Lord Stanhope also furnished Lord Ashbourne with important and unpublished MSS.

The proportion of documents to comment is so great that Lord Ashbourne stands midway between the independent historian and the editor. He begins with a sketch of Pitt's early years (which is chiefly significant as illustrating the devotion of both his parents) and then plunges into the midst of Irish affairs—the theme which gives these scattered "chapters" whatever unity they possess. The scene opens with the Duke of Rutland's appointment to the Viceroyalty in 1784, a date when commercial relations between the two countries were causing much difficulty. The longest and most independent contribution of Lord Ashbourne's own is a review of Irish society and economic life at the moment of Rutland's arrival in Dublin. Some information about the Viceroy is given, and more about his Chief Secretary, Thomas Orde; then, after the Commercial Resolutions have been introduced and discussed, the action shifts back to England, where for a while it centres around Pitt's intercourse with his mother and elder brother. Presently Irish politics are resumed and carried forward to

the period of the Union, the thread of development running through the vice-royalties of Fitzwilliam and Cornwallis.

Those who are at all familiar with Lord Ashbourne's political leanings will expect him to praise Pitt's share in effecting the Union, and his encomium is indeed a strong one.

"The Union was a great measure—the most important of Pitt's life and policy. Opinions may differ as to the time selected for its enactment, as to the means employed, as to the measure itself, but no one can deny its importance or the largeness of its conceptions. Its author's motives and aims have been impugned; but impartial history will not deny that he was influenced by true and generous motives of public spirit, and that he himself believed he was acting for the best interests of the Empire and of Ireland."

This passage refers to the Union as a legislative conception, which took form and found its way into the statute-book. When the controversies arising from the execution of the measure are broached, Lord Ashbourne drops into a subdued strain, and admits that Pitt's "warmest admirer, in considering his career after the Union, has to use much more the language of explanation than of eulogy."

The last sixty-six pages form an epilogue dealing with the increase of cares and the falling health which weighed Pitt down in his last days. Of his career as a peace minister and reformer before 1793 nothing is said, nor of his part in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic contest. His relations with Ireland, his family ties, and his personal friendships are the sole subjects which Lord Ashbourne cares to consider.

Beyond any doubt whatever, the rarest and most striking chapter of the book is that entitled "Pitt's One Love Story." Pitt was systematically prepared by his father for political life. He regularly subordinated personal pleasures to the public service, whether in Parliament or in the Cabinet; never in modern times has a man belonged more exclusively to the state. Accordingly, when an authentic version of his fondness for Eleanor Eden is for the first time given, it cannot fail to awaken curiosity. Rumors and fragments of the story have been given before. On the word of Lady Hester Stanhope, the affair nearly broke Pitt's heart, but most readers will agree with Lord Rosebery—"Lady Hester's statements do not impress me with conviction." Putting by the question of sincerity, she cannot rank as an authoritative witness: she was too romantic, effusive, and fond of telling a good story. Lord Ashbourne has the advantage of Pitt's favorite niece, in that he can show important letters which disclose how far—externally at least—the matter went.

Eleanor Eden was the daughter of Lord Auckland, a man whom Pitt trusted, employed, and raised to the peerage. Although she was by eighteen years the younger of the two, Pitt had not reached forty in 1796, the year when their reported engagement became a matter of public gossip. She had good looks, intellectual quickness, and a suitable social position. Furthermore, Pitt was strongly attached to her. It was during the Christmas holidays of 1796 that marriage seriously entered his thoughts. He then visited the Aucklands at Eden Farm, and went too far for his own comfort, though doubtless without committing himself so far that retraction was necessarily dishonorable. On his return to Downing Street in the early

part of January, he considered the matter from every point of view, and decided that he must not marry. Having painfully reached this conclusion, he conveyed it to Lord Auckland in clear-cut and irrevocable words. Auckland in reply urged him to wait till he was quite sure, but Pitt had settled his course of action past hope of alteration, and in a second letter, January 22, 1797, closed the subject, using words which concealed, under the studied formality of a state-paper style, a good deal of emotion:

"Indeed, my dear lord, I did not bring myself to the step I have taken without having, as far as I am able, again and again considered every point which must finally govern my conduct. I should deceive you and every one concerned, as well as myself, if I flattered myself with the hope that such an interval as you suggest would remove the obstacles I have felt or vary the ground of my opinion."

In all the mechanical respects of paper, binding, and illustration, this volume is worthy of its distinguished subject.

History of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. With Plan of Organization, Portraits of Officials, and Biographical Sketches. By William Bender Wilson. Illustrated. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 418, 321. Philadelphia: H. T. Coates & Co.

The history of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company includes the interesting story of the transition from canals to railways. Everybody knows that canals were generally built and operated by the State, and were pre-eminently the "public works" during the twenty years following the completion of De Witt Clinton's great achievement in New York. Few are aware that Pennsylvania, in her enterprising effort to maintain the commercial supremacy which Philadelphia then held, not only built her canal as far as possible up both slopes of the Alleghenies, on the head-waters of the Juniata and the Conemaugh, and completed her communication from Pittsburgh to the sea by a portage over the mountain pass, but also seized upon the improved tramway with strap rails and horse power to supplement the waterways by the iron road. In 1834 such a road was completed by the Board of Canal Commissioners from Philadelphia through Lancaster to Columbia, and the new steam locomotive was tried upon it with partial success. The State at first retained the control of both methods of transportation between Philadelphia and Harrisburg, but in 1846 incorporated the Pennsylvania Railroad Company to build a continuous railroad from Harrisburg to Pittsburgh. The general route of the canal was also that of the road, the portage over the Allegheny crest was improved by inclined planes with stationary engines drawing the trucks by cables (first of hemp and then of wire), and by these for a time the railway cars as well as the canal-boats in sections were passed over the mountain summit. In 1853 the first through train passed between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh by this cooperation between the State and the Company in the portage and the line east of Harrisburg.

Then followed a rivalry and contest between State management and private corporation which practically ended in favor of the latter, when in 1864 the railroad company opened its own line from Altoona to Johnstown through a tunnel at the summit, and withdrew its business from the portage inclined planes. The sale of the State interest

in railways soon followed, and the Pennsylvania trunk line was an accomplished fact.

In the piping times of the war between Andrew Jackson and Nicholas Biddle and the boom which collapsed in the panic of 1837-'38, the political management of canal and railroad building quickly developed all the methods of plunder which have ever since marked such control. Favoritism in contracts, political appointments of incompetent and corrupt officers, unthrifty and dishonest conduct of business, a special bag at the paymaster's table in which the political assessments of employees were openly placed—all were in full operation, and make it easy to understand why State control stood no chance in competition with the discipline, energy, economy, and wisdom which the private corporation brought to its task.

For several years the railroads, both State and private, allowed the use of the track to shippers and transportation companies who furnished their own cars and horse-power, as canal shippers had their own boats and horses; tonnage tolls and passenger tolls being the only revenue of the road itself. Then the Company put on its locomotives as the increasing business demanded unity of control and power of carrying out complicated schedules for running trains. Last came the ownership of all rolling-stock by the Company, with the exception of sleeping-cars and coöperative fast-freight lines. It is both curious and instructive that, in the later contests between railroads and the "Granger" laws in the West, the effort was made to force the renewal of the crude methods of the canal and horse tramway, and to allow any shipper to furnish his own car and demand its hauling at a fixed rate.

The writer of the book before us is the son of Thomas L. Wilson, who was Secretary of the old Board of Canal Commissioners, and has received from his father a valuable store of information and anecdotes concerning the experimental period of railway management, with incidents relating to the early surveys and construction. He himself entered the service of the Company in 1855 as a telegraph operator. The simple narrative of facts in the extension of the Pennsylvania system and the absorption of one small road after another, under the business principle that unity in the management of natural branches and feeders is a condition of success for the trunk line, is a most telling lesson in railway policy. The power and profit of union, the loss and bankruptcy coming of multiplicity of small and rival lines, are developed, not by argument but by history, and the history should be studied carefully by everybody who would form intelligent opinions on railway problems in their relation to the State.

Mr. Wilson's second volume is made up of biographical sketches of the men who have had leading parts in the building, management, direction, and administration of the system and its divisions. Though written to interest the officers and employees of the railroad primarily, the brief story of the rise of so many men to eminence in their profession, their preliminary education, their development in power as shown by their advancement, their very general continuance in the Company's service during a long career, will make the book a useful study for the sociologist or for aspiring young men, as well as an attractive one to the general reader.

The printing and binding are well done, and the illustrations combine numerous old-

time woodcuts of towns and scenes in the early forties, compared with recent photographs. Picturesque scenery on the line is reproduced in half-tone, as is the large gallery of portraits in the second volume.

The Book of Golf and Golfers. By Horace G. Hutchinson. Longmans, Green & Co. 1899.

The object of this book is not exactly to give elementary instruction. This has already been done by Mr. Hutchinson and many others, to so great an extent that it seems impossible that anything can remain to be said that can be of service to man, woman, or child. The author's idea is to call in the aid of modern photography, and, by presenting pictures of a number of leading experts caught in the act of making strokes, assist inferior players to imitate the methods of the masters. The result is a book that cannot fail to be interesting to golfers because of the personal element to be found in the descriptions of the players photographed, but we are entirely sceptical as to its educational value. In fact, it is a question whether the standard of play has been improved in the very slightest degree by the recent extraordinary production of golf literature. That the standard is constantly advancing, both here and elsewhere, is beyond doubt, and is proved conclusively by the marked improvement in scores; but we believe that this improvement is due to the increasing number of players rather than to the teachings of the books. However this may be, the subject of golf has become one of absorbing interest to a great number of readers, and in the present volume these readers will find the conclusions of experts based on last year's tournaments, and will note that in some respects these differ from the earlier wisdom of the Badminton book.

The most obvious inference to be drawn from an examination of this gallery of portraits is against teaching golf by books, for the reason that in golf all rules of procedure must yield to individual peculiarities. The individual is everything and "orthodoxy" nothing. Take, for instance, the vital question of the stance for driving. Most of the books agree that the player should stand with the ball about midway between his feet. But what do we find to be the actual practice of the best players as shown by their photographs? Mr. Graham has the ball almost opposite the right foot, while Mr. Tait and most of the longest drivers place the ball close to the left foot. The fact is, that no two individuals are built exactly alike, and, as success at golf is the result of nice adjustments of hands and feet and club, every player must find out for himself how to make these adjustments, and it is absurd to lay down the law and claim the merit of "orthodoxy" for any particular method.

The chapter on "Golf in the United States," contributed by Mr. Whigham, refers to one point which is of great importance in considering the future of the game in this country. In England and Scotland it is the "poor man's game," but here it is a very expensive amusement. The cost of obtaining and laying out a course is very great, and necessitates heavy subscriptions from those who make use of it; and the additional cost of clubs, balls, and caddies is quite considerable. The next few years will show whether the present universal interest is merely temporary, or is sufficiently strong to overcome various difficulties, among which this

matter of expense is one of the most serious.

Idylls of the Sea. By Frank T. Bullen. D. Appleton & Co. 1899.

An American or British deep-water sailor-man of the old school had attained to the limit of fearlessness. Training and association made him self-reliant and resourceful, and the imminent perils and privations that he was called upon to face at sea taught him to meet with philosophical equanimity the vicissitudes of fortune. Moreover, it was impossible for him to take himself seriously, for speech and fist were vigorously employed to impress upon him the quality of complete insignificance. Mr. Bullen, the author of *'Idylls of the Sea,'* was trained in this school, for he commenced his nautical career as a sailor before the mast in square-rigged ships. In launching, however, his two volumes that treat of ocean life, he betrays singular timidity; for each is prefaced with a letter of praise and commendation by a writer of distinction (the *'Cruise of the Cachalot'* by one from Rudyard Kipling, and the book under notice by another from J. St. Loe Strachey). These entirely unnecessary documents convey the impression that Mr. Bullen, under their shield, is seeking protection from adverse criticism. There is no need of this, for Mr. Bullen is strong enough to stand upon his own merits, especially in his latest venture, which is a distinct advance upon its predecessor. In *'Idylls of the Sea'* he avoids the snares of geographical inaccuracy and "Yankee" vernacular, in which he became hopelessly entangled in his first volume, and confines himself with success to short, condensed tales of various phases of life upon the sea. Some of them have a quality reminiscent of Maupassant; notably that one called "The Passing of Peter."

The author is weak when he endows inhabitants of the waters of the ocean with the power of speech. The "Idyll" called "A True Shark Story" opens with the soliloquy of a mother shark who deploras a temporary scarcity of provisions for herself and the young to which she is giving transportation in her gullet. In this emergency a pilot-fish, who addresses her as "partner," informs her in colloquial English that "there's a lump of fat pork almost as big as your head hanging over that ship's stern." This is welcome news, and, under guidance of the pilot, the shark approaches, turns on her back, and swallows the bait along with a hook attached to a line by which she is hauled to the deck of the vessel. The Captain, who is a humane man, gives orders that she shall not be taken aboard. "Just sprit'sle yard him 'n let him go agen," he pleasantly remarks; whereupon a piece of scantling, pointed at both ends and about four feet long, is got from the carpenter. This the sailors drive through her jaws from side to side. Another wedge-shaped piece is driven through her snout; the wide pectoral fins are amputated, and the shark is cut loose from the hook and returned to the sea. The result of the "sprit'sle" treatment was that the fish was unable to control its movements, or to get its head below the surface of the water; consequently it died slowly of exhaustion. One of the passengers on the ship, described as a "gentle-faced man," was moved by the performance "to mutter" "What abominable cruelty!" The assembled mariners regarded him with pity and wondered "at his lack of sporting instincts."

All of Mr. Bullen's "Idylls" must not be judged by the specimen quoted. Most of them are fine examples of dramatic and descriptive writing. "The Cruise of the Daisy" is distinguished in that particular. All of them, with the exception of "A True Shark Story," are worthy of high commendation. "Studies on Marine Natural History" form the second part of the "Idylls." They are full of interest. The third section is made up of a collection called "Other Sketches," one of which, entitled "Truth about the Merchant Service," is opportune in these days when the manning of the ever-growing fleets of battle-ships in England by native seamen is a matter that is giving considerable concern to the naval authorities. The "Truth" applies with equal force to a deficiency that confronts our own service.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the Cosmopolitan Spirit in Literature. By Joseph Texte. Translated by J. W. Matthews. London: Duckworth & Co.; New York: Macmillan.

Among the many recent works of comparative literary criticism, few hold so high a place as this volume by M. Joseph Texte, in so far as fulness of treatment, breadth and accuracy of insight, and sustained interest are concerned. Its purpose is to set forth the literary relations established between the two leading productive nations of the last century by their respective representative writers, and, while demonstrating the steady growth of the cosmopolitan idea, to suggest criteria which assist one in the difficult task of distinguishing between cheap or direct borrowing on the one hand, and that form of literary indebtedness produced by generous international sympathies or the subtler influence of affinity in genius. According to M. Texte, the initial process in this vital transformation of literary conceptions was the direct outcome of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which dispersed no less than four hundred thousand French exiles, chiefly over northern Europe, and transferred energy and independence of thought to more favorable conditions of activity. Several international reviews, published for the most part in Holland, transmitted to France the foreign impressions of the refugees, thus preparing the way for active propagandism by Prévoist and Voltaire. But it is to Rousseau, who combined the genius of the Latin and the Germanic race, that we must ascribe the principal share in this broadening of literary interest aroused in himself by the tendencies and products of English thought; for with him, as with others, the conception of world-literature began with the realization that other nations besides his own had written worthily and well. Tracing Rousseau's sympathies to their origin in the widespread Anglo-mania of his age and to the initial impulse of Muralt, the critic dwells at much greater length on the immediately telling results of Richardson's work upon the author of *'La Nouvelle Héloïse.'* The chapter dealing with Richardson's novels is an admirable model of comprehensive, yet minute, criticism. In measuring the weight of influence of *'Clarissa Harlowe'* upon *'Héloïse,'* there might perhaps be opportunity for further insistence on the community of bourgeois sentiment which runs through the work of both the English and the French novelist; in the one it takes the form of strictures on social superiors (Lovelace) or of adulation (Grandison), while in the other the same feeling

displays itself in angry and rebellious contempt. For precisely the same reason, we may well doubt whether Rousseau could ever have been brought to understand the enduring worth of Fielding, whom, as M. Texte significantly admits, he nowhere mentions (p. 228).

As to the causes contributing to the rapid diffusion of Rousseauism—that is, of vaguely defined cosmopolitanism, and the exaltation of middle-class virtues—the principal one is undoubtedly to be found in the more than apostolic vehemence with which Jean Jacques never failed to express himself on the subject of the moment; in verification of which we need but turn to the amazing success of *'Emile,'* with its violent paradoxes, and the ready acceptance, even by those whose interests it attacked, of the hazy humanitarianism of the *'Contrat Social.'* Is it not because of this power of passionately insisting on what he feels for the time being that Rousseau, like Burke, looms up so large in the history of eighteenth-century thought?

M. Texte proceeds to show how Rousseau's defiance of restrictive literary canons affected the method of criticism by directing attention not to standards, but to feeling, thus insuring the ultimate triumph of lyrical impulse and expression by the Romantic school led off by Chateaubriand. But the more direct inheritor of the "exotic" spirit, the transmitter of cosmopolitan influence, was unquestionably Mme. de Staël, who thus shares with her great fellow-countryman the credit of stirring up the lethargic provinciality which the survivors of French classicism vainly strove to preserve. With this *denationalizing* of the literary point of view M. Texte is obviously in hearty sympathy, though in no part of his treatise does he attempt a full discussion of the æsthetic postulates involved. His readers will, without exception, hope that he may at some time take up this great task. Of his present truly admirable work a reviewer can hardly speak with only moderate praise. It is true that the principal positions and conclusions contained in this volume are for the most part granted without much dispute by competent authorities on French literature, notably by M. Brunetière, the effect of whose comparative teaching is clearly discernible, as well as amply acknowledged by his erstwhile pupil; but it seldom happens that studies in international literary criticism reveal researches at once so wide, so exact, and so systematically applied. We trust that neither M. Texte nor his translator will be displeased to learn that, but for the indications of title-page and preface, the work might easily be taken for an English original.

Islam in Africa: Its Effects—Religious, Ethical, and Social—upon the People of the Country. By Anson P. Atterbury. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1899. Pp. xxiv, 308, 8vo.

The nature and extent of the influence of Mohammedanism upon the native African of our day, and its preponderant quality, whether good or evil, form a subject which presents many and serious difficulties, arising chiefly from our comparative ignorance of the facts. With this limitation, Dr. Atterbury's treatment of it is as satisfactory as could be expected in a book of 300 pages. A brief sketch of Mohammed and his re-

ligious system, which errs, if at all, on the side of charity, and a short account of the native races, introduce his main theme, the missionary, political, moral, and religious character of the recent Mohammedan conquests. Some observations follow on the change wrought in the African by his conversion as shown by a few typical examples, with a forecast of the future, in which the author contends that Islam as a civilizing agency in Central Africa and the Sudan must inevitably yield to Christianity and commerce as represented by the potent railway. With his general conclusion that whatever good Mohammedanism may have accomplished in elevating the native has been far outweighed by the frightful evil which has accompanied its progress, we are in complete and hearty accord. But with some of his statements we find it difficult wholly to agree; as, for instance, when, in reference to the claim made by some writers that Mohammedanism is the "great total-abstinence society of Central Africa," he says that "the Arabs themselves are the chief importers of intoxicating spirits into Africa." Is this true on the West Coast, where the liquor traffic is at its height? We doubt if it is just to say that the principal occupation of the Arab is slave-trading. He was first and always a trader, and obtained slaves because they were necessary to carry his wares, chiefly ivory, to market. With the advent of the railway he will cease to be either slave-trader or slave-holder, but he will remain a zealous follower of the Prophet.

Dr. Atterbury, in his reliance on the statements of older travellers, seems to lose sight of the changed conditions of the present time, when an Egyptian pasha can be tried for having a recently captured slave in his household. He looks forward to the "inevitable conflict of Christianity with Is-

lam," but to us it seems more probable that the day is not far distant when, as in India, so in Africa, under a strong and righteous government, pagan, Mohammedan, and Christian will live in peace together.

A Texas Ranger. By N. A. Jennings. Scribners.

In the days of Reconstruction, the Texas Rangers were divided into six companies, and to them was intrusted the task of clearing the western part of the State of the swarm of bandits who made a comfortable livelihood by plunder and incidental murder on both sides of the border. As some three thousand of them had actually been outlawed by the State, there was work in plenty to be done. The Rangers were equal to it. With absolute indifference to death, they attacked the ruffians wherever and whenever they met them. After a series of bloody encounters, the organized bands were disrupted, and the Rangers ran the thieves to earth or drove them from the State. Their method of procedure was as summary as that of a vigilance committee. If the outlaws were in force, their pursuers would shoot at sight; if there were but few of them, a Ranger's first duty was to "get the drop" on his man, his next to lodge him in the nearest jail. The pursued habitually attempted to save themselves by escaping to Mexico, and the Rio Grande became the despair of the Rangers. Mr. Jennings tells how his troop of thirty men, vexed past endurance, and hoping that the United States troops would back them up, actually crossed the river on one occasion, and attacked ten times their number of cattle-thieves at a Mexican rancho. Unhappily for the Rangers, and very fortunately for the United States, the military autho-

rities refused to risk a war with Mexico.

Throughout his lively narrative Mr. Jennings has many pretty "tall" stories to tell, but, like a judicious historian, he tells the "tallest" of them on the authority of others.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Arnold-Forster, H. O. A History of England. Cassell.
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Jordan, Prof. D. E. Imperial Democracy. Appletons.
Lawton, N. C. Rudyard Kipling the Artist. New York: Morse Co.
Mather, M. W., and Wheeler, A. L. Latin Prose Writing. Harpers.
McCarthy, Justice. Reminiscences. 2 vols. Harpers. \$4.50.
Norris, W. E. Glue Ingilby. Philadelphia: Drexel Biddle.
Paterson, Arthur. Cromwell's Own. A Story of the Great Civil War. Harpers. \$1.50.
Platt, Prof. H. S. Leblanche's La Grammaire. Boston: Ginn & Co. 40c.
Pier, A. S. The Pedagogue. A Story of the Harvard Summer School. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. \$1.25.
Rolle, W. J. Scott's Lay of the Last Minstrel. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 80c.
Sewall, Alice A. An Ode to Girlhood, and Other Poems. Harpers. \$1.25.
Stetson, Charlotte F. The Yellow Wall Paper. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. 50c.
Tyer, Thomas. Ecclesiastes. New ed. London: David Nutt.
Vanderbilt, Mrs. Gertrude L. The Social History of Flatbush. Appletons.
Wells, H. G. When the Sleeper Wakes. Harpers. \$1.50.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 23, 1899.

The Week.

That "the hardest battle of the war" should have been fought just when we were positively assured that the fighting in the Philippines was all over, cannot overcome the average man like a summer cloud without his special wonder. He had been led to believe from Gen. Otis's dispatches that there was nothing left of the Filipino army but scattered guerilla bands, and now he reads of "the largest and best-organized body of men which has met the American troops." We do not say there has been deception. Otis has been referring to the forces in the north with Aguinaldo, and all the while the Filipinos to the south have been practically unmolested. They apparently grew so confident of their strength that they were about to attack our lines in force, and it seems to have been Otis's thought that he could not possibly allow such a blow to his military prestige. So he himself took the aggressive, and bloody work it was. Even the American accounts agree that the natives fought with astonishing courage and tenacity. It was said of Tennyson that men went to see him expecting to find a lion and really finding a bear. If our soldiers went out to hunt Filipinos expecting to find rabbits, they have evidently found something more like tigers. Brave men fighting against tyrants for their liberty could not display finer valor.

The War Department's announcement of its retention at home of one battalion of each of the colored regiments ordered to Manila, marks the adoption of the English system of a home-depot battalion. It is the first sign we have had that Messrs. Alger and Corbin are looking into the future in army matters. As such, and as the evidence of a desire to make foreign service as comfortable as possible for our troops, it calls for praise. But if Mr. Alger had read some recent debates in Parliament upon this subject, he would have learned that the "linked-battalion" system, as it is known in England, has come in for much fault-finding and criticism, its shortcomings being a potent cause of the latest increase in the Queen's land forces. Long years of experience have shown that a single battalion is able to keep another in tropical foreign service supplied with officers and men only by constantly stripping itself of its best material, to its grave detriment. Mr. Alger's plan is that our home battalions, besides being recruiting and training depots, shall be the refuge of officers and men invalided from the

tropics. But how can invalids become good drill masters, and what doctors would order fever-stricken men to the winter snows of Alaska and the Dakotas, or to the unbearable heat of our South-western and Texas posts? And how can sufficient officers be found for the home battalions if West Point is to have its quota of instructors, and if the many recruiting details and staff places are to be filled?

Even should a way be found out of these difficulties, it must not be forgotten that, after seven years, the English regiments abroad are recalled to a like period of home service. This cannot be done in our army (if we are to keep permanent garrisons in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines) by merely sending the one home battalion to take the place of the other two. It means that the country must have at least twenty more regiments to provide proper relief for those on foreign service. Not only is this necessary as a matter of humanity, but because it would probably be no easy matter to obtain officers and men willing to spend practically indefinite periods away from all the attractions of civilized life. The fact that, since January 1, sixteen field officers have voluntarily gone on the retired list rather than continue to serve with their regiments in the Philippines or Cuba, must not be overlooked. We do not believe that any one can begin to estimate what the actual military cost of holding these islands will be, since time alone can give an idea of the pension increase we are surely in for, and neither Destiny nor Duty nor any other guide has yet informed McKinley how many of the 1,200 islands we are to garrison. Fifty men to an island would make 60,000, but Luzon alone, Gen. Otis thinks, will call for 28,000 in time of peace. The situation demands deeper thought and more extensive plans than any that have yet come from White House or War Department.

No other man can speak with such authority about the situation in Cuba as Gen. Wood, who has been Military Governor of the province of Santiago since the close of the war. It is most reassuring, therefore, when he tells inquirers everywhere, during his present brief visit to this country, that the situation and the outlook are full of promise. We knew before of the marvellous improvement in sanitary conditions which has been brought about, and which Gen. Wood says has within a year reduced the death-rate of the province from appalling dimensions to a proportion below that of New York city. What we chiefly wanted to learn was whether there has

also been progress in other directions; whether the people are taking to work; and whether it looks as though they would some time be able to govern themselves. On all these points Gen. Wood speaks frankly, fully, and encouragingly. Brigandage has been stamped out, order prevails, the people are at work and contented, schools have been opened, and "the great cry among them is for more schools"; and while they are not yet fit for self-government, "they are on the road to it."

The extraordinarily involved and almost incoherent line of argument by which Attorney-General Griggs interpreted the anti-canteen legislation of Congress to mean that the sale of liquor in canteens was really legalized by the act in question, was calculated to make the reader doubt whether the author of that opinion was capable of clear reasoning. But the reply which Mr. Griggs has just made to an inquiry from the War Department as to the rights of cable companies in Cuba is a straightforward and cogent piece of writing, which applies sound principles to the case in hand, and incidentally states fairly the proper relation of our Government to affairs in that island at the present time. Many years ago the Western Union Company established cable communication between the United States and Cuba, under a concession from Spain that it should enjoy an exclusive right for forty years. The Commercial Cable Company recently sought authority to establish a line, claiming that the Western Union enjoys a monopoly which one company ought not to have, and also that its grant is void, because it was obtained by fraud practised on the Spanish Government. The Attorney-General points out that all governments have granted concessions which amounted to monopolies, and that such grants are legal, while he maintains that the allegation of fraud is essentially a question for judicial examination and decision. Mr. Griggs concludes by expressing the quite justifiable opinion that controversies as to grants and franchises taken from Spain, but exercisable within the island of Cuba or other islands derived by the United States from Spain, ought not to be precipitated to a decision in the present unsettled condition that prevails in those islands.

Mr. Henry C. Payne of Wisconsin is authority for the statement that the Senate committee on finance, or the Republican members thereof, at their recent meeting in this city, agreed informally to recommend the passage of a bill declaring all the obligations of the Gov-

ernment payable in gold. There are other reasons for believing that Mr. Payne's information is correct. Leading Republican newspapers are advocating that policy in a way which indicates a common understanding that this is soon to be one of the tenets of the party. It would not be a great step to take, but it would be a very desirable one. Such a bill, once passed, would anchor the country on a gold basis until a Senate, a House, and a President should concur in repealing it. Even this would not be the chief benefit to flow from it. Such a law would influence the thought of the nation. The gold standard would be a part of the people's daily walk and conversation, and would develop an unquestioned national policy. It is doubtful if any party would have the hardihood to deny or controvert it after it was once placed on the statute-book. It may be affirmed that the existing law makes gold the standard of value, and hence that the proposed new law would be superfluous. Weak-kneed, backboneless Republicans will very probably urge this as a reason for doing nothing. To all such we commend a prayerful reading of their last national platform, which says:

"All our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolable the obligations of the United States, and all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth."

This resolution was adopted at the St. Louis convention June 18, 1896, but no step has been taken by Congress to carry out the declared purpose of the convention. It might be awkward for the party to go into the next campaign without having put upon the statute-book a single word on the subject.

The death of Richard P. Bland calls to mind once more the Bland bill, and all the strife over it, and all the consequences of it. Mr. Bland did a great deal of mischief during the twenty-five years that he was in public life, but it is probably true that if he had not taken the lead in the silver agitation, some other ambitious politician would have done so. The money question was at the front in 1872, when Bland was first elected to Congress. It was then a dispute over fiat money, inflation, paying the bonds in greenbacks, and similar crudities growing out of war-financiering. The decline in the price of silver happened in the course of that dispute and just as the fiat-money men had been "knocked out," by the defeat of Butler in the Republican party and of Pendleton in the Democratic. The decline in silver was one of the most baleful accidents that ever befell the financial affairs of any nation. It took the victory that had been won, after hard fighting, by the friends of sound money, out of their hands, and plunged

the nation into a controversy of more than twenty years' duration, and led to the useless expenditure of \$464,000,000 gold by the Government in the purchase of silver bullion, without any benefit whatever to the owners of silver mines or to any human being. This expenditure was useless and worse than useless, because the production of silver was artificially stimulated, and the accumulation now hangs over the silver market of the world, depressing the price unduly, because the buyers believe that it will some day come upon the market like the discarded silver of Germany.

Four hundred and sixty-four million dollars is a pretty large sum to pay for one lesson in the science of finance, but that was not all that it cost us. The panic of 1893 was one of its consequences, and that panic cost more than the Government paid for its silver bullion, but the loss was distributed among individuals instead of being entered in the Treasury ledger. Now the cloud that lowered above us so long is passing away, and Mr. Bland passes away with it. His political career was a failure in every sense. He failed to carry the measure to which he devoted all his public life. The bill which bears his name was not his, but Senator Allison's. Bland himself opposed it bitterly, and voted for it only after it had become plain that he must take that or nothing. He not only failed to carry his own measure, but he failed to secure a nomination for President when the Democratic party finally put itself on his platform. It is generally conceded that Mr. Bland was sincere in his beliefs. We do not call his sincerity in question, but his career is a fresh illustration of the truth that a little learning is a dangerous thing. Mr. Bland knew just enough about finance to put him in the wrong, and he had sufficient ability and perseverance to drag a large unthinking multitude after him.

The spoilsman have no doubt about what the President's recent civil-service order signifies. They have never shown such evidence of hopefulness in their warfare against the reform since the passage of the law of 1883 as they now manifest in view of President McKinley's recent "backward step." The new comes from Washington that "prominent Republican workers," who are disgusted with "the hollow sham of civil service," have organized a league, with stanch support of McKinley's administration and bitter opposition to "civil service" as its chief objects, between which no antagonism is recognized. There have been such organizations before, but they never had so much to encourage them as now. One of the aims is to keep "the hollow sham" out of the next Republican platform, as

here, too, Mr. McKinley has helped their purpose. What, indeed, can the party say in 1900? In 1896 it "pointed with pride" to the placing of the civil-service law on the statute-book by the Republican party, and declared that "we renew our repeated declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable." But it would be ridiculous to make such a pledge next year, after what a Republican President has done this year.

Attorney-General Griggs is as confident as Senator Hanna is, that President McKinley will be renominated and re-elected without difficulty and almost without opposition. Will imperialism be an issue in the campaign? Mr. Griggs, sitting serenely upon his own "glory-crowned heights," thinks it "will not figure as a distinct issue." The Republican platform will "refer to it approvingly," but the Democrats "will not deem it prudent to make it a party issue." The reason why imperialism will thus play no part in the campaign is because maintaining authority in the Philippines and elsewhere in our new possessions has become "not a question of party politics, but of national duty, and must be approached and considered by our citizens from their sense of duty to this country." That is the McKinley theory, undoubtedly. Ask no questions, indulge in no criticism, but stand by me, William McKinley, in everything I do. That is duty to your country, for I, aided by Mr. Hanna and Mr. Griggs and other faithful and unwearying eulogists of my greatness and goodness, am the country in the new era upon which I have launched it.

The movement toward the election of United States Senators by popular vote has met a set-back in Virginia. As the nearest approach to such a choice possible under the constitutional rule which requires election by the Legislature, the advocates of a change in that State have sought to secure either the calling of a Democratic State convention or the ordering of party primaries this year, for the express purpose of nominating a candidate who shall be supported by the legislators next winter. The question

is deemed necessary. It ought to be added that personal issues have played a large part in the decision of this question; those who favor the reelection of Senator Martin opposing any change in the method of choice now, because they think it might hurt his chances, although some of them have in the past favored the popular election of Senators on general principles.

The Michigan Legislature has passed an anti-Trust law more sweeping, if possible, than that of Texas. It forfeits the charters of all corporations of the State that join together to create restrictions in trade, or to limit or reduce the production of any article of merchandise, or to control the market-price of the same, or to prevent competition. It prohibits the corporations of other States which come within these categories from doing business in the State. It subjects to fine, or imprisonment, or both, any person who aids or abets the combinations prohibited by the act, and declares void all contracts in violation of the act, and gives to any person injured in his business by the operation of a Trust the right of action against the offender for double the amount of damages sustained. Looking at this enactment, and at those which have preceded it, and at those still pending in other States, we apprehend that it will be useless to contend against the public feeling which prompts them. The battle must be fought out in the courts, and more especially in the markets of the country. It is very likely that the courts will sustain the anti-Trust laws wherever they can do so, as they sustained the Granger legislation in the seventies. The crucial test of the anti-Trust laws will be found, however, in the experience of society. Probably they will be found unworkable in some particulars and injurious in others; that is, injurious to the community. Time only can answer these questions. Probably Congress will not remain unaffected by the anti-Trust excitement now sweeping over the country. The saying of Mr. Havemeyer that "the mother of all Trusts is the protective tariff bill" has awakened many echoes in the country press, and the more it is talked of and the oftener it is printed, the wider is the belief that Mr. Havemeyer spoke the truth.

The strike which has just broken out in the State of Colorado is one which is without a precedent in the history of such struggles. It is among the men employed in smelter works, but it affects all mining operations, and, beyond them, other allied industries, as well as the business of the railroads. Thirty thousand is considered a reasonable estimate of the number of men who will immediately be thrown out of work, while 5,000 railroad employees will lose

their jobs if the mines of the State are generally closed. The employees in the smelter works have hitherto worked ten or twelve hours a day. Last winter they appealed to the Populist Legislature to pass a law for a shorter day, and that body enacted a statute which provides that "the period of employment of workmen in smelters and in all other institutions for the reduction or refining of ores or metals shall be eight hours per day, except in cases of emergency where life or property is in imminent danger." But the owners and operators generally claim that they could not operate their works profitably if they should pay as much hereafter for a day of eight hours as they have heretofore paid for one of ten or twelve; and, with few exceptions, they proposed to substitute a system of payment by the hour, under which the men would earn considerably less than before. It is not unlikely that the trouble may soon be ended by a judicial decision that the law is unconstitutional as class legislation. The question whether such a statute would stand was submitted to the Supreme Court of Colorado in 1895, and it declared that "it is not competent for the Legislature to single out the mining, manufacturing, and smelting industries of the State and impose upon them restrictions with reference to the hours of their employees, from which other employers of labor are exempt."

Has the Mazet inquiry, which has been adjourned till August, really accomplished anything? This is the question which one hears oftenest about the investigation, and it is usually answered in the negative. There is no disputing the fact that, in the estimation of most people, the inquiry has been a failure. Yet Mr. Moss, as we look back over his labors, has set forth very clearly certain facts in our condition which we only suspected before he began. He has made Croker admit under oath that he controls and runs the government of the city for his personal benefit. He has shown by the evidence of Croker's sons and family relations that the departments are used for the purpose of extorting blackmail from contractors and others for the benefit of the Croker family. He has made Devery and Price and the Police Board confess that the police power of the city is exerted, not for the suppression of vice and crime, but for their protection, stimulating their growth in order that the revenue from them may be made as large as possible. The portraits which he has induced the police authorities to draw of themselves on the witness-stand—those of Hess, Sexton, York, Devery, and Price—have been invaluable revelations of the Croker system of government. Nothing equal to them has ever before been exhibited in a civilized community. One after another, these agents and ad-

ministrators of our laws, the supposed servants of the people, have declared their contempt for both laws and morals, have defied and insulted both the committee and the respectable sentiment of the community, have shown themselves too ignorant and uneducated to be able to speak in ordinarily correct language, and too coarse and brutal to have any proper sense of the disgraceful revelations they were making of their own characters.

The general belief is that when Platt started the inquiry, he intended it to be only a little one, just enough to alarm Croker into giving him a larger share of police patronage. Croker was not easily scared, and the employment of Mr. Moss as counsel made it impossible to restrict the inquiry after it was ordered. The net result has been quite different from what Platt intended. Croker has been "shown up," it is true, but so has Platt. He has been exhibited as a boss of precisely the same type as Croker, and Croker's insistence on the witness-stand upon the calling of Platt, if the inquiry was to be impartial and thorough, deprived the inquiry at the outset of most of its moral force. As a sort of stereopticon show of the evils of boss rule, the inquiry has been an interesting and useful exhibition, but beyond that it has not accomplished much that will leave a lasting impression.

Only a languid interest attaches to the Venezuelan arbitration, so far as relates to the matter in dispute, but the proceedings will be watched with close attention, as they may throw new light on the subject of international arbitration. Lawyers will also watch the proceedings as a tournament of the best legal minds of England and America. Probably we shall add something also to our stock of knowledge from the rulings of the court and the umpire on questions of precedents and on the law of evidence. The spectacle which the tribunal itself presents is an object-lesson to The Hague conference, to which it must serve in some degree as a stimulant, and all the more since Martens, the Russian jurist, holds the foremost place in both. Every precaution seems to have been taken to secure, not only an absolute decision of the question at issue, but one which shall command the assent of the parties to the controversy. In his opening speech on Thursday Sir Richard Webster, speaking of the fifty-year-title clause, suggested that where a case of fifty years' occupation was found to be beyond the line of the true boundary of the government whose subjects were there settled, the boundary should be deflected, with territorial compensation elsewhere, or with pecuniary compensation. As this rule would work both ways, it could not be considered as favoring one party more than the other.

INTERNATIONAL UNITY.

The proposals of the Czar of Russia, which have occasioned the Conference now sitting at The Hague, have been compared with the scheme of the "Holy Alliance" brought forward by Alexander I. Such a comparison shows how much civilization has advanced during the century. The Holy Alliance was a secret agreement among despots. They were perhaps unusually benevolent despots, but they intended to suppress liberty, and they carried out their intention. The minute supervision of Government officers rendered free speech and even free thought impossible for subjects, and made international trade and travel very difficult. In a recent tour undertaken for the purpose of learning European sentiment concerning the Czar's rescript, an English journalist travelled everywhere, talked to every one, and wrote everything without hindrance. A few centuries ago such a tour would have been physically impossible; even a century ago it would have been impracticable. Its purpose would have been inquired into, and probably condemned. The tourist would have found the barriers of the custom-house almost insurmountable. He would have met with the greatest difficulty in obtaining a passport, and even if he bore one made out with the utmost precision, he would have been subjected to frequent detentions. His apartments would have been visited by the police, his letters would have been opened and perhaps refused transmission by the post, and he would not have been able to go for a walk without being followed by spies.

These intentional hindrances to freedom of communication have practically disappeared. The passport is still required in Russia and in Turkey, but throughout the civilized parts of Europe it is no longer thought of. The nuisance of custom-houses is unabated, but the inconvenience is generally reduced to a minimum, and so long as taxes on imports are maintained, the inspection of travellers' luggage must take place. With this exception, it may be said that the barriers between the different countries of Europe have been broken down. The traveller may pass without interruption from the North Cape to Sicily. Letters are sent by the post to any part of Europe without governmental interference, and merchandise, once committed to the carrier, goes steadily on to its destination without further care to the consignor. The International Postal Union has quietly, almost imperceptibly, melted away the obstacles to the diffusion of knowledge which despotism had studiously interposed, and now, when a letter is once dropped into the box, it goes almost automatically to the person to whom it is addressed. Mail-bags, at least, are carried from country to country without custom-house examination. The International Railway Bureau is

seldom spoken of, and is perhaps unknown to most of those who are benefited by its work, but it is one of the most effective agencies in bringing about the unity of Europe. It practically makes all the railways of Europe one system for many purposes, and manages, in spite of tariffs and custom-houses, to deliver goods with remarkable expedition.

Besides the Railway Bureau there are the Telegraphic Union, the unions for the protection of patents, of trade-marks, and of copyrights, and others. As M. Droz, the head of the Railway Bureau, says, trade asks little of the state, and the state rather hinders than helps it. Only grant it legal security and it will take care of itself. It will do more; it will gradually make the rulers of the state submit to its requirements. In spite of all endeavors to keep up national jealousies, the expansive and pervasive force of commerce overcomes in the end. Even the French and Italian Governments have been forced to admit the folly of their tariff wars by the arguments taken from trade statistics. Trade is sometimes regarded as a sordid affair; it does not strike the imagination of mankind as the uniform of a soldier does. But when we see what has been done by these commercial agencies in building up rights, they do not seem sordid. The Railway Bureau, for example, has made all the managing departments of the railways of Europe severally answerable, so that a suit for damages may be brought against either the sending or receiving agent. The Telegraphic Bureau has established the right of every one to send a dispatch, the right of secrecy, even the right to send messages in cipher, the right to a fixed and reasonable tariff. People think little of these things, but they make, collectively, a very great addition to the list of rights formerly enjoyed by the common people.

Under the constant prodding of trade, the governments themselves have had to recognize European unity. One of the notable instances of this result is the Commission for the Regulation of the Danube. It would be hard to say whether the perversity of nature or of man more impeded the navigation of that stream. But the governments of the countries interested finally consented to act together for the relief of commerce, and the commission established by this agreement, although clumsily enough constituted, has gradually accomplished very important results. These steps towards the "federation of the world" should encourage us to hope that we may be nearing the end of the military régime. The common people everywhere detest it; the educated people very generally condemn it; but the rulers of the nations maintain it. They, however, are not insensible to public opinion, and Europe is in so many ways now united

that armies will seem more and more an anachronism. When we consider what has been accomplished within a comparatively short time, we can take heart. The more the world talks about peace and disarmament, the more desirable will they appear and the harder will it be for rulers to oppose them.

A BIPARTISAN CENSUS.

By this time it must be plain to every one that Merriam will make as bad a mess of the twelfth census as Porter did of the eleventh. The longer he goes on, the more the wonder grows why the President should have appointed him Director, instead of reappointing Porter. It is true, Porter had brought discredit upon the Harrison Administration; but some lessons of experience had been so drilled into him that he could hardly have done worse, and might have done better, if he had tried his hand again. Merriam's first act in office was to emphasize the President's distrust of Porter by searching the record to find out what Porter did, and then taking care to do something else. It is the pursuit of this delicate policy which has got him into most of his trouble.

At the outset he admitted that he knew nothing about statistics, and, as he had never studied census methods, no technical scheme of administration had shaped itself in his mind; but in his political career he had taken a hand in carving up salaried jobs and passing the slices around, so he gave his whole mind to that branch of his duties. First, what had Porter done about appointments? He had pooh-poohed the idea of putting his bureau under the civil-service rules, and had set up instead a sliding-scale test for the sons and nephews, poor relations, and other dependents of the men who stood by him in Congress. If an incompetent could not pass an examination of the highest grade, perhaps he could pass an easier one; if that still was too hard for him, he could come in any way, figuring on the pay-roll as a laborer and doing the work of a clerk. None of this for Merriam, if you please. He took pains to explain that he would not have objected, personally, to letting the Civil-Service Commission sift his applicants and give him only the best; but there was the law, which provided that "these persons shall be appointed," not from the classified service, but "by the Director of the Census," and this, of course, left him no discretion. But he did intend to make his own examination rigid. He would hire merciless examiners to put the most searching questions. If an applicant was turned away at the front door, he would find no back door open, as in Porter's day; still, if he passed, it would do him no harm to have some "influence."

Has this plan gratified the spoliemen

who engineered the census law through Congress? No more than it has satisfied the good citizens who want a census force worth the money spent upon it. The spoilsmen say: "If you are going to have an examination as severe as the Civil-Service Commission requires, we might as well have left the whole business in the hands of the Commission." And they are right. That would have saved time, expense, and irritation without end. There is not an applicant able to pass a Census Bureau examination as rigid as Director Merriam proposes, who would not more willingly have taken the Commission's examination, because an appointment made through this agency would have been to the classified service, with a fair assurance of permanent tenure. Even with the law as it is, if the Director sought only competency in his clerks, he could obtain the addresses of thousands from the Commission without any formal process of certification. The law does not tell him where he must look for his help, and the Commission's eligible lists are continually drawn upon by private employers in search of skilled clerks.

This much for the office force; now, what had Porter done in the field? He had turned the enumeration into a mere machine for rewarding faithful Republicans. Well, Merriam must look out not to fall into such a mistake—at least, not in the South. To keep alive the era of good feeling there, was a mission of the McKinley Administration, and Merriam, as one of its prophets, must not ignore his share of the work. Hence the advertisement that in the Southern States a part of the patronage would be distributed through the Democratic Senators. At once arose a protest from two sources. The Republican bosses objected to these dispensing agents because they were Democrats, and the Democratic Representatives because they were Senators. The only persons pleased were the Senators themselves, and they were just two citizens in each State.

As usual, the plan devised to suit everybody suits almost nobody. The general verdict is that, if there is anything more foolish than Merriam's examination comedy, it is his bipartisan farce. The new Director doubtless understood vaguely that partisan censuses were bad things, but he could not reason from this that a bipartisan census is only a partisan census, with its vicious qualities doubled. He has made the old blunder of confounding bipartisanship with non-partisanship. The late Francis A. Walker knew the difference. He was forced to take the ninth census with partisan machinery, because the law gave him only United States Marshals for lieutenants in the field. Ten years later he was obliged to condemn his own population statistics for the South as untrustworthy; but he cherished no illusion that two parties were better than one in

such a case. A letter to a friend who had just been appointed a public statistician contained a warning which today has a prophetic ring: "If any mistake is more likely than others to be committed in such a critical position, it is to undertake to recognize both parties as parties, and to award so much in due turn to each. This course almost inevitably leads to jealousy and dissatisfaction."

Gen. Walker might have gone more into detail and explained that where two parties divide such an enterprise between them, they either quarrel or they enter into a treaty. If they quarrel, each party will always denounce the work done by the other as worthless. If they agree, it is only to make common cause against all criticism, and defend bad work and good alike. Either alternative is bound to discredit the result, and the public has simply a big bill to pay for a pig in a poke.

THE RATIONALE OF TRUSTS.

Mr. H. O. Havemeyer gave rather more testimony before the Industrial Commission last week than was wanted. In fact, he rather turned the tables on his interrogators, for, although he did not question them, he confounded them and brought their questions to naught. He first plumped at them the general statement that "the mother of all Trusts is the customs-tariff bill." Then he proceeded to show how it has worked. "The existing bill and the preceding ones," he said, "have been the occasion of the formation of all the large Trusts, with very few exceptions, inasmuch as they provide for an inordinate protection to all the interests of the country—sugar-refining excepted." Probably Mr. Havemeyer meant all the special interests or all the favored interests, not "all the interests"; for if all were inordinately protected, none would have any advantage over the others. Whether the refining of sugar has been omitted in the distribution of tariff favors is a moot question. It was much disputed when the Dingley bill was pending, and it was observed that, after the bill passed, there was a sharp and permanent rise in the quotations of Sugar Refining stock. The question is so extremely technical that only the best experts can form an opinion as to the amount of protection which the existing tariff affords, but probably the quotations in the market are the best test, and these would indicate more than the 3½ per cent. which Mr. Havemeyer says is the true figure.

The relative amount of protection afforded by the tariff to the sugar refiners, the sugar-growers, the Hawaiian Island planters (foreigners mostly, says Mr. Havemeyer), and other industries, is not, however, the chief point of interest in his testimony. It is probably true that if all customs duties except those for

revenue were repealed so that each tub should stand on its own bottom, the sugar-refining industry would be benefited rather than harmed. The whole drift of Mr. Havemeyer's argument runs that way. However that may be, Mr. Havemeyer uttered some plain truths which will bear frequent repetition; among them these:

"The tariff bill clutches the people by the throat, and then the Governors and the Attorney-Generals of the several States take action, not against the cause, but against the machinery which the people employ to rifle the public's pockets.

"There appears to be in the public mind a distinction between robbery by an individual and that by a corporation. What is commendable in an individual appears to be dishonest in a corporation.

"I maintain that it is immaterial to the public in what form business is done—whether by an individual, firm, corporation, or even a Trust. These are merely forms of conducting business, or, in other words, machinery for the operation of business. It is the duty of the Government to see that, under the tariff laws they enact, this machinery cannot in its actions result to the detriment or impoverishment of the public.

"It is the Government, through its tariff laws, which plunders the people, and the Trusts, etc., are merely the machinery for doing it."

We have pointed out from time to time since the McKinley tariff first went into effect nine years ago, the *modus operandi* of the tariff in inducing the formation of Trusts. A Trust is a combination of the producing machinery of the country in a particular line of industry to stop competition and enable the producers of the particular article to sell it at a higher price than they could otherwise get. Such a combination is not possible, however, if the article in question can be imported from abroad. If Congress now steps in and performs the job of excluding the imported article or putting on duties which raise the price in the home market, not only is there an opportunity afforded, but an inducement or bonus is offered, to form the Trust. No wonder it was availed of as soon as the duties were raised to the inordinate and tempting height of the McKinley bill. Trusts multiplied on the heels of that measure—a measure so monstrous that such veterans of the tariff as Senator Morrill and Senator Sherman stood aghast at its provisions.

Senator Sherman took an early occasion after its passage to say that if advantage were taken of the tariff to form Trusts or combinations under the shelter of it, he would vote to put on the free list any article produced by such Trust or combination. He might as well have whistled against the wind. The promoters of Trusts laughed at him, or rather they gave no heed to his words. The only thing they gave attention to was the plum that he and McKinley and Aldrich and the rest had dangled before their eyes. The Republican party offered a premium for the formation of as many Trusts as there were separate articles in the bill, and when the Trusts came forward to take what was offered them, it began to pass other laws to

punish them for taking the plunder. Senator Sherman was the first one in line to adopt this illogical course. The Sherman anti-Trust bill was the outcome; a measure which has never led to a conviction, we believe—at all events has never stopped or hindered a single Trust.

It is true, as Mr. Havemeyer acknowledges, that there are some Trusts which are not founded on the tariff. Whether these few are good, bad, or indifferent, there seems to be no way to get rid of them. We have little confidence in the efficiency of laws like the one recently passed by the State of Texas to prevent the selling of articles produced by Trusts, or to keep their agents out of the State. We apprehend that the citizens of Texas will suffer more from that deprivation than the Trusts themselves, and that the law will be repealed when the pinch becomes severe. That there is an easy and sure remedy in the hands of Congress for all the evils caused by the tariff-protected Trusts is plain enough. It is only necessary to remove the artificial barrier that Congress itself created for them. It is only necessary to do what Senator Sherman, in the days of his intellectual acumen, said that he would do—repeal every scrap of duty on every article which has been made the subject of a Trust or combine; or, if the revenue is needed, to levy an internal tax equal to the duty on every such article.

AT SEA FOR AN ISSUE.

The Democrats of Pennsylvania held their State convention at Harrisburg last week, to nominate candidates for two judges of the courts and for State Treasurer. This is an "off year," with no Federal officials to be elected, and the canvass ought to turn exclusively on State issues. The framers of the platform recognized the proper supremacy of such issues, and fourteen of the fifteen planks which they presented deal with questions of this sort. Republican newspapers concede that it is a good platform in this respect. The *Philadelphia Press* says that, "to most of the declarations, no honest man can take exception," and that the Republicans ought to second the demand for an amendment to the Constitution that will provide for an effective registration of voters. It even goes so far as to declare that "if the convention of the Republicans chooses to take issue with the ugly truths set forth by the Democrats, and writes an endorsement across the backs of all the questionable acts of Gov. Stone and the Quay machine and Mr. Quay himself, it will drive away thousands of voters now anxious to stay with their party, and will give the ticket nominated at Harrisburg yesterday a hopeful chance of winning, even in this overwhelming Republican State."

But the platform-makers at Harris-

burg were not prepared to omit all reference to national politics in a deliverance upon which three candidates for State offices were to run in an "off year." The question was how this outside matter ought to be treated. Should the convention endorse the free coinage of silver specifically? Should it endorse generally the Chicago platform of 1896, of which the free-coinage resolution was the most important plank? Should it try to "keep in line" with the position assumed by the party three years ago without making the Chicago platform unduly prominent?

The policy of evasion was decided upon by the committee and was accepted by the convention. The first resolution, which was the only one referring to national politics, reads as follows:

The Democracy of Pennsylvania in convention assembled, again renewing our pledges of fidelity and devotion to the sacred rights of the people, true to the faith and principles of our party as declared in the platforms of our several national conventions, and proud of our matchless leader, William Jennings Bryan, realize that the issues involved in the coming campaign in Pennsylvania are honest government, clean politics, and the redemption of our State from Republican misrule and corruption.

This covers equally the financial plank upon which Bryan was defeated in 1896 and that upon which Cleveland was elected in 1892. For that matter, it covers equally the platform upon which Seymour ran as the Democratic candidate in 1868, declaring that "we regard the reconstruction acts (so-called) of Congress, as such, as usurpations, and unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void"; and that upon which Greeley was supported by the same party in 1872, with the "pledge to oppose any reopening of the questions settled by the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution." In short, the position now taken by the Pennsylvania Democracy leaves them open to support any policy in the national convention of their party next year, whether such policy harmonizes with the platform of 1896, or be as inconsistent with that deliverance as was the platform of 1896 with the one of 1892, or that of 1872 with the one of 1868.

The uncertainty of mind as to the best course for the future of the party which was manifested at Harrisburg characterizes the leaders of the organization as a rule throughout the country. The *Chicago Times-Herald* has been asking members of the Democratic national committee what they think ought to be the battle-cry in 1900, and their replies show a growing disposition not to make the silver question again the dominant one. Most would "reaffirm the Chicago platform of 1896," but some of these could doubtless be induced to compromise on endorsing "the faith and principles of our party as declared in the platforms of our several national conventions." A number of committeemen favor laying most stress on opposition

to Trusts, and treating "the money Trust" as only one feature of a broad problem. "Imperialism" or "militarism" is suggested by some as likely to become a prominent issue next year.

But there is no approach to unanimity in opposing the present policy of the Republican Administration, so far as anybody can make out what that policy is. "As to the question of imperialism, expansion, or by whatever other name it may be called," says the member of the committee from Georgia, "I am inclined to think it would be very unwise for the party to commit itself now to any declaration, pending the changing conditions which, as readjustment proceeds, will give the people of the whole country better data from which to reach a satisfactory conclusion as to the national duty." Further illustration of the difference of opinion now existing is furnished by contrasting the "flat-footed" declaration of the Tennessee committeeman that "the Democratic platform should denounce in unmeasured terms the acquisition of territory by force of arms," with this equally positive statement by his colleague from the State of Washington: "No fault can or should be found with the administration of President McKinley in dealing with the Philippines as he has. Atkinson, Hoar, and Cleveland should not be permitted to frame the policy of the Democratic party with reference to the Philippines."

On the whole, such developments as those of the Harrisburg convention and of the canvass of the Democratic national committee are encouraging. The first step towards getting away from the advocacy of a hopeless policy is to cease to have any positive convictions about it, and there is evidently a considerable element in the Democracy which is now in this frame of mind regarding free coinage. It is far better to have a party at sea for an issue than to have it embark again on a voyage straight to the rocks on which it has once been wrecked.

CONDITIONS IN CRETE.

ATHENS, May, 1899.

The question now uppermost in people's minds in this part of the world is not so much when and how the four Powers are going to leave the Island of Crete to her own devices, but what these devices will be. There is talk of the complete withdrawal of the foreign troops and officials within a few weeks, but this does not seem probable, and, whether it take place to-day or next year, the main question of Moslem versus Christian will remain to be solved. Well-instructed opinion differs as to which of these two parties is the worse, but various officials of foreign governments in Italy, Turkey, and Greece with whom I have spoken all concur in the belief that anything done which may alienate the Moslem inhabitants, even in sympathy, from the island will be most unfortunate for its future well-being. While the Turkish flag that now floats on a small rock in Suda Bay is the only visible sign of the sovereignty of the Sultan, the num-

ber of Moslems still left in the island is, notwithstanding emigrations to Smyrna and other ports during the last year, very considerable, and their wealth is large in proportion to that of the Christians. So far as the Christians are concerned, it would be a pleasant solution of difficulties were all the Moslems to emigrate; and the desire of many of them to depart is shown by the price for which they to-day will sell their farms—oftentimes scarcely more than the passage money to one of the ports of Asia Minor. But all the Moslems will not emigrate; in the main, only those from the interior will do so, and the larger part of the Moslem population is settled in Candia and other cities.

At present, owing to the presence of European officials, affairs for the most part run smoothly, and the country is safe for foreigners, and almost equally so for its own inhabitants. It is quite possible, however, that, on the withdrawal of the Europeans, this happy condition will no longer endure. This fear is aroused by observing the general course of action of the temporary government which, until lately, has had charge of affairs. Two weeks ago, the first true autonomous ministry was chosen. It is composed of five members, four Christians, and one Moslem, who hold office subject to the will of Prince George. While the forms of the government exercised by this body may be slightly different from those practised during the past months, it is scarcely to be supposed that its general tone will be greatly altered; so, with little question, a fair idea of the future can be derived from study of the past. It is worth noting that the five officials are not true ministers, but merely councillors in charge of the Departments of Education and Public Worship, Justice, Interior, Finance, Public Works, and Agriculture. The presidency of this board, although the Constitution provides for no such office, will, in all probability, be held by M. Sphakianakis, who has charge of the Department of Education and Public Worship, and is ex-President of the Assembly.

To render justice to the Moslems will be one of the most difficult duties of this or any Christian government in Crete. Personal safety seems now to be, in the main, assured, but there is no certainty for the Moslem of meeting with just treatment in the courts, and no assurance that laws will not be promulgated pressing harder on him than on the Christian. The conditions in the Province of Candia (the English "sphere of influence") are excellent. Smuggling has been suppressed, the revenues doubled during the past six months. The natives, however, do not possess the same aptitude as the English for running affairs with mechanical impartiality and accuracy, and it is hardly to be doubted that before the island becomes self-supporting and orderly, the Moslems will have to suffer much. Instances of the sort of tyranny to which they will be subjected are already numerous. A few weeks ago a notice appeared in the official Gazette, saying that, Prince George having given his sanction to the measure, it was decreed that henceforth there should be an amnesty regarding all political crimes committed before November 4, 1898. By choosing this date, the Assembly provided for the pardon of all Christians; but, as it was after this date that the attack on the British troops and the consequent riot took place, a large number of Moslems would be exposed to trial. Naturally this decree created much ill-feeling, for,

as far as murder goes, the "Christians" showed themselves at Sitia and elsewhere apt imitators of the Moslem. The Moslems did not demand free pardon, but merely that they should be treated in the same way as their enemies. The English sense of justice was strong enough to secure this for them, and, after some dispute between the Cretan and British authorities, the edict was repealed.

A similar spirit in the action of the Christian toward the Moslem is shown in the regulation passed that the official language of the island shall in all cases be Greek. Considering that Greek is the language spoken in Crete, the harshness of this enactment is not at once manifest, but, in consequence of its bearing on one at least of the Moslem religious institutions, it is hard for the Turks to endure. In giving over the island to Greece, the Powers guaranteed that Moslem institutions should in no way be interfered with. The system of church property throughout the Ottoman empire is peculiar and complicated. It is a branch of public affairs. All books of record and accounts pertaining to it are in Turkish. The English found it in Cyprus, and, although English was made the official language, they did not attempt to enforce its use in this department. The Cretan Administration seems not to be wise enough to follow this example, but is apparently bent on compelling the use of Greek in this as in other branches of governmental business. This policy is likely to be a constant source of irritation to the Moslem community.

To insure a civilized government, Prince George will, during his three years of office, have to solve two difficult problems—first, the allaying of fanatical ill-feeling of the two religions towards one another; second, the agricultural question. So long as a country whose main source of wealth lies in her agricultural products, and which used to have a considerable export trade, provides less than enough of the primitive products for her own consumption, she cannot be regarded as prospering. There is scarcely a village in Greece so poor or so secluded that a traveler could not get in it enough to eat, while it is a commonplace of travel in Crete that you must carry your food with you or go hungry. Crete is, agriculturally speaking, as rich a land as Sicily. You may have fresh grapes there from June to January—the first vintage is in July. Oranges, lemons, and figs grow to perfection. No oil is better than Cretan olive oil. The coast-line is most favorable for trading purposes, and for these the position of the island itself could not be improved. The fact is, that the country is even now vastly underpopulated. While it would not conduce to the advance of the country for the Moslems to be in control, it would be a suicidal policy to drive away peaceable and able-bodied laborers.

Another great, but as yet undeveloped, source of wealth lies in the unexplored archaeological riches of the island. A partially satisfactory law in regard to these is about to be passed, and money for investigations will, for years to come, pour into the island as it does into Greece. It will come mainly, at least at first, from Europe, for American archaeologists have not yet taken advantage of an opportunity that has brought European students into eager competition. The excavations of the next few years in Crete are likely to teach us more in regard to the early history of Greece and of the

ancient currents of human life and endeavor in the Mediterranean basin than we have ever known.

If the Cretan Government should insure justice to all the people, the island might soon become one of the pleasantest corners of the earth.

RICHARD NORTON.

THE ENGLISH RIVIERA.

WEST BOURNEMOUTH, May 30, 1899.

Health-seekers who wander for their quest need hardly take their tickets for the Nile, or even for Italy, if all they want is a mild climate for the winter and freedom from the danger of sudden changes of temperature; for the south of England, at least in certain sections, offers the most equable winter that I have ever had experience of, except, perhaps, Florida. The sun and the thermometer do not determine with full powers the degree of comfort which is necessary to the maintenance of health and good spirits, or which is to be obtained from any locality. Indoor conditions may be as fatal, or the reverse, as those of the open weather, and I have heard from friends wintering in Egypt as bitter complaints of discomfort from cold as those I had formulated in my Italian home, with its oscillating mercury; for, in that land of the sub-tropics, no preparation for the modern perturbation of the temperature seems necessary, and we all know that what the Italian landlord tells of the exposure of his apartment, "that there is so much sunshine here that you never need a fire," turns out to be a bitter delusion, and you are obliged to come to a stove with its pipe thrust through a window, to eke out your winter. There are many things to be considered when you go to test the proverb, "Cœlum, non animum, mutant qui trans mare currunt," and the things which most change the soul are the things of the household, for one finds that the skies of Italy do not console when one shivers by the mockery of a hearthstone, and warms one's chilblained fingers by a *scaldino*, hieroglyph of the fire-side of our home. I hear, as I write, of a young friend, proud of his ability to endure hardships, who has just been sent to an English health resort after a winter on the Nile, overdone by the rigors of a climate to which he had gone as a cure from the severity of the English winters.

I have tried wintering in many and widely different climates, and when, at the end of a term of twelve years' continuous residence in Rome, following several years in Florence, I decided to try the south of England for the winter, most of my friends, even in England, predicted the failure of the experiment. We are now in the flush of early summer, and I may consider the trial as at an end and the judgment in order, and it is that the winter in this part of England offers the most favorable conditions of existence for cases of persistent tendency to diseases of the throat and bronchitis of all that I know by experience. In the latest years spent in Rome, and consequently those in which my condition was the most nearly that of this winter, I had the advantage, not given to temporary residents, of living in my hired house, fitted with such heating apparatus as can be supplied where it is not arranged, as it rarely is, in the construction of the house, and meeting with more than usual satisfaction the demands of the climate. Yet whereas in Rome I rarely passed a week without a cold, dur-

ing at least five months of the year, I have had here only one or two attacks which required treatment, or compelled me to keep the house for a day during the past winter. The difference between the climate of Rome and that of the south of England is not one of latitude or longitude—it is in the local conditions; and though one winter in this locality probably does not warrant a decision, it is even more probable that the late season has been rather worse than better than the average. The early part of it has been milder, the latter part—the early spring, liable always to be treacherous—has been colder and more unseasonable than the average; the spring is several weeks "behind time." By going further west, into Devon and Cornwall, the conditions are found to be still more favorable than here, in the southern borders of Hampshire.

The characteristic difference between the Roman winter and that we experience here is not, as most people imagine, in the greater or less tendency to malarial fevers, which the most elementary prudence will always avoid in Rome, but in the sudden and treacherous changes of temperature there at all seasons. The past winter here has probably had less than the average amount of snow and frost, for we have seen none of the former and only two or three short spells of cold sufficient to freeze the water in the gutters; but the difference cannot have been great, for plants of delicate constitution like the rhododendrons thrive here in the wild state in the greatest profusion, and the fuchsia flourishes, while the magnolia requires little protection. The great differences between the temperatures of morning and evening, or shade and sunshine, which constitute the gravest inconvenience of the Roman climate, do not exist here, and it is not unsafe to go out here on a warm winter day without an overcoat on your arm, as it is in Rome or any other place in southern Italy. Then, for the inevitable differences and changes of temperature which affect the indoor life, the English civilization has prepared its protection in the shape of fireplaces in every room—a convenience which Italian conservatism will not face. In fact, the greater part of the inconveniences of winter life in Italy consist in the obstinate refusal of the Italian to adapt his house to the requirements of the stranger. He seems to say always, "What is good enough for me is good enough for you, and if you want anything better, go elsewhere to find it." It has happened to me, in visiting some of the attractive and picturesque towns in the interior of Italy, to find the only inn so filthy as to be offensive to the nose, and quite unfit for a lady to enter it. On remonstrating with the landlord, that the filthiness of his house prevented foreigners from coming to the place, he has replied, "But the foreigners do not come; when they do, I will make the house clean." To this indolent indifference to his own advantage of the Italian host, the Englishman offers the sharpest contrast. His house is scrupulously clean, and he is extremely desirous to consult the tastes of his guest. The inns of the small towns are always comfortable, always clean, and provided with the conveniences of the locality in which they are. They are generally dear as compared with the same class of houses on the Continent, and the general system of separate living at the inn, due primarily to the Englishman's exclusiveness, makes it impossible to ad-

minister the business of inn-keeping economically; but wherever and whenever the attractions of a locality become evident, the system of lodgings and the letting of furnished houses come in to establish a large liberty in this respect. In this quality of liberty and its consequent bettering of life for mankind at large, England is at the head of civilization.

To come from such an abstract statement to the concrete example, I will put my own case. Dr. Lauder-Brunton, a high authority in such matters, advised me, on studying my case, which is an ordinary one of chronic bronchial troubles of a slight and intermittent character, exaggerated by my life in Rome, to look for a residence somewhere "in the tract of sunshiny country which extends from Dorking to Bournemouth"; and after certain vain explorations in the intervening sections I took the bull by this horn, and hired here what can be found only in England in a satisfactory condition, a furnished cottage. The owner, a widow lady, leaves all her household gods to my care, goes away so completely that we have never seen her since we came, and I am as completely at home as if I were in my own house. We have five bedrooms and two sitting-rooms, water and gas laid on, a hot bath always ready, and the tradesmen come to the door for orders. A large lawn enables us to invite all the birds of the vicinity to meet on it three times a day for such food as we can provide, and we enjoy their visits greatly, and just now the gardens around are vocal with their songs. I hate cities, and can never reconcile myself to live in one, but this is, so far as the thing is practicable to people of little means, a *res in urbe*. We pay for it two pounds a week, with no taxes beyond the water and gas bills.

The municipality of Bournemouth, like most other small municipalities in England, is stupid and behindhand in all that goes to make a town attractive and convenient for a stranger, but it has not been able to destroy the natural charm of the place. We have the sea at our back door, and a vast pine woods which was capable of being made a paradise, on the other side. The former has been left outside the enterprise of the Town Council, and the latter is so ravaged by the roughs and ruffians that you may wander in it for days and never see a sign of life—every bird's nest is stolen and every squirrel stoned to death, though both survive the brutal lower classes in the grounds of some of the houses, and exist as a testimony to the potential attractions of the country. The vast pine woods which once covered the site where Bournemouth now stands, extend back to, and mainly through, the New Forest, which is not what we understand by forest at all, but is simply wild and uncultivated land, the greater part covered by heather and gorse without a tree. Here and there are tracts of woodland and other areas of cultivated land, which, like the private lands in our Adirondacks, were squatted on or bought from the Government before the importance of keeping a national park had become evident, and these cultivated sections probably comprise all the arable land in the district. The greater part of the woodland is pine, on a soil so poor and thin that nothing but the various species of pine (or fir), which are found on it, will grow. This causes a peculiar state of climate, or rather atmosphere, which is the secret of the extreme healthfulness of

the region, the purity of the air. There are almost no flowers in the greater part of the district, consequently no birds, except where they can live by the food provided by the inhabited sections, and swallows and insect feeders in general are rare or unknown. I have not seen a single swallow in the country round about Bournemouth since I came, though twenty miles westward they are as abundant as in other countries. The effect on the air is peculiar, and such as I have seen in only one other region, Nocera of Umbria, where the same conditions of flora and fauna obtain, and the air has a lightness I never felt, so far as I can remember, elsewhere until I came here. The nurseries of germs and microbes do not exist as in regions where the flora and accompanying air-fauna are exuberant.

Yet we have a great deal of pleasure from the birds. The class of people who inhabit the villas and cottages in this district are of the English people who sympathize with the animal world, and the birds nest in their gardens as undisturbed as in an aviary, and on my lawn there come, at the hours of feeding, scores of thrushes, blackbirds, finches of various species, starlings, tomtits, and others I do not recognize, and, dearest of all, two pairs of robins, so friendly and familiar that they come to the edge of the lawn at feeding-time and look into the window to see if we are not coming with their food. It would be hard to find a country where man and nature are so amiably interdependent as here, though the cruelty of the lower classes in England towards all wild creatures is far greater than in the advanced sections of the United States, and the influence of the sporting classes is of the very worst and most brutalizing on the common people. But where you can escape the extremes, English life is humane and practically religious to a degree unsurpassed if not unequalled in any country of which I have experience.

W. J. STILLMAN.

ITALIAN FICTION OF THE TWELVE-MONTH.

ALASSIO, May, 1899.

Neither Verga, D'Annunzio, Fogazzaro, De Roberto, nor Rovetta contributed to the novels of the year, nor yet did Matilde Serao nor Neera. *Hamlet* has been left out with a vengeance, and we have had either to amuse ourselves with *Rosenkrans* and *Guildestern* or to seek our pleasure from a new set of entertainers. I may confess that it was in a sort of desperation that I accepted the latter alternative. I did not like reading unknown authors—the chances were strong against their being good; and still, however unlikely, there was always the possibility that something of value might be found among them. As for *Rosenkrans* and *Guildestern* unrelieved—"troppa grazia, Sant' Antonio!"

When the case was once presented in this way, there was no doubt as to the choice to be made. Only, before giving an account of its results, it may be noted that Fogazzaro has published a volume of lectures under the title of 'Ascensioni Umane'; that De Roberto has given us a biography of Leopardi, Rovetta two plays, "Il Ramo d'Ulivo" and "Il Poeta," that make very agreeable reading, though, I believe, they were not particularly fortunate upon the stage, and D'Annunzio has followed up the "Città Morta" and "Sogno d'un Mattino di Primavera" of 1897 by a "Sogno d'un Tramonto d'Autunno"

and "La Gioconda," of such importance that I cannot help giving a few words to them here.

These two plays show a great advance upon those of the previous year. They have, to be sure, some of the same defects. The author intrudes himself upon the action, making narrative of the stage directions, so that in the representation much of his intention would be missed by the spectator who did not follow the play with book in hand. And then, in the dialogue, the style is the same for all; there is no attempt to differentiate the personages by their manner of speech. They all talk D'Annunzian, than which, it must be confessed, no prose could be more exquisite. I have tried on former occasions to do justice to its quality, and it was never more flowing, more musical, more perfectly finished than here. And, after all, harmonious prose does not necessarily stifle movement and passion: D'Annunzio gives another proof of this in one and the other of these plays. The "Sogno d'un Mattino di Primavera" was only a dream, lovely in its shadowiness, but too utterly impalpable to awaken any deep sympathy. The "Sogno d'un Tramonto d'Autunno," though "of the stuff that dreams are made of," is yet animated by a breath of passionate life. It is also remarkable in that there are two actions, one before the eyes of the spectator, and the other concealed, but, by an ingenious artifice, both are made to move together to a united catastrophe. "La Gioconda" is a yet finer work. There is in it, especially in the first and third acts, evidence of dramatic power of no common order. Unhappily, the second act is not of equal force, and, from the point of view of the theatre, the fourth is useless. Needless to say that in itself it contains rare beauties. A remarkable picturesqueness characterizes all these plays. The "Mattino di Primavera" is like a modern picture in which willowy and pallid damsels are set in a harmony of tender greens, forming a scene of romantic loveliness. Other readers than myself will probably be reminded by it of Rossetti and Burne-Jones. A hot light and a parched land are the image left in the memory by the "Città Morta." The riches of a Venetian palette are expended upon the "Tramonto d'Autunno," while the "Gioconda" has all the delicacy and distinction of the Tuscan landscape and art.

And, coming finally to the novels, I must begin with a work that can be called a novel only by courtesy; but I cannot omit all mention of a book that has given me so much pleasure. Indeed, "La Carrozza di Tutti" of the veteran Edmondo De Amicis is capable of giving honest enjoyment to many. The sale of it is a proof of this; the works of no other Italian are disseminated so widely, and the thousands of "La Carrozza di Tutti" already make a respectable figure in the advertised lists of the author's successes. The book is occupied with the observations made month by month throughout an entire year on the different tramway lines of Turin. "The eye sees what it carries with it the power of seeing," and De Amicis is above all an amiable optimist, with facile smile and equally facile tear. But he is not blind, for all that; the little romances he follows, with his notes and comments on them, make up an excellent bedside book; and the delicate naïveté of the following passage shows that the pervading optimism is by no means of the stu-

pid sort. It relates to a spectacle of cruelty to animals:

"'What a child is man!' I said to him, directing his attention to the sight. And he, pointing out to me the three poor horses that the carters kept on whipping pitilessly, answered with his usual sneer, 'Child and wild beast'; then added, in a tone of irritation, 'You never see but the one half of human nature!' Strange! at those words I experienced a case of two-fold consciousness: the man was pleased with them—thinking, 'And so much the better!'—but the writer was offended, and, alas! the pleasure faded away after a moment; the resentment is not yet dead."

The opportunity has been good for making acquaintance with the younger writers, and with some of those who have hitherto passed unobserved behind the brilliant phalanx to the fore. There are plenty under both categories, the days being past when Italians read only French fiction, and the demand being sufficient to stimulate a brisk home production. It would be hard to say whether the average of it be higher or lower than that of other countries, but I may own that the ordinary reading—that of the rank and file—seems to me a trifle more dreary than usual. These young Italians take themselves too seriously, and their touch is rarely light. They are not quite so Zolaist as their predecessors, but the psychological analysis is still in fashion, and two at least of the cleverest works are among its victims.

"Il Vecchio" of Ugo Ojetti is one of these. The author, a young man, was sent by the *Corriere della Sera* as special correspondent to America during the late war. His letters, since published in book form, showed more than ordinary abilities. He no doubt left a pleasant memory of himself with many Americans, who probably did not suspect what a fund of gloom he had in him to lavish on his first novel. The subject is an old man of sixty-three years (when Sig. Ojetti shall have reached that age himself, he may find that he should have made his *Vecchio* some years older), who, having lost his wife, broods upon his own approaching death until, by indulgence in the one idea, he precipitates the catastrophe he fears. Of course, as the subject is outside of the possible experience of youth, the study is to be taken as a mere *tour de force*. Still, the novel is a remarkable one, and may be accepted especially as a promise of future (let us hope less dismal) good things.

The other victim is "L'Ecca" of Ottorino Novati, also a young man. This book, like the preceding, is, notwithstanding its rivulet of action coursing through broad meadows of verbiage (description and analysis), perfectly readable. Its worst defect is a note of romantic exaggeration that is repeated from beginning to end. With "L'Ecca" one should not fail to read "L'Anello" of Ugo Fleres, which, by an odd fatality, is occupied with the same subject, by no means a common one. In each a man of mediocre abilities, through the death of a friend of unrecognized genius, is left with an opera in his hands. This he gets represented as his own (in neither case quite intentionally), and gains sudden fame and consequent chastisement. Notwithstanding thus much of identity, the two novels are very different one from another, and both can be read with interest.

The besetting difficulty of these psychological novels is, naturally, that the life of the characters gets lost under the accumulated

mass of descriptive touches. You have an encyclopædic knowledge of the personages, but they remain for all that little better than mere abstractions. This is perhaps less the case with the "Anello" than with the other two books, but, even after that, it is refreshing to take up a volume by one of the older and well-known writers, Luigi Capuana, and live for awhile in an atmosphere of clearness and brightness. In the "Nuove 'Paesane,'" a collection of stories of men and women in a small Sicilian town, it is wonderful what vivacity and relief is given to the figures by the light touch and abundant humor of the author. The work of Sig. Capuana has not always been so much to my taste, but such stories as these, and those in a former volume also entitled "Paesane," more than atone for such greivous feats as his two principal novels, "Giacinta" and "La Sfinge."

And at the last moment, since I began writing these lines, has come into my hands "La Bufera" of Edoardo Calandra, a story of Piedmontese life at the end of the eighteenth century, but so fresh, so true, so living that it has nothing of the air of an historical novel. We all know in our weariness those studio models, dressed in the costumes of another age, and posturing in something like what Alice would have called "Anglo-Saxon attitudes." Sig. Calandra's story of this particular sequel of the French Revolution seems recounted by one of the actors. The success is such that I have no hesitation not only in assigning it a place at the head of the year's production, but in ranking it high among contemporary Italian novels.

And while we are engaged with such good things as "La Bufera" and the *novelle* of Sig. Capuana, it is well to mention a story, "Le Tentazioni," by Grasia Deledda, which appeared in the last number for the year of the *Nuove Antologie*. If one may judge from her name, the author would seem to be a Sardinian, and she paints the world in which she lives with an almost classical breadth and simplicity of touch. "Le Tentazioni" is said to be the first of a series of nine stories, all having their scene laid in Sardinia. With the author's pleasant manner of narration and the advantage of a field well-nigh unexplored, it will be strange if the series be not rich in entertainment for us.

The stories of Lieutenant A. Olivieri Sangiacomo bear the martial stamp. Written somewhat *alla buona*, and of an intellectual order that does not exclude the commonplace, they are still very interesting when they are concerned with the soldier's life in the barracks and in the world outside. The soldier is a good fellow, who loves amusement and good cheer, and gets a fair share of both in the face of untoward circumstances; his affairs of the heart are mostly of an irregular order. The Italian officer of to-day is a less noisy if not more exemplary person than his Irish colleague of fifty years ago, and offers perhaps a less brilliant figure for light literature, but he is not bad company, for all that, and his acquaintance is worth making. Some earlier performances of Sig. Sangiacomo show that he does well to stick to the regiment; in the volume of last year, "La Vita nell'Esercito," the chapters devoted to a mere description of soldierly ways and doings are far more interesting than the prepared stories. Hitherto the Lieutenant has given us booklets in size, but he has recently come out with an imposing novel of 569 pages, entitled "Il 101° Fanteria."

The story of the 101st of the Line is the best thing he has yet done.

Angelo Silvio Novaro, already author of several volumes, published last year a new edition of a former tale, 'Il Libro della Pietà,' which in its simplicity seems so like a bit of autobiography that it might well deceive even an old novel-reader into thinking it one. Towards the end, however, little evidences of arrangement reveal it as fiction.

In all these novels, excepting the martial ones of Sangiacomo—where, however, the not infrequent dalliance with Venus is so much a thing by the way, a thing inherent in garrison life, that you pass it over as inevitable and therefore to be borne with—there is a cheering absence of insistence on the relations of the heroine with a man who is not, and never can be, her husband. Hence a variety of themes (there are ten commandments, and only one of them is the seventh) that goes far to lighten the task of the reader. Fancy having to wade through consecutively a score of French novels of a certain period and a certain school! It was much experience of such things that led me, when I found in the preface of 'Gente di Chiesa,' by Carlo Del Balzo, that he warns the reader not to mistake the writer's purpose, which is highly moral, to brace myself to the perusal. Of course I was introduced to a world that needed a good deal of scourging. One cannot say that such a world does not exist—indeed, the component parts of it may all be allowed; it is only, as in *pot-bouille*, upon the combination of them upon one scene that one throws doubt. The book belongs to a series of studies of contemporary manners called 'I Devianti.' Granting the point of view of these studies, the purpose to depict the sheep which have gone astray, the present showing is far from uninteresting. I would gladly say as much for 'La Verginità' of Enrico Corradini, exclusively occupied as it is with infractions of that most abused of commandments, but differing from many of its sort in that the author's purpose is not so much to inculcate a lofty morality as to produce a work of art. The gain in amusement is not perceptible.

S. K.

Correspondence.

"YOU-UNS."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of June 8 Miss Earle asks:

"Where do the two expressions come from? 'You-uns,' as I have already said, is heard among people of pure English descent who use many archaic expressions dating back to Shakspeare and the earlier English writers; but has any one ever seen 'you-uns' in early English?"

An example of its literary use, as I have pointed out elsewhere, may be seen in an early English classic, Tyndale's Translation of the New Testament (1526), Matt. III., 9: "And se that *ye ons* thinke not to say in yourselves, We have Abraham to oure father" (Bosworth and Waring).

A lady who lived several years in Lancaster County, Va., tells me that "we-dem" and "you-dem" are very common expressions among the people there, but that the better educated, who affect to be more "proper," say, "we-them" and "you-them."

I am familiar with the language of the people in southeast Virginia, where I was

born and reared, but I never heard in my life "we-uns" and "you-uns" there or in any other part of the State; nor have I ever heard "you-all" used with reference to one person.

EDWARD A. ALLEN.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI, June 12, 1899.

"YOUSE."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Akin to the use of "you-all" and "you-uns" discussed in your columns is the use in northern New Hampshire, by native New Englanders, of "youse" in the sense of yours. I have observed this more commonly in the country than in the villages, from sturdy, substantial, though not educated, farmers. I have also heard it used in the plural, as "I am glad yous are here."

G.

CHICAGO.

"DONE."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The interesting correspondence in the *Nation* concerning the use of "you-all" and "you-uns," emboldens me to call attention to the use of another form of the Afro-English tongue, occasionally found in dialect stories. I refer to the word "done." I have sometimes seen the expression, "I's gwine done," meaning "I am going to do," whereas, in real life, I believe, the negro never uses the word "done" except to express completed action. One frequently hears "I's done did it," and "I's done done it," but, during a residence of many years in Louisiana, I have never heard "I's gwine done do it."

Possibly the usage may vary in different localities, but such unfamiliar forms inspire one with the feeling once expressed, in my hearing, by a person who said, "I don't like dialect stories, because I'm always afraid the writer is 'playing it low' on me."

Very respectfully yours,

CLARA BOISE BUSH.

NEW ORLEANS, June 13, 1899.

Notes.

A well-printed volume by William Scott, entitled 'Rock Villages of the Riviera' (London: Adam & Charles Black; New York: Macmillan), is an account of a number of villages in the mountain valleys back of Bordighera. Compared with the French Riviera, the Italian is but scantily represented in literature, and any contribution towards supplying a need is welcome. The obvious criticism to be made on the present book, which is pleasantly written and prettily illustrated with reproductions of sketches by the author, is that, in the great number of similar villages scattered along the Riviera, a wider choice, and more of history than is to be found in the municipal records of expenses, would give far greater value to the work. As the author himself sees how much he has left undone, he may yet publish the result of further researches. Would it be vain to wish that he may furnish for this coast a companion book to Lenthéric's 'Providence Maritime'?

A very elaborate study of 'Local Variations in Wages,' in England, has been made by Mr. F. W. Lawrence, and is published by Longmans, Green & Co. in the series issued by the London School of Economics and Politi-

cal Science. The investigation undertaken was confined to certain parts of England and Wales, and limited to industries in which the time-work system prevails. From the figures procured, however, only the meagrest generalizations are attainable. We find that wages are higher in large towns, where industries are active and diversified, than in small and decaying communities. We see that when a high rate of wages prevails in one trade in a certain town, a high rate prevails in the other trades in that town. We observe that where wages are high, house rents are high; that common laborers' wages vary like those of artisans; that there is much difference between the rate of wages in the east of England and that in the north. These conclusions are not new: Adam Smith stated them a century ago, and his explanations of the phenomena are still satisfactory. Mr. Lawrence's industry is certainly commendable, and the figures that he has collected may be of service to those interested in economic speculations; but, for the practical purposes of the statesman, his labors will hardly be of much value.

Among recent publications relating to international law, the second edition of a valuable official manual issued from the Government Printing-Office should not be overlooked. It is described as a Manual "based upon lectures delivered at the Naval War College by Freeman Snow," and is "prepared and arranged for publication, by the direction of the Navy Department," by Commander C. H. Stockton. A course of lectures by Dr. Snow had been arranged for and partly delivered in 1894, but was brought to an end by the unexpected death of the lecturer before the termination of the course. With the aid of the manuscript and notes left by Dr. Snow, Commander Stockton prepared the present manual, the first edition of which was rapidly exhausted. It is arranged by subjects, the original divisions by lectures having been abandoned. The three parts come under the familiar heads of Peace, War, Belligerency and Neutrality. The book is designed mainly as a hand-book for naval officers in the discharge of their duties, and for this purpose is extremely well adapted. It also contains so much discussion as is necessary of the general principles of international law. It is a standard work, of the highest authority, and a model of compactness.

Since the decision by the Supreme Court at Washington of the railroad "anti-trust" cases, the commerce clause of the Federal Constitution has attracted more and more the attention of legal writers. It has been made the subject of an elaborate treatise by E. Parmelee Prentice and John G. Egan (Chicago: Callaghan & Co.), in which the recent decisions are carefully reviewed. If the authors have not been enabled to reach any satisfactory conclusions as to the principles of law formulated by our highest tribunal, the fault must not be laid at their door. They say—and we have said the same thing ourselves—that "if the statement of the doctrine given by the courts be accepted literally, and every contract which in any degree restricts interstate commerce be illegal, it would seem that the formation of partnerships or corporations would be forbidden"; and they add, "As a practical matter no such application of the statute is possible."

The authorship of the 'Text-book of Anatomy by American Authors' (Lea Brothers

& Co.) represents the anatomical departments of six medical colleges. The bones and veins are treated by Woolsey (Cornell); the nerves, eye, nose, and skin by Keiller (Texas); embryology by McMurrich (Michigan); the arteries by Bevan (Rush, affiliated with the University of Chicago); the reproductive organs by Stewart (University and Bellevue); while Gerrish (Medical School of Maine) has edited the whole and contributed the remaining articles, viz., elementary tissues, muscles, heart, lymphatics, central nervous system, tongue, organs of digestion and respiration, urinary system, ductless glands, regional anatomy and practical anatomy; likewise, a twenty-page "Introduction," which, in substance and style, merits independent publication. The book is not so much for the investigator as for the student and practitioner; they will find what they want stated clearly and accurately, and illuminated by figures unusual in number and quality, many of them colored. The nomenclature is remarkably consistent, and exemplifies the current tendency towards simplification. In short, the veteran anatomists who hailed the first edition of "Gray" as students forty years ago, can best appreciate the welcome their pupils of to-day will give to "Gerrish."

The fourth volume of the 'Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche Volk' (History of the Netherlands People), by Prof. P. J. Blok of Leyden, from the press of J. B. Wolters of Groningen, is to hand. As an English translation is in progress, we need make no further mention of the Dutch text, except to state that the years covered in this volume are those of the Great Truce, between the Netherlands and Spain, from 1609 to 1619, and also the time of Prince Frederick Henry, closing with the Peace of Münster and the end of the Eighty Years' War in 1648. Besides text and notes, are the usual excellent map, index, and appended chapter on the sources of Dutch history. The time of the Great Truce is one worthy of the examination of the student of the Pilgrim Fathers of New England and of all students of federal government. The cool and luminous treatment by Prof. Blok of the duel between Maurice and Barneveldt, and the real questions at issue between the Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants, contrasts strongly with the heat and partisanship of Motley. The time of Prince Henry was that of "our golden lion," as the Dutch say. Besides other interesting features, we have much light thrown on the beginnings of Dutch enterprise in the Far East and the later expansion of Holland's commerce. Prof. Blok does not forget to notice the energy and goodness of the women of the House of Orange, especially of Amalia von Solms, whose memorial to her husband is that House in the Woods in which, to-day, representatives of many nations are meeting in the spirit of that stadholder, Frederick Henry, whose ambitions were almost wholly peaceful.

The Association of Collegiate Alumni proposes to secure annual subscriptions from its members and friends to the amount of \$5,000, which sum is to be devoted to the "systematic collection and serviceable arrangement" of various kinds of information in regard to educational matters, especially such as bear upon the immediate interests of college women. Among the ways in which it is designed to use this fund are the preparation of lists of fellowships and scholarships open to women, a continuation of the

study of the health of woman college graduates, the keeping up to date of the bibliography of the higher education of woman already published, and others which naturally group themselves about these. There are two topics which, it would seem, should be of special interest in this connection: the scientific and literary work actually accomplished by the college graduate, and the disappointing character of the remuneration received by her as a teacher.

Much space is well and deservedly devoted, in the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* for June, to President Eliot, on occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of his incumbency—the longest but one in the history of the University. It appears, from a reprinted article by the late Judge Richardson, that Mr. Eliot, while still teaching at Harvard, was tempted with an offer to become superintendent of the mills of the Merrimack Manufacturing Co. He wisely declined, in favor, as fate would have it, of a chance to preside over what Lowell called "the Muses' factories" of his alma mater. Next in interest is the sketch of the life of the late Edward Austin, one of Harvard's most liberal recent benefactors, though himself not a graduate nor a college man. Mr. Austin's portrait accompanies the account of him. Noticeable is the scheme for retiring and pensioning instructors to go into effect on September 1; and so is the action of the Board of Overseers recommending that history be not dropped as one of the requirements for admission. The present month witnesses the publication of the first number of the *Radcliffe Magazine*, founded primarily "to publish the best written work" of actual and former students, so far as discoverable. It will be a quarterly.

In the *American Journal of Archaeology* for November-December, 1898, one observes in the report of Prof. Clement L. Smith, Director of the American School in Rome, how the world moves. The women were an obstacle to obtaining permits to the Vatican and Lateran museums for the students of the School, but the hesitation of the pontifical authorities was overcome "through the good offices of Monsignor O'Connell, Rector of the American College." However, the women, by exception, were at first cut off from the Galleria Lapidaria on certain days when it regularly becomes a thoroughfare to the Borgia rooms; but this restriction quickly disappeared. The Germans first tested the question of the admissibility of women to the Vatican Library for the collating of manuscripts, a settlement being reached by placing these students in a large and less convenient ante-room.

Close upon the appearance of the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester in October, 1898, in which Dr. Edward Everett Hale reports upon the approaching publication of the late Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull's dictionaries of the language of the Massachusetts Indians, comes a re-issue of Montague Chamberlain's 'Maliseet Vocabulary' (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Co-operative Society), with an introduction by Prof. Ganong of Smith College. The Maliseets, to be sure, were not strictly a Massachusetts tribe even in the larger sense that embraced Maine; but they were akin to Passamaquoddies, Penobscots, and Kennebecs. From the Micmacs to the east of their habitat, the St. John River valley, they were separated by linguistic differences, and in fact owe to them their derisive name of Maliseets (Stammerers, Broken-Speech). This

name includes a liquid *l* which, with *r*, is unused by them, though they have sometimes been called also Marasheetas. They still exist and are slightly increasing in numbers, but mixture with the Acadians has destroyed their purity of blood. Mr. Chamberlain's vocabulary, one of three extant, is very interesting, especially for the section of place names, and that of words adopted from contact with the whites. As, in Revolutionary days, Americans were in France called Bostonians, so the Maliseets made Pas-tan'-ki, United States, Pas-ta'-ni, an American, from Pas'-tan, Boston.

In the article "Les Paysans aux Salons de 1899" in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for May 15, M. de La Sizeranne, after speaking discriminatingly of the peasants of Millet, Jules Breton, and Lhermitte, indulges in a digression to show that the peasant is a fit subject for the painter's brush rather than the novelist's pen. The best French writers have either lent to their peasants traits of sentimental idealism, or represented them under the aspect of a grotesque and vulgar realism. Not so those artists of the brush who have devoted themselves to the study of rural life. Love of woman is the *leitmotif* of the French novel, but the French peasant's great passion is the "passion of the soil"; the novel thrives on adventure, while no life is more monotonous than the peasant's, partaking as it does of the immovability, the unchangeableness of the picture. The novelist, to convince us of the charms of his shepherdess, makes her speak in "fine grammatical phrases with plenty of subjunctives, while the painter needs but a ray of sunshine." In short, it is the limitation of the two arts of poetry and painting which, in the case of peasant life, favors the pictorial artist: "The poet's means of expression is a succession of images, the painter's, their simultaneousness." These words, quoted from Delacroix, are really to be traced to Lessing, and we doubt not that the author of the Essay on the Laocöon would gladly have admitted M. de La Sizeranne's remarks among his own illustrations of that thesis.

The discontinuance of the Woman's Medical College in this city marks an important moment in the progress of civilization. In 1847 the first woman, Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, was admitted to a medical school; in 1857 she, with her sister, Emily, and Dr. Zackrzewska, a young Polish lady, whose talent as a teacher of midwifery in Berlin had led to her coming to this country to study medicine, opened a medical school for women; that is, they rented a house, No. 64 Bleeker Street, and fitted it up as a hospital "where both patients and young assistant physicians could be received." Less than fifty years later the opposition to women studying medicine in the same colleges with men has been so completely overcome, and the Johns Hopkins Medical School and that of Cornell offer such admirable instruction, that there is no longer occasion to provide separate opportunities for women. So hard a struggle as this was in the beginning has seldom met with such rapid and such complete success.

A notable publication of the Boston Public Library is 'A Selected Bibliography of the Anthropology and Ethnology of Europe,' by Prof. William Z. Ripley, whose 'Races of Europe' is the consummation of researches leading up to the Bibliography. The list is broader than its title implies, for Western Asia and Northern Africa have been in-

cluded, along with the Finns and Mongols of the Russian Empire; and while it reveals the richness of the Boston Library in this literature, it is not confined to that collection. The arrangement is by authors, and under each his works are displayed chronologically, with obvious convenience of reference and of criterion. Prof. Ripley's index is partly analytic, and gives such help as, under Greece, against the several authors' names, the leading topic—anthropology, color, crania, language, archaeology, Pelasgians, Tyrrhenians.

Attention should be drawn to the topographic maps of New York and New England which the United States Geological Survey at Washington places within everybody's reach. Upwards of 70 of New York and 134 of New England (the three Southern States complete) have been issued, each an atlas-sheet 16½x20 inches, covering one-sixteenth of a "square degree," or about 220 square miles, and designated from the principal town or other features. The hill features are shown by contour lines. The cost per sheet is five cents, or (in quantity of 100 or upwards) two cents. A revised map of New York and vicinity is also ready, costing fifty cents. The price should be sent to the Director in exact cash or by postal order. A map index to the completed sheets will be furnished on application.

—Mr. Augustus Peabody Loring of the Boston bar is the author of a 'Trustee's Handbook,' published in convenient form by Little, Brown & Co., Boston. In two hundred pages he has stated, simply and concisely, the rules which govern the management of trust estates, and the relationship existing between the trustee and beneficiary. The arrangement of the book is somewhat peculiar, Part I. being devoted to "The Trustee as an Individual," and Part II. to "The Individual as Trustee," Part III. to "The Beneficiary," and Part IV. to "Interstate Law"; but wherever we have examined it, we have found it full of valuable and condensed information, such as a trustee needs to have within easy reach. Trusts are and always have been one of the most difficult branches of the law, and there is no sign of their becoming simpler as time goes on. Yet, curiously enough, the compensation of trustees seems to be gradually becoming smaller and smaller, partly through statutory rules and partly through the competition of corporations, such as trust companies, which can afford to discharge the duties of trusts at a much lower rate than individuals can. Perhaps in time we shall find out that the best rule for family trusts is the old English one—that trustees should be paid nothing at all. The effect of this is that family trusts are taken care of by the immediate relatives or the beneficiary for love and affection, and that only attorneys, men of business, agents, and brokers are paid fees and commissions. The great advantage of this system, where it is practicable, is that unnecessary expenses are saved, and our practice of screwing down trustees to the lowest market rate avoided. Trustees who take charge of a trust from some disinterested motive are usually far better than trustees who undertake it at the lowest living wage.

—The dawn of the sociological era in Christian missions has been welcomed by many who are not friends of the propaganda of the Christian (or, indeed, of any) faith in its merely dogmatic form. Probably the

most important literary monument in proof of this change of trend, both in the propagandists and in the active supporters of them, is seen in Dr. James S. Dennis's book, 'Christian Missions and Social Progress,' of which the second volume is now out (Fleming H. Revell Co.). With the usual reinforcement and illumination of the text by abundant reproduction of photographs, the proofs of social improvements under alien assistance and industrial stimulus seem very real. Another volume is to deal with statistics of every sort. Dr. Dennis treats in volume II. of that which is the first task of missions—the creation of a new type of personal character, and the inspiration of the individual for the benefit of the mass, as the true genesis of the social conscience. He shows also the work of Christian missionaries in the making of a new public opinion, the promotion of education and the intellectual life of non-Christian races, and in awakening not only the philanthropic spirit, but new national aspirations and higher conceptions of government. He treats of temperance reform, deliverance from the opium habit and other forms of slavery to drugs, and with such themes as gambling, personal purity, self-mutilation, the arrest of pessimistic and suicidal tendencies, and the cultivation of habits of industry and frugality. He deals strongly and clearly with reforms affecting family life, the abolition of slavery, cannibalism, human sacrifices, ordeals, foot-binding, and the mitigation of the brutalities of war. A careful examination of this volume reveals few if any signs of haste, while the method, arrangement, and abundant notes and references keep it fully up to the standard set in the first. Yet, even with the prospectus of the third volume before us, there is one important omission. From observation in the mission field and after long reflection, we are persuaded that one of the very best of the good things which Christian missions can and ought to do is to stimulate the native or ethnic religions—often intellectually stagnant or indurated in priestcraft—to philanthropic activity. In Turkey, Japan, and India this has been done, in calling for deeper intellectual apprehension and clearer statement, with purging and rejection of hurtful or offensive features, and the creation or development of active charity and benevolence. These excellent fruits are visible, and are worthy of treatment in a work devoted to social progress through the improvement of men's nobler powers. Unless all signs fail, the old religions must work with the newer one in the bettering of the world; while traditional Christianity, overlaid with European and mediæval accretions, must itself revert wholesomely to the standard set by the Founder.

—'Odysseus als Afrikaumsegler und Amerikaentdecker' (Leipzig: Kock) a seventy-page pamphlet with plates and map, is a recent addition to the literature of the Homeric poems. The author, who writes under the name of "Eumaios der göttliche Bauhirt und exacte Altertumsforscher," complains that the accepted idea of the wisdom and resourcefulness of Ulysses precludes the possibility of thinking that that hero wandered for ten years in a sea so small as the Mediterranean. He accordingly strikes out a new course, which takes the much-wandering man through the straits of Gibraltar and thence along Africa to the Lotus-eaters in Gambia,

to the Cyclopes, whose dwelling-place he puts by the Bight of Biafra, to the Laestrygonians in Patagonia, "where some inventive Yankee may yet raise his sunken fleet." The Isle of Circe he identifies with the Cape of Good Hope. Hence, along Trinacria, which must be Madagascar, to the land of the Phæacians, which is no other than Aden, through the Red Sea, he makes his way home to Ithaca, which lies in Sicily. Each place the author identifies by a comparison of Homer's description and that of some modern writer, usually Ratzel or Darwin. His etymologies of place-names in support of his theory are not unlike some others that are met with in soberer works of learning. The travesty upon the methods of certain scholarly investigators is evident, and falls in with other examples of theoretical works on Homer. Some, as we know, have found in the poems an allegory of the fall of Jericho, while others have made Homer identical with Solomon simply by reading the letters OMHPOI from right to left. Even the carved sarcophagus of Homer was found about 1770 in the island Ios and carried to St. Petersburg. Le Chevalier is at once called to mind by this work of "Eumaios." In 1829 this French scholar, under the name Constantine Kollades, brought out his 'Ulysses-Homer,' in which he identified the localities of the poems, and argued that Ulysses and Homer were one and the same, the husband of Penelope. It also proposed the erection of a monument at Ithaca, with the inscription, ΟΔΥΣΣΕΥΣ. ΟΜ. ΗΡΟΞ, to be interpreted as "Odysseus, Hero and likewise Poet." This book created great excitement among scholars at the time, and was vigorously refuted by Latronne in the *Journal des Savants*, evidently so much to the author's gratification that he at once, in 1832, published a supplement, which Latronne again attempted to refute. So one Kephala, pretending to be a sailor, published in Constantinople about 1830 a book of more than 200 pages, aiming to show that Homer's fatherland was Ithaca. Samuel Butler's argument (London, 1897) that Nausicaa was the author of the 'Odyssey' might also be mentioned. As "Eumaios" well says: "There is a point in the investigation of the past where theories become merely a question of taste."

—The *Frankfurter-Zeitung* recently published some interesting facts regarding the extent to which the anti-German tendencies prevailing in dominant political circles are working to the serious detriment of the Austrian universities. There had been all along an exchange and interchange of teaching-faculty between the German faculties of these universities and those of Germany, but ever since the ministry of Count Taaffe the Austrian authorities have frowned on this custom, and have tried to keep German professors out of Austria. Thus, when the Vienna faculty lately proposed the names of three Germans as candidates for the professorship of German law, after the only really worthy representative of this department to be found in all Austria had declined, the Minister of Education rejected all three, and, without further consultation with the faculty, appointed to this position the Roman Catholic Baron Schwind of Innsbruck, generally regarded as unworthy of a chair in the university of the capital of the Empire, but who is the special favorite of the clerical Leo Society. Some years ago the authorities began to withhold a certain amount of the lecture fees from the professors, in order to use the fund thus collected as a means of

securing the services of specially brilliant men from Germany, but the Finance Minister now emphatically vetoes the use of the money for such a purpose, and the University is accordingly impotent. On the other hand, the Government is exerting a pressure on the Germans already in the Austrian faculties and showing its willingness to have them go. Not long ago the famous philologist Marx received a call to the University of Leipzig, and, in accordance with an old academic custom, desired to lay this invitation before the Minister for final decision. The latter, however, flatly refused to receive him in this matter, and as the Saxon Minister had in person gone to Vienna to see Prof. Marx, the latter at once decided to go to Leipzig. Shortly afterwards the professor of Roman law in Vienna, Dr. Mittels, also received a call to Leipzig, and, having learned wisdom by the experience of his colleague, at once, and without consulting the Austrian authorities, accepted. The Germans, on the other hand, have not been slow to see which way the wind is blowing in the university government of Austria, and, if called, simply refuse to accept. In this way Prof. Crusius of Heidelberg promptly declined the call to the chair made vacant by the departure of Prof. Marx. The *Beilage* of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of Munich, while giving a slightly but not materially different report of the Mittels affair, draws attention to a number of other cases in which Germans in Austrian university faculties have been practically driven from their positions.

—In the Shakesperian progress at Smith College the "senior dramatics" last week embraced "A Winter's Tale," for the first time. The merits and the shortcomings of the performance did not differ materially from those observable in former years, and to some extent inseparable from the work of amateurs. As usual, the female parts were better done than the male, and those of *Hermione* and *Perdita* are so lovely in themselves that, when adequately presented, as they were with slight exception in this case, they atoned for all deficiencies, and made the total impression most pleasurable. It was once more demonstrated that native breeding and refinement such as we expect to find in women's colleges, may challenge comparison on the stage with the art of professional actors. This was manifest especially in the scene of *Hermione's* yielding to the order for her arrest and sequestration, with its pathetic tableaux. Bodily grace and charm, again, had their customary triumph in the pastoral drama of which *Perdita* was the delightful central figure. Comedy took second place with a clever *Antiochus*, and this too we are used to look for. It would be idle to weigh this representation against the "Much Ado About Nothing" of last year, or "The Merchant of Venice," or "A Midsummer Night's Dream." There will, we trust, be repetitions hereafter (as the list of available plays comes to an end), before the tradition of past successes fades, and while it is possible to improve upon the memory of them. It is enough, with each new effort, to answer affirmatively and emphatically the question, Was it worth while?—as they must who witnessed the latest "senior dramatics."

RECENT ENGLISH POETRY.

A sad doom of incompleteness and insufficiency appears to haunt the English

poets of to-day. It has left nothing of Oscar Wilde's early promise but a hideous jail scene, it has turned Thomas Hardy's cheery Wessex life into a gloomy hymn, and it has perhaps reached its culmination in Watson's "Collected Poems" (Lane). This book is, unlike that called "Poems" (Macmillan, 1893), a deliberately collected reprint of what the author wishes to keep before the public. He has excluded, wisely enough, the whole of the "Prince's Quest" and "The Eloping Angels," and most of his "Epigrams"; and has included most of the contents of his later volumes except the "Year of Shame," here represented, strangely, by what he calls "a small selection"—namely, nine poems, and these by no means the strongest, out of the original twenty-six. He also gives but about half of the "Sonnets" published in 1885 under the title of "Ver Tenebrosum," and of these he says guardedly "that they need not be taken as in each case accurately reflecting his present opinions upon events of that year, but are retained for the sake of such purely literary interest for certain of his readers." It is needless, after this, for him to add that he "can lay claim to no obstinate consistency of view" (p. viii). His readers will require no further evidence of this disavowal. If any English poet since Southey has more distinctly struck the flag of early independence it is Mr. William Watson; and when we consider the ordinary mediocrity of his verse, and that his temporary attitude of political protest was all on which his prestige really rested, there seems no reason why he should not take rank henceforth by the side of Mr. Alfred Austin, and even succeed him in office.

This short "Prelude" perhaps writes his epitaph better than any one else could have phrased it (p. 55):

The mighty poets from their flowing store
Dispense like casual alms the careless ore;
Through throngs of men their lonely way they go,
Let fall their costly thoughts, nor seem to know.—
Not mine the rich and showering hand, that strews
The facile largess of a stilted Muse.
A fitful presence, seldom tarrying long,
Capriciously she touches me to song—
Then leaves me to lament her flight in vain,
And wonder will she ever come again.

The volume is fitly enough dedicated to Lord Rosebery, who among English statesmen comes nearest to what Mr. Watson has at last proved himself to be in literature, a voice without a hand.

The book attributed to Oscar Wilde, as already mentioned, "The Ballad of Reading Gaol," by C.3.3. (Tucker), is so essentially powerful that it bids fair to secure a distressing immortality. Next to it, or beyond it, in haunting and tragic painfulness is "Saint Sebastian," in Mr. Thomas Hardy's "Wessex Poems, and Other Verses" (Harper's). The poem addressed to a lady offended by the writings of the author (p. 161) will have a special interest for his admirers as showing him not unconscious of criticism. Nothing weak could ever come from Mr. Hardy, but it is needless to say that the book needs a glossary for such words as *barton*, *church-kay*, *coll*, *covecase*, *knap*, *lumped*, *lynchets*, *tallet*, *tardle*, *thirtover*, and the like. The rough drawings will have fascination for many, and the closing poem may possibly let us farther into the author's heart than anything else in the book:

I look into my glass,
And view my wasting skin,
And say, "Would God it came to pass
My heart had shrunk as this!"

For then, I, undistressed
By hearts grown cold to me,
Could lonely wait my endless rest
With equanimity.

But Time, to make me grieve,
Part steals, lets part abide;
And shakes this fragile frame at eve
With throbbings of noontide.

Few bibliographers have ever demonstrated so thoroughly that a preface may be better than a book, as this has been done by Mr. Richard Garnett (lately of the British Museum) in the case of Shelley's juvenile volume, "Original Poetry by Victor and Cazire." This book, first published in 1810, was vainly looked for during thirty-eight years until brought to light by Mr. John Lane, who possesses the only known copy of the original and now issues a reprint of it. The poems by "Cazire" were probably by Elizabeth Shelley. The verses at the worst are better than those to be found in Shelley's early novels. The poems addressed to Harriet Grove certainly confirm the impression that he really loved her—a fact which has been doubted by some biographers. "The Irishman's Song" shows that Shelley's liberal opinions set in early; and the editor's summing up may on the whole be considered reasonable, as follows: "It [the volume] is therefore of considerable interest apart from the romantic history which constitutes its chief claim to celebrity, and the rarity which gives it a unique place among Shelley's extant writings. Fervently as we hoped that a copy might one day be found, we must now hope with equal fervor that no one will ever find another." (P. 25.)

In any group of new English poetry one naturally turns first to any volume bearing the name of William B. Yeats, and the only disappointment in "The Wind Among the Reeds" (Lane) is, first, that it is a very small book, secondly, that some of the poems have been previously printed, and thirdly, that nearly half of it is in prose notes. Yet these last, it must be said, are so fascinating and so impregnated with Celtic visions that it is really hard to tell where the verse ends and the prose begins. Irish tradition is full of the spirits of the air, who journey in winds which set the leaves whirling on the road and make the country people bless themselves. The very mention of these will recall the author's previously published poems, "The Host of the Air" and "The Dream of O'Driscoll" beside the drear Hart Lake; but he tells his prose legends also so much like a poet, and so little like a folk-lorist, that one hardly misses the rhyme; while in his verses the lovers woo so romantically that, while they wish for the cloths of heaven to place beneath the feet of their darlings, they are ready to substitute their own dreams—and their dreams are just as good (p. 60).

AEDH WISHES FOR THE CLOTHS OF HEAVEN.

Had I the heavens' embroidered cloths,
Enwrought with golden and silver light,
The blue and the dim and the dark cloths
Of night and light and the half light,
I would spread the cloths under your feet;
But I, being poor, have only my dreams;
I have spread my dreams under your feet;
Tread softly because you tread on my dreams.

The "Poems" of A. Bernard Miall are not unfamiliar to the readers of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and once at least the author has shown vivid descriptive power, and reproduces, perhaps for the first time in literature, one of the most marked and peculiar sounds to be heard through the heat of summer (p. 124):

THE CIRCULAR SAW.

Because the high, long, dreary London wall
Vexed us, when we came to the open gate
Idly we turned aside, and suddenly stopped,

With eyes enchanted, with voices ready to call
One to the other for wonder: "Wait, O wait!"
Deep in a covered alley the hot sun dropped,
Slant, fierce, and mellow, between high stacks
Of yellow timber sweet: an alley where
Brown-muscled men bore upon balks of pine,
Urging them on to the saw, where they severed
like wax.

With a rising muffled scream, a triumphant blare,
Thrilling the throat and the bosom; and rich as a
wise

The scent of the spouting sawdust invaded the
place,

The soul of the magical forest, resinous, sweet,
Subtly invaded the desolate, sordid street.
But O, the wonder! for all the overshadowed space
Was thick with the floating dust, a haze there
grew,

A haze green-golden, full of the fire of the sun;
From a fountain of creamy fire that o'erbrimmed
it with gold

It gushed, in a lift of eddies, so shot through
With the further gloom that shadow and light in
one,

Like the ghost of a glorious opal famous of old,
Like the depths of a flickering ocean of sombre
green.

Curled and eddied, melted and licked and lapped,
Enwrapping the phantom workers, their faces
bright

In the liquid light so marvellously entrapped,
In the odorless whirling water imprisoned between
The resinous piles, a hive of fantastic light,
Dancing within itself and over the ground,
While ever the screaming, rending, blaring saw
spun round.

"The Silence of Love," by Edmond Holmes
(Lane), is the perhaps inappropriate title
of a volume containing fifty sonnets on the
subject indicated. They are in the Shaksperian
form, to which the later English son-
netters seem reverting, since Rossetti left
us—a tendency which we regret, especially
where they are, as here, to be grouped in
large numbers within a single volume. In
this collection however, there is much deep
feeling and some fine analysis of emotion, as
in the following (iv.):

"I may not love thee." "May not!" but I do:
This is my title to the crown of love,—
A title which each heart-beat doth renew,—
A title ancient as the stars above.
"I may not love thee." "May not!" but I must:
When Nature's mightiest forces are at play,
The ship, o'er-mastered by the whirling gust,
Forgets its course and wanders far astray.
"I may not love thee." "May not!" but I will:
My soul leaves thine and glories in love's name—
Itself its arbiter of good and ill—
Itself the well-spring of its ardent flame.
I may not love thee, my Beloved! but still
Love thee I do, I must, I ever will.

The sententious and serious mood of Mr.
F. B. Money-Coutts shows itself anew in
"The Alhambra, and Other Poems" (Lane),
but the want of the fluid and lyrical element
continues to make itself felt. The nearest
approach to this musical abandonment is to
be found in the closing verses, in which the
final words of Goethe's "Faust" are once
more interpreted (p. 76):

Follow the Woman Spirit! Onward and onward
soar,
Far from the chasing Demons! Hark to their baff-
led roar!
Follow the Woman Spirit, through the noxious
night,
Follow her, like the swallow, seeking for love and
light!

Let not the World entice thee! Push all its hands
aside!
Let this alone suffice thee; follow thy destined
bride!
There is none other guidance, there is none other
goal;
Follow her still-receding, heavenly-leading Soul!

Foulness and Folly pursue thee; fiercer than ei-
ther, Fame!
Envy, Hatred, and Malice—this is thy triple
name!
Flee, flee away for ever. Thorough the noxious
night,
Follow the Woman Spirit, seeking for Love and
Light!

The tendency of young English poets, as
of novelists, to put their work into a dra-
matic form is doubtless mainly due to the
vastly greater profit of the stage. As Mr.
Caine can easily set aside all literary cri-
ticisms upon "The Christian" in view of the

flattering returns of the box-office, so Mr.
John Davidson needs to care little for
other opinions on his "Godfrida" (Lane) pro-
vided he can bring down the house by such
a climax as this (p. 121):

Steward. Not in this region was my conqueror born.

[*He drives LAMBERT towards the window.*]

Lambert. Now! For Godfrida! Now! Help me, my
heart!

[*He is driven over the window mortally wounded, the
word "heart" being prolonged into a despairing shriek.*
Steward crosses quickly to the right and listens intently.
*GODFRIDA looks fearfully over the window, and then
runs to STWARD.*]

Mr. Davidson states in a prologue that
his primary object in writing this play was
"to give delight"; but his success in this
direction seems doubtful.

A far more interesting transfer of poetic
energies in the direction of the drama is to
be found in "Pan and the Young Shepherd,"
by Maurice Hewlett (Lane). Mr. Hewlett was
previously known as a pleasing semi-pastoral
poet, with a touch of George Darley about
him; we now have him transposed into a
writer of poetic drama with all the names
Greek or Latin, half the characters creatures
of the air and the other half of the raciest
mould of modern English peasant. How he
justified the combination to his conscience is
his affair, and if he is a conscious and de-
liberate imitator of Mr. Hardy, it detracts
from his merit; but certainly no one except
Hardy has given such a Shaksperian flavor to
his rustics. Here, for instance, is the auto-
biography of Geron, sheep-farmer of eighty,
laying down the rules of life to his grand-
son (p. 3):

"See here: I've made my own beer since I
could drink it; paid the size; size o' bread and
ale; multure o' mill; heartstead on the
Stinted Ground—that's solid, boy! That's
the free Commoner of Champney Valtort;
that's the respected man. Eight times Reeve;
Pinder for life! Churchwarden, moreover,
with a clear mind till the parson ups and
bids me turn to God. Turn to God! says I,
'tis for Him to turn to me, as the Testament
doth prove; and I never went near his church
from Hocktide unto Candlemas. That learned
him, likely; and no judgment yet for all my
eighty years. No, no, cleave to the sheep, boy,
and the sheep will cleave to you. . . .
And when your day comes, as come mine
must, take to your bed, boy, and face the
wall like a stolid Christian man."

The point where Mr. Hewlett goes beyond
Mr. Hardy is in painting the cowerdness of
corresponding vigor, Merla, who thus draws
her own portrait when in love (p. 50):

"I love him, shadow him, think day and
night upon him. Do I do a wrong, Mistress
Balkis, in speaking of this? I am lusty as
a steer; I could carry him up the fell on my
back; I have forty gold sovereigns in my
mother's broken tea-pot; I look better when
I'm drest for church; I can kill a pig; I
would lay down my life for him! Oh, oh,
oh! Speak to me for Heaven's pity."

It is a satisfaction that, after losing the
lover, she marries the god Pan and gets the
upper hand of him. "Merla doth not square
her jaw for nothing," as another admirer
says. A good Hardy passage is the remark
of one of the rustics caught out late at night:
"Sir, I stand avouched for a common narum-
scarum, overstreuous for years and station.
Yet the errand was good; 'fore the Lord, it
was honestly begun" (p. 121). Had this ap-
peared in America, the scene of the remark
might be suspected of being laid at Albany.

Alma Strettell, dear to many through her
previous book of translations, "The Bard
of the Dimbovitza," has brought a new Bel-
gian poet within English reach in "Poems by
Emile Verhaeren" (Lane). The earlier verses

are too sombre and pessimistic, perhaps, for
enjoyment, but they gradually rise into
strains of exquisite refinement and spiritual
beauty, reaching a climax in the closing
poem (p. 33):

SHE OF THE GARDEN.

In such a spot, with radiant flowers for halo,
I saw the Guardian Angel sit her down;
Vine-branches fashioned a green shrine about her,
And sun-flowers rose behind her like a crown.

Her fingers, their white slenderness encircled
With humble, fragile rings of coral round.
Held, ranged in couples, sprays of faithful roses
Sealed with a clasp, with threads of woollen
bound.

A shimmering air the golden calm was weaving.
All fligree'd with dawn, that like a braid
Surmounted her pure brow, which still was hidden
Half in the shade.

Woven of linen were her veil and sandals,
But, twined 'mid boughs of foliage, on their hem
The theologic Virtues Three were painted;
Hearts set about with gold encompassed them.

Her silken hair, slow rippling, from her shoulder,
Down to the mosses of the sward did reach;
The childhood of her eyes disclosed a silence
More sweet than speech.

My arms outstretched, and all my soul upstraining,
Then did I rise,
With haggard yearning, towards the soul suspended
There in her eyes.

Those eyes, they shone so vivid with remembrance
That they confessed days lived alike with me:
Oh, in the grave inviolate can it change, then,
The Long Ago, and live in the To Be?

Sure, she was one who, being dead, yet brought me,
Miraculous, a strength that comforteth,
And the Viatum of her survival
Guiding me from the further side of Death.

Another book of extremely interesting
translations is "Legends of the Saints," by the
Rev. G. R. Woodward of S. Barnabas Pimlico
(London: Kegan Paul). These are all trans-
lated from German sources generally unfam-
iliar, though one is from the "Knaben
Wunderhorn" and one from Chamisso. Most
of them are quaint, some fresh and sweet,
none being more so than the following, by
Helmine Von Chezy (p. 48):

JESUS AND THE MOSS.

Deep in the hollow of a wood
A moss-bed, green and spongy, stood,
Like velvet-carpet soft:
To outward view, though scant and slight,
This nook contained a seemly sight
Of leaves and boughs aloft.

To greenwood tree and rose o'erhead
The moss looked up and whispered,
"Such bloom God gave me ne'er:
But trodden under foot of men
No worship my poor shrine doth ken,
Mankind love light and glare."

But lo! there came that eventide
Christ, roaming through the forest wide,
With visage pale and wan:
Though footsore he would further go,
'Twas ease to feel the moss below
His feet, the Son of Man.

Come o'er the plain in heat and thirst,
In sand and sun, 'twas here that first
The moss 'gan cool His feet.
Then spake the Lord, "My Father's hand
Such love in thee hath surely planned,
And made thee soft and sweet.

"What eye so blind as not to see
E'en here in this thy low degree
God's power and grace and care?
Thou comely herb, if set at naught,
Of thee too thy Creator thought;
Thy lot serenely bear."

Jesus had scarcely spoken so
When from the moss began to grow
A rose, of wondrous hue:
Moss-rose 'twas called in little time,
It bloometh now in every clime,
Of meekness emblem true.

We have kept for the last the "Poems"
translated by A. M. von Blomberg into Eng-
lish from the Italian of Ada Negri (Boston:
Copeland), because in them alone, of all
these, we have genuine poetry of the people.
It does not appear whether the translation
itself is made in England or America, but we
should be glad to think it a home product.
It is as if we had Browning's Pippa singing

her own song. Here is a girl who has never beheld the sea, the mountains, the lakes; who has never until lately spent even two days in the city; who walks daily in her wooden shoes to teach spelling to seventy or eighty noisy children; and yet who in her poems touches the human heart at every step, who sings her very love songs as "One of the People," and who sums up the silent drama enacted in a thousand mills, the world over, in this poem, "The Working Mother" (p. 56):

Among the shrieking wheels of the great mill
Where, 'mid the din that shaketh the wide hall,
A thousand women all
Their vigour spend, she too is working still.

For many a lustre, since she was a child,
She has been here.—Deftly her nervous hands
Guide thread and spool. She stands
And does not heed the noise, the tumult wild

That rages all around. But sometimes now
She is so tired and weary, oh, so tired!
And yet, as if inspired,
Raising her head, she smoothes her careworn brow.

She seems to say: "On, ever onward still!"—
Oh, misery, if one day her strength should fall,
If she began to all
And could no more return her place to fill!

She must not and she cannot.—For her joy,
Her one ambition, her one son, behind
Whose brow she has divined
The lofty flight of genius—he, her boy,

Is studying.—She will, at any price.
For his necessities toll on all day,
Waste drop by drop away,
Offer herself a living sacrifice.

As once her youth, her old age too, God knows,
Trembling and frosty, she will give, her health
That was her only wealth—
Oh, saintly worker!—sweetness of repose,

All she will give. Her son shall study.—Grand
The future time shall see him, world renowned
And feared, his dark head crowned
With gold and laurel wreaths at fortune's hand!

Son of the people, study, silent sit
In the low but that in the shadow lies,
Thou in whose ardent eyes
The mystic words of genius high are writ,

In thy proud muscles, in each fibre feel
The buoyant energy, the health that grace
A bold, undaunted race
Aspire to the heights with fearless zeal.

Thy mother for thy sake some day will die;
To her intrepid, fallen body throw
A kiss, a greeting, go
To meet the hostile host that draweth nigh,

And with thy voice, thy pen, go forth to fight
And point out to the tottering century
The glorious radiance
Of vast horizons bathed in a new light.

True, steadfast, honest in the noble strife
Awaiting thee, remember evermore:
Amid the great mill's roar
For this thy mother sacrificed her life.

JAMES'S TALKS TO TEACHERS.

Talks to Teachers on Psychology; and to Students on Some of Life's Ideals. By William James. Henry Holt & Co. 1899. Pp. xi-301.

The "Talks to Teachers" in the present volume comprise the substance of a course of lectures given by Prof. James in 1892 to the Cambridge teachers. The "Talks to Students" "were written in response to invitations to deliver 'addresses' to students at women's colleges."

"I have found by experience," he says of the earlier papers, "that what my hearers seem least to relish is analytical technicality, and what they most care for is concrete practical application. So I have gradually weeded out the former and left the latter unreduced; and now that I have at last written out the lectures, they contain a minimum of what is deemed 'scientific' in psychology."

The whole volume, in effect, may be taken as a partial answer to a question repeatedly asked by teachers and students in the pre-

sent vogue of the study of mind: "Of what use, after all, in practice is psychology to us?" The book is, as the author says, "practical in the extreme," and, because a capital example of Prof. James's literary method in exposition, in which the phrase is an argument and the illustration a proof, is "popular" in the extreme. Much of it is of necessity half-familiar (the art of teaching does not belong wholly to the end of the century)—the "maxims of habit," for example: "We must take care to launch ourselves with as strong an initiative as possible"; "Never suffer an exception to occur till the new habit is securely rooted in your life"; "Seize the first possible opportunity to act on every resolution you make," and "Keep the faculty of effort alive in you by a little gratuitous exercise every day." Yet even these are given a new freshness by the concept which they are brought forward to serve, of man as "a stereotyped creature, an imitator and copier of his past self, whose aim is to make his nervous system his ally instead of his enemy—to fund and capitalize his acquisitions, and live at ease upon the interest." And side by side with what the new psychology but confirms and rationalizes, there is much that it has to say which is revolutionary; notably its exposure of the futile attempt to train the "general memory," to make the pupil study one thing in hopes that he may remember everything else; its condemnation of the practice of "breaking the balky will"; its "gospel of relaxation"; the stress it lays on almost verbal apperception, on "finding the right name," in moral deliberation.

"To think, in short," Prof. James puts it, "is the secret of will, just as it is the secret of memory. . . . The hackneyed example of moral deliberation is the case of an habitual drunkard under temptation. . . . His moral triumph or failure literally consists in his finding the right name for the case. If he says that it is a case of not wasting good liquor already poured out, or a case of not being churlish and uncoachable when in the midst of friends, or a case of learning something at last about a brand of whiskey which he never met before, or a case of celebrating a public holiday, or a case of stimulating himself to a more energetic resolve in favor of abstinence than any he had ever yet made, then he is lost. His choice of the wrong name seals his doom. But if, in spite of all the plausible good names with which his thrifty fancy so copiously furnishes him, he unwaveringly clings to the truer bad name, and apperceives the case as that of 'being a drunkard, being a drunkard, being a drunkard,' his feet are planted on the road to salvation. He saves himself by thinking rightly."

Of the three essays composing the second division of the book, Prof. James regards the first, "The Gospel of Relaxation," as a continuation of the "Talks to Teachers." The remaining two, "On a Certain Blindness in Human Beings" and "What Makes a Life Significant," belong together, he says, and follow another line of thought. There is, however, a fundamental unity in the two lines of thought, which is of especial interest at the present time to the student of the drift of philosophic thought. Prof. James himself expresses the principle of continuity early in the "Talks to Teachers":

"Popular belief has always tended to estimate the worth of a man's mental processes by their effects upon his practical life. But philosophers have usually cherished a different view. 'Man's supreme glory,' they have said, 'is to be a rational being, to know absolute and eternal truth. The uses of his intellect for practical affairs are therefore subordinate matters. The theoretic life is his soul's genuine concern.' Nothing can be more different in its results for our personal

attitude than to take sides with one or the other of these views, and emphasize the practical or the theoretic ideal."

Prof. James frankly takes sides against the philosophers. The whole of his "Talks to Teachers" are based on his notion of what education means—the organization of the "resources" in the human being, of the powers of conduct, which shall fit him to his social and physical world. An "uneducated" person is one who is nonplussed by all but the most habitual situations."

The "Gospel of Relaxation" is but an extension of the same principle. *Ἀσχολούμεθα ἢ σχολάζομεν*, wrote Aristotle in the strange Orientalism which he had learned from Plato, and which philosophy, with its care for the inner life, and Christianity, with its scorn of outer things and its care for blamelessness rather than efficiency, for well-being rather than well-doing, have been at one in seeking to impose on the restless, eager Western world, with its incurable sense of outer fact and love of things, its innate sheer fascinated horror of death and annihilation, its distrust of ecstasy that stimulates death and ends in debility. *Σχολάζομεν ἢ ἀσχολούμεθα ἀνὰ κράτος*—"with all our might"—Prof. James writes, between the lines, in his "Gospel of Relaxation." The gospel of relaxation is preached in the name of strenuousness; the aim of life is not impassioned contemplation, but wise achievement; not ecstasy, but action; and the essays "On a Certain Blindness," and on "What Makes a Life Significant" but carry the same line of thought to the end. What makes a life significant is the service of an ideal, yet not the mere emotional service of it, but the vigorous and effective service; not the worship of an ideal for the sake of the ideal, nor even for the sake of worshipping it, but for the sake of the unity and dignity and power that a single-minded worship lends a man's energies. "Any old ideal" almost will do; absolutely any is better than none, or than a multitude of incompatible ideals.

"The more ideals a man has, the more contemptible on the whole do you continue to deem him if the matter ends there for him, and if none of the laboring-man's virtues are called into action on his part—no courage shown, no privations undergone, no dirt and scars contracted in the attempt to get them realized."

And the blindness in human beings, which is a blindness to each other's ideals, is lamentable because precisely we do not see that other people's ideals are a source of strength to them, such as to them at least our own could not be.

"We are but finite, and each one of us has some single specialized vocation of his own; and it seems as if energy in the service of its particular duties might be got only by hardening the heart toward everything unlike them. Our deadness toward everything but one particular kind of joy would thus be the price we inevitably have to pay for being practical creatures. Only in some pitiful dreamer, some philosopher, poet, or romancer, or when the common practical man becomes a lover, does the hard externality give way, and a gleam of insight into the effective world, as Clifford called it, the vast world of inner life beyond us, illuminate our mind. Then the whole scheme of our customary values gets confounded; then our self is riven, and its narrow interests fly to pieces; then a new centre and a new perspective must be found."

Prof. James's own reading of "On a Certain Blindness" and "What Makes a Life Significant" is that they are chapters in his defence of individualism. "Hands off: nei-

ther the whole truth nor the whole of good is revealed to any single observer." But the reason for non-interference is not a speculative reason, but the deeper, practical reason, that to attempt to make another like one's self is to destroy him. He cannot be like anybody but himself; and it is especially absurd for him to try to become so, for, wanton cruelty and violence apart, his own ideal, certainly the best for him, is probably as good as to a man of his power anybody else's could be.

"In this solid and tridimensional sense, so to call it, those philosophers are right who contend that the world is a standing thing, with no progress, no real history. The changing conditions of history touch only the surface of the show. The altered equilibriums and redistributions only diversify our opportunities, and open chances to us for new ideals. But, with each new ideal that comes into life, the chance for a life based on some old ideal will vanish; and he would need be a presumptuous calculator who should with confidence say that the total sum of significances is positively and absolutely greater at one epoch than at any other of the world."

The vividness of many of Prof. James's phrases—the "stolid cheek," the "codfish eye," the "balky will," the "bottled-lightning girl"—has drawn attention away from a quality in his style which in his last two books has become especially marked, the quality of a communicable fervor, a clear, grave passion of sincerity and conviction, from which some vibration detaches itself and passes into the reader, and forms him to the writer's mood. We have all of us made the acquaintance of the still-born counsel of perfection that mutely begs the life it is sent to give; and have learned to value a communicable fervor, in the rare cases in which it is found, more highly than any degree of picturesqueness. It would, of course, be ridiculous to try to present the indwelling spirit of a book gagged and bound within the limits of an "elegant extract," and we shall not make the attempt.

With Kitchener to Khartum. By G. W. Steevens. With maps and plans. Dodd, Mead & Co. 12mo, pp. 326.

The story of the reconquest of the Sudan is worthy of a more quiet and business-like history than Mr. Steevens has given, and in time we shall get it. For the present we are thankful for any authentic details of Kitchener's campaign, even if marred by a verbosity and rhetoric often extravagant and tiresome. In his 'Conquering Turk' Mr. Steevens held himself better in hand, and was, besides, in a position of much greater impartiality between the combatants. Here we have not only torrents of words, but so thick a covering of praise for everybody in the expedition, from Kitchener downward, that confidence is shaken by what was meant to make it undoubting. Through all this, however, we get salient points from which a fairly satisfactory idea of means and ends may be gained when we sift what our witness tells us.

First, we can see that the policy of leaving the Sudan to its own fermentation for a dozen years was a wise one. Mahdism went through the period of fanatical faith which made every dervish a hero, and the devotion of his followers weakened when the Mahdi was seen to be a selfish and sensual tyrant, when triumphs and conquests ceased, and when the dullest had to ask whether the exploiting of the land after his death for the

benefit of the Khalifa and his greedy favorites was the reign of the promised Messiah of their faith. The terrible hordes which had broken British squares, and which annihilated Hicks's army at Shekan, had degenerated so that we are at a loss whether to call their destruction at Atbara and Omdurman battles or mere massacres.

Second, the work of systematic education of the fellaheen and the Nubian blacks into trustworthy soldiers was a long but necessary task. They had time not only to acquire the discipline and drill which are the foundation of good tactical handling in the field, but, by contact with the enemy on the frontiers of Egypt proper, in the skirmishes and smaller battles of successive seasons, they lost the fear of the dervishes, and gained confidence in themselves and their officers.

Again, the time to resume the aggressive was well chosen. We must credit the English Government, as well as Lord Cromer and the Sirdar in Egypt, with keeping a watchful eye upon the schemes of France in central Africa; for the Fashoda incident, abortive when Kitchener was already at Khartum, might well have had much graver consequences if the Anglo-Egyptian army had still been below the second cataract of the Nile. The singular conjuncture was too fortunate for mere luck.

Fourth. Limiting the advance by the progressive construction of the Military Railway from Wady Halfa across the Nubian desert to Abu Hamed, and thence along the east bank of the Nile to Berber and the Atbara River, was wise prudence. Former experience has shown the uncertainty of reliance upon the Nile as a means of communication and supply above the cataracts, and our civil war had taught how long lines of railway could be made secure for heavy columns dependent upon depots far in the rear. The Khalifa and his emirs had sense enough to know that the locomotive whistle was a more portentous sound than that of heavy guns, for it swept away their visions of the hostile army starving in the desert when checked and made timid by the precarious means of getting food and ammunition. It meant also that British rule was coming to stay.

When at last it came to the assault of the Mahdist entrenched camp at the Atbara and the field fight in front of Omdurman, we asked, Can these be the redoubtable warriors that destroyed Hicks, captured Gordon, besieged Suakim, and rolled back the Anglo-Egyptian armies a thousand miles? At the Atbara it is said that nearly twenty thousand dervishes, under the Emirs Osman Digna and Mahmud, in trenches with abattis in front, were assaulted and exterminated by some twelve thousand under Kitchener, with a total loss to the latter of 81 killed and 493 wounded. Almost no prisoners, wounded or whole, are reported. Steevens says: "Mahmud's army was as if it had never been. These two short hours of shell and bullet and bayonet had erased it from the face of the earth."

Some two hundred or two hundred and fifty miles of desert marching followed, and Kitchener's forces were at the Kerreri hills, a few miles only from Omdurman and Khartum, and here the Khalifa Abdullahi fought for his capital, attacking the Sirdar's lines. The dervishes are said to be over thirty thousand strong; Kitchener, by reinforcements, has been brought up to twenty-two thousand. This time, four thousand

prisoners are accounted for, but they are mainly a band which held together after the rout, and were allowed to surrender. In the fighting, 11,000 of the dervishes are said to have been killed and 16,000 wounded; but as the prisoners are only the 4,000 already mentioned, we must conclude that that whole 27,000 perished, first and last. "With all the deductions that moderation can suggest," says Steevens, "it was a most appalling slaughter. The dervish army was killed out as hardly an army has been killed out in the history of war." Five hundred casualties, killed and wounded, was all it cost the Sirdar's army!

No more decisive proof could be given of the total change in the character of the dervishes as soldiers. None of the old desperation of fanatical courage appears in such results. Instead of forming squares, Kitchener's men advanced in line. The dervishes seem nowhere to have made a really vigorous charge. They advanced again and again, but are everywhere described as melting away under the fire of the Lee-Metford rifles and the Maxim guns, by the time they were within two hundred yards of the Anglo-Egyptian lines. There are some of the old assertions of the dangerous enemy a wounded dervish is, but it does not stand to reason that the astonishing change in the quality of their fighting in ranks left them individually still determined, one and all, to die fighting and to accept no quarter. It is not strange that debate has arisen in England over the assertions made that the wounded were massacred without pity. If the figures given by Steevens are anywhere near correct, they amount in themselves to an indictment.

The description Mr. Steevens gives of the transformation of the little Egyptian village of Wady Halfa, long the advanced post at the second cataract, into a railway base and depot on a large scale, is interesting and instructive. We get also some realistic views of the desert and its withering heats, its smothering dust storms, and the parching thirst of the soldiers marching through it. The characteristics of the men, white, yellow, and black, are shrewdly noted. The diminution of population in the districts which have been under Mahdist rule is said to be appalling, and to indicate that the old-time trade of the country will have to await a new generation of inhabitants. The funeral services at the spot where Gordon fell were solemn, and full of pathetic reminiscences, made deeper by contrast with the inevitable but long deferred triumph. A significant step in Egyptian and African history has been taken.

Stars and Telescopes: A Hand-Book of Popular Astronomy. Founded on the Ninth Edition of Lynn's Celestial Motions. By David P. Todd. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1899. 8vo, pp. 419.

Mr. Lynn's original text, to judge of it as well as we can from this volume, seems to be a very popular treatise on astronomy, not at all confined to the subject of "celestial motions," but characterized by a severe avoidance of two things, first, of all that relates to research as research, which constitutes the life of science, as well as of everything in the least degree mathematical, as all celestial motions are; and, second, not only of all that approaches the sensational, but also of all that relates to philosophy or to matters of general human in-

terest. We can understand how such a book should have gone through nine editions in England, for it meets the popular English delusion that what is "plain and substantial," or, in other words, is stolid and positive, is all that is essentially valuable. But the qualities which recommend a book to English readers may not find equal success here. It may be doubted whether Americans will see any particular appropriateness, for instance, in printing very prominently before a book like this a sentence from St. Augustine's chapter on the "Spiritual Creation of the Virtues," set up in English black-letter like a text on a wall of a church. Its inconsistency with the purpose of the volume makes it all the more charmingly English; but that charm may escape the people of the great West. This Latin paraphrase of the opening of a great psalm is put second to a specimen of Wilhelm Herschel's English diction and German nebulosity. In place of Mr. Lynn's "Et pulchra sunt omnia, faciente te, et ecce tu inenerrabiliter pulchrior, qui fecisti omnia," St. Augustine would have supplied many another quotation not wandering clear away from astronomy, and more consonant with the main virtue (such as it is) of Mr. Lynn's book, *c. g.*, "Interrogavi celum, solem, lunam, et stellas; Neque nos sumus Deus, quem queris, inquit" (Confessions, x. 6).

The volume affords no precise indications of what is Mr. Lynn's and what Prof. Todd's; but the work of the latter seems to have consisted in adapting the text here and there to American readers, to adding half-a-dozen important chapters, as well as long notes throughout giving additional facts, to select references to the literature, especially of the popular kind, at the end of every chapter, to a list of asteroids, a full index, and a great many illustrations of celestial objects, instruments, observatories, and portraits of astronomers—all of which is of a rarely painstaking quality. In this way the book has been converted into a veritable hand-book—not a mere digest of facts, but a copious selection of those that are most important. It is hardly possible for a hand-book to be what we generally mean by "popular," nor does this work, perhaps, profess exactly to be a popular hand-book. It is a "hand-book of popular astronomy"—that is, a compendium of facts interesting to the astronomical amateur—that extremely variable species which ranges all the way from the idlers and semi-idlers through the Ulugh Begs, the Dembowskis, the Rutherfords, through the Lowells, the Pickerings, the Lockyers, to the glorious company of Tycho Brahe and William Herschel.

To many persons, the most interesting part of the book, which is well got up, will be the illustrations, of which there are nearly three hundred. The author seems to have made it a rule to give no portrait of a living man—a practice which apparently tacitly reflects upon the susceptibilities of astronomers to a degree that we hope is unwarranted. Some of the likenesses are quite admirable, as those of Alvan and George Clark. A few seem needlessly blurred, as are some of the star-clusters. Some of the figures of instruments, etc., are confused and dark. Only the professional astronomer can at all appreciate or understand a great part of the illustrations, which illustrate nothing in the text.

The work will deservedly enjoy a high degree of secondary authority among amateurs,

owing to the good judgment and care which have presided over its compilation. Yet here and there we come across statements and reasonings which are not quite clear. For instance, on p. 219 we read, "Meteors, then, belonged originally to comets," and this conclusion is extended to "all meteoric bodies." But the only reason which is offered for this belief is that four comets have been known to break up under the influence of tidal forces into small fragments, forming meteors—an inference hardly parodied by the following: The 'Visible World' of Comenius, 'Nature Displayed,' by Duffet, Ollendorff, and Prendergast's 'Mastery' books, are all known to have produced many fluent speakers of different languages; hence, we may infer that all speaking of languages had its origin in phrase-books and the like. Such reasoning violates a logical rule of all induction, namely, that the sample by which the whole class is to be judged ought to be drawn at random from the whole of that class. This sample of meteors is, on the contrary, drawn exclusively from a part of the whole class which, owing to the mode of its limitation, cannot but possess that character which is inferentially, but unreasonably, extended to all other individuals of the class. What is a meteor? It is nothing but a cometary body which enters the earth's atmosphere. Why should all such bodies, without exception, be supposed to be broken from larger cometary bodies? In our present ignorance of the origin of things, it is not unlikely that of all the masses which wander through space a large proportion are very small. In such small bodies tidal forces would be very feeble, while their cohesion would be relatively powerful. It may be that Prof. Todd is in possession of some good reasons for thinking that no such bodies ever impinge upon our atmosphere; but if he is, they must be different from the premise he advances.

England in the Age of Wycliffe. By George Macaulay Trevelyan. Longmans, Green & Co. 1899.

Mr. George Macaulay Trevelyan here offers to the public an essay first presented in competition for a fellowship at Trinity College, Cambridge. It is an attempt to bring together into one point of view the several aspects of an age fertile beyond any other in the great ideas which have made modern England what it is. The several chapters are almost independent studies, but the impression of them taken together is a fairly consistent one. Three interests have been made especially prominent: politics, society, and religion. The political field is limited to the decade from the death of the Black Prince in 1376 to the establishment of Richard II's power in 1385—a period too short to serve much purpose except, as the author puts it, that of a prologue to the "Tragedy of King Richard the Second." Socially, the central position is given to the peasant uprising of 1381, with its astounding revelation of the passion and force of the English common man, and its permanent lesson for the governing classes. From the side of religion we are given a picture of the rise of English Lollardy, or, again to use the author's word, of an "indigenous Protestantism."

The narrative of political events is not and could not be very interesting. Its detail is a dreary record of petty family quarrels, through which it is impossible to discern

any real principle. The ignoble ending of a glorious reign, the strife for the control of an undisciplined youth, who was to break through restraint by an unexpected display of spasmodic energy, and the failure of John of Gaunt, the most capable person in an unattractive group, to direct the policy of government, are not very enticing subjects for a thoughtful historian. They acquire interest only as they are brought into relation with the really great moving forces of the nation, with its social unrest and its religious aspiration. This connection Mr. Trevelyan succeeds in making, not precisely in any formal or systematic fashion, but in the final impression of his book as a whole.

Where the author's sympathies lie, it is not difficult to discover. He has no respect whatever for the spirit of Froissart, who, writing of the social upheaval in England, treats it as a disagreeable but unimportant break in the natural course of things. Mr. Trevelyan has abundant room in his thought for the great meaning of this blind, passionate struggle in the work of human progress. He does not regret it. "It was a sign of national energy, it was a sign of independence and self-respect in the mediæval peasants, from whom three-quarters of our race, of all classes and in every continent, are descended." Yet he is equally far from extravagant eulogy: "Though as a protest it was perhaps useful, as a revolution it could only have led to anarchy."

So in the matter of religion. Mr. Trevelyan brings out very clearly the inevitable effect of Wycliffe's teaching in rousing men to higher ideals of personal liberty and public justice. He shows us that Wycliffe himself, while deprecating disorder and sedition, had, especially in his earlier teaching, supplied a religious basis for social revolt, just as surely as Luther, four generations later, was to do the same thing for the restless peasants of Germany. His picture of the attempts at repression of Lollardy is eminently fair to the persecuting side. He gives to the individual leaders of persecution all due credit for purity of motive, and softens his judgment, even of renegades, with every consideration for the pressure they had to bear. Yet here, too, one feels the note of true sympathy in his description of the fate of the Oxford University in this religious and intellectual struggle. There at least was one place where the honest thought of good men ought to have been safe from any form of public violence; yet nowhere was the "purification" of the country more complete or more effective. The University, as a bulwark of learning and of the liberty that ought to go with it, was ruined by the same state which had broken the peasant revolt and striven to make heavier yet the burden that had produced it.

We owe Mr. Trevelyan especial thanks for the concluding chapter on the later history of Lollardy. It carries him far beyond the limits of his title, but it helps to answer a problem of vital interest to the student of the English Reformation. It goes far to establish the proposition that Protestantism in England is indeed an indigenous product—not a mere importation from Germany, but a long-gathered and deeply rooted sentiment. Mr. Trevelyan's judgment is summed up in the last sentence of his book: "But those who still believe that liberty of thought has proved not a curse but a blessing to England and to the peo-

ples that have sprung from her, will regard with thankfulness and pride the work which the speculations of Wycliffe set on foot, and the valor of his devoted successors accomplished."

We have tried to judge this book upon its merits, but it has an added interest as the maiden effort of a very young man who represents some of the greatest traditions of English historical writing. A nephew of Macaulay might have been pardoned if he had tried to give to his book something of the literary and dramatic charm ever to be associated with Macaulay's name. It is a tribute to his sound sense and good taste that he has done nothing of the kind. His style is admirable for simplicity and force, quite free from the affectations of cleverness that have marred the work of some recent English historians. He produces his effects by the intrinsic interest of his point of view, and by the conviction he creates in the reader that he has done honest work of investigation and thought. We venture to predict for him a notable future.

A Guide to the Wild Flowers. By Alice Lounsberry. With sixty-four colored and one hundred black-and-white plates, and fifty-four diagrams, by Mrs. Ellis Rowan. Frederick A. Stokes Co. Pp. 347.

On page 65, the keynote of the text of this volume is clearly struck: "It sometimes seems that we hardly know what to say about a flower." Let us see how true this is. On page 38, of Arrow-head it is said: "It hardly seems possible that these little under flowers would ever have the courage to call out boldly, 'Joseph, thou art keeping the sunshine from falling upon my head.'" Again, page 130: "The Jewel-weed and a bright, running stream have come to be about as closely associated in the mind as the dear old white horse and the red-haired girl." Once more, page 128:

"Something preliminary is almost necessary before venturing to speak of the Fringed Gentian, and even then it should be done with bated breath, for is it not the flower that has inspired poets and statesmen to such an extent that they have barely been able to write soberly about it? And, truly, it is a heavenly flower. But to those that are a bit worldly, and have not the poetical soul, it must always suggest that it has been gown'd by nature's Worth; it is so *chausée à venir*. The beautiful fringe is but the latest conceit of fashion; and the soft green of its calyx, blending with its incomparable blue, is an example of the most ravishing taste. If we could indulge in such levity, we would almost look up its sleeves for *hors de combat*."

We never knew before where to look for *hors de combat*. Let us keep on with the Fringed Gentian and note: "It is fond of wandering, too, and though we mark the spot where it grows, we may seek in vain for it in the same place the next year. This characteristic, however, it owes to being a biennial." In an excellent work, largely due to the botanist who has prepared an introduction to this 'Guide to the Wild Flowers,' we read that the Fringed Gentian is an annual. And so it is.

It is, however, as a guide that the volume should be judged. On page 69, we are told this of the Rose Mallow: "Although at a great distance the large flowers of our plant can be seen, it is often difficult of approach. Positive terror seizes hold of the timorous, and their ardor for it is often tossed in the balance with the fear of snakes." Page 164

gives us an idea that the guidance is not confined to our own country, for we there read:

"The sweetest sight that Liverpool has to show to the unsteady traveller from over the sea is the rhododendrons that there grow so luxuriously [etc]. A feeling of pride inevitably takes possession of him, and he is sure to inform the first person with whom he comes in contact that they are from his own country, America."

Although the "unsteady," in the foregoing, suggests more snakes, it perhaps is all right, and may account for the failure of the traveller to discriminate between the Himalayan and other rhododendrons which greet him in Liverpool. The American *Catawbiense* is there with its offspring, but it is hardly fair to claim all the Liverpool rhododendrons as springing from this and from the species *Rhododendron maximum*.

But enough has been quoted to indicate the disappointment which one feels at the emptiness of the text. The authoress has a facile pen, and could well employ it in the society columns of a smart Sunday paper, but it has not been put to a good use in these attempts to construct a serious guide. In fact, the reader feels that she may all the time be making fun of the matter, and may be wondering how much such trash can be patiently read by the students of Thoreau, and Mathews, and Gibson. We cannot imagine these writers putting forth such a statement as the following concerning the skunk cabbage:

"The pistil also matures long before the stamens. These facts would favor the theory of its being visited by insects. On the other hand, we have to remember that insects have not the indomitable courage of the skunk cabbage, and do not venture out at so early a season of the year. Flies abound the first warm days of spring, so perhaps they or others of which we know nothing are their secret ambassadors."

The sharp line of demarcation between flies and insects would never have occurred to Gibson, or, in fact, to any other American. But is the authoress American? On page 104, we find the following, in regard to Monkshood (*Aconitum*): "Our own Indians call it *ativishá*." By a curious coincidence, which is commended to the attention of ethnologists, the natives of the East Indies are said by Mr. Watt and Mr. Dymock to call *Aconitum heterophyllum* by the name *ativishá* or *ativish*. The question arises whether the "Indians" referred to by the authoress are "our own Indians."

The colored sketches in the work are interesting. One or two of them are somewhat inaccurate, notably the golden rod, but all are striking illustrations, full of spirit. Mrs. Rowan is especially happy in her management of distance and atmosphere, and has given in this volume many extremely beautiful and effective compositions. The black-and-white drawings are unworthy of their companions; some of them, like the twin-flower and the tall meadow rue, are coarse in outline and inexpressive. The drawing of the leaves of the tall meadow rue represents a form which is not known to descriptive botanists. Exactitude is the essential in all scientific drawings, however wide the latitude may be which is allowed to popular descriptions. It is difficult to believe that Mrs. Rowan could have had a hand in the preparation of the black-and-white sketches. She is so generally accurate, where good material is provided for her work, that these sketches do not appear to be hers. While regretting that the present volume cannot be

accepted as a helpful guide to our wild flowers, we acknowledge with pleasure the possibilities suggested by Mrs. Rowan's successful treatment of some of her plants, for instance, larger blue flag and sourwood. The brush that can give us such beautiful effects ought to be supplied with well-selected specimens to illustrate our flora.

The History of South America from its Discovery to the Present Time. By an American. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: The Macmillan Co. 1899.

In these days of Pan-America and pan-expansion, a work dealing fully with the history of the South American republics, collectively and individually, ought to receive a hearty welcome. Such a book apparently is the volume before us, a portly octavo of 345 pages. The author's initials are "R. C.," and the work is translated, presumably from the Spanish, by Adnah D. Jones. The title-page bears the date 1899, but a little glancing through the well-printed pages of the volume reveals the fact that it was written nearly a quarter of a century ago. Brazil has not yet shaken off her imperial ruler, and the fraternal relations between Chili and Peru have not been disturbed by the thunder of the *Huascar*, while the map of South America prefixed to the volume still shows the Pacific bathing the shores of poor pent-up Bolivia. There is absolutely nothing in the preface to disabuse the eager purchaser who thinks he is getting the latest information concerning our sister continent. Perhaps the publishers can explain.

The work is to a considerable extent descriptive, dealing largely with the physical and ethnographic features, the material resources, and the prospects of the individual countries. The treatment of these subjects is, to say the least, amateurish, but the historical portions are much better. The preface informs us that the book is "written with the most rigid impartiality, and pervaded throughout by a judiciously democratic and ardently American spirit." We are not disposed to refute the author's professions. He writes from the patriotic standpoint of the Pan-American, and believes in the future of the South American states. We should imagine, however, that his creed is a kind of optimism tempered by pessimistic spells when we read of Peru (page 286) that "complicated plot, treachery, intrigue, stabbing—nothing is wanting in this history of half a century, not even the disguised gentleman and the veiled lady of the old comedies"; or when the author tells us, with reference to a bloody tragedy enacted in Argentina, that "it can only make us reflect that in time ultramontaniam might become the plague of the South American republics." How far his optimism would have been affected by the sight of the fratricidal war on the Pacific or the convulsions evoked by Balma-ceda and Mello, we shall not venture to conjecture.

The account of the Spanish conquest is told in a vigorous and attractive manner, and presents an eloquent picture of the devilishness of those heroic champions of Mammon and the Church. The proclamation with which the Roman pontiff equipped the Conquistadores, and which was to serve as an announcement to the poor natives (who could not understand a word of it) that they must submit to assimilation under pain of having their wives and children sold as slaves, is reproduced here, and deep nat-

make altogether pleasant reading for some among us. The following passage, on page 22, ought to come home to some of our Jingo journalists: "In this unequal war, in which all the advantages were on the side of the invaders, the aborigines were treated, not as men who were fighting in defence of their liberty and the independence of their

country, but as slaves who had rebelled against their masters."

The translator has performed his task creditably.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Alden, Mrs. G. R. Yesterday Framed in To-day. Boston: Lothrop Publishing Co. \$1.50.
Bazin, René. La Terre qui Meurt. Paris: Lévy.

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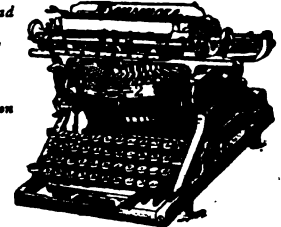
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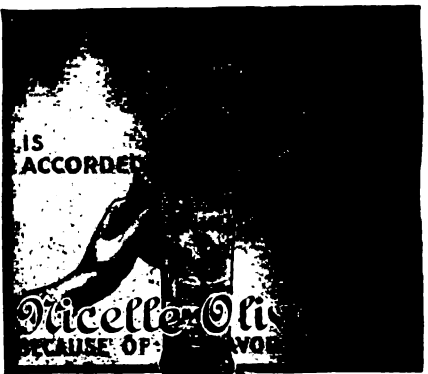
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 29, 1899.

The Week.

The opportunists of the McKinley Administration will receive a severe shock from the picture of the situation in the Philippines which Dr. McQueston, of Gen. Otis's staff, brings home with him. He says it will require a force of 100,000 to 150,000 soldiers to subdue and hold the islands; that unless thousands of troops be sent at once to the aid of those now there, our forces will be driven back into Manila during the next few months; that our men simply cannot stand the climate during the rainy season; that fifty per cent. of them will be incapacitated by sickness; that the territory hitherto overrun will have to be abandoned, and that Manila will be in a state of siege again. As to the temper and feeling of our soldiers, he says: "The volunteers all want to return home, and I hardly think that the plan to enlist three skeleton regiments from the volunteers now in the Philippines will be a success. The men enlisted to fight for their country, and they are not the kind of men who want to stay and fight an insurrection for money or for the fun of fighting." These are not the words of a despised private soldier, or of a non-patriotic anti-imperialist, but of a member of the staff of the Commanding General, who has served as the Health Officer at Manila. It is barely possible that they may even cause Alger and Corbin to think that the situation in the Philippines is serious.

There is talk in Washington of a new department of the Government and a new member of the cabinet, to be called the Secretary of the Colonies. It is said that Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines cannot always remain under charge of army officers, that the War Department is overburdened already, that the mere financial administration of the islands is sufficient to engross the whole time of a cabinet officer, and, finally, that if a Department of the Colonies is created, it is probable that R. P. Porter will be made the first Secretary of it. All this reads very much like a plan to introduce the spoils system into the islands at the earliest possible moment. Certainly nobody could be found better fitted for carrying out that scheme than the ex-Director of the Census. The discussion of a Department of the Colonies must be considered premature, however, until Congress decides whether we are to have colonies, or only Territories. A colony is a subject country to be ruled by the mother or mistress country by her appointees, her governors, pro-

consuls, harabots, satraps, or whatever they may be called. A Territory is for the most part a self-governing district, which may look forward to a time, near or remote, when it will become an equal partner, and help to govern the mother country, in proportion to its numbers. Congress must decide which of these two forms of government is to be first applied to the "colonies." If they are to be reckoned as Territories, we shall need no new cabinet officer to look after them, or to see that the spoils of office are properly apportioned to our most reliable "heelers," as the census patronage is and has been. Meanwhile, the duty of counting and taking care of the revenue of the islands will remain in charge of army officers, and will, no doubt, be well and honestly discharged, even though Alger continues in charge of the War Department.

From the entire indifference with which the public has treated Commissioner R. P. Porter's contention that exposure of commissary scandals is spoiling our foreign trade, we should infer either that the public does not believe in condoning a flagrant wrong for a pecuniary advantage, or else that it does not trust Mr. Porter's statements about the exports. In either case, we suspect that the public's judgment would be warranted. Mr. Porter's allegation was that "the various meat investigations, and the political capital which has been made out of them by American newspapers, have done our interests more injury" in European eyes than all foreign influences put together. This was an assertion as to what has actually happened. But Mr. Porter grew somewhat more cautious as he approached nearer to official statistics, finally contenting himself with predicting a possible loss to the meat-export trade of "\$20,000,000 to \$25,000,000 per annum." This caution was well advised, for the detailed returns of the Federal Bureau of Statistics for May inform the American public that our export of canned beef last month increased 647,000 pounds over 1898, and our export of fresh beef 6,032,000 pounds, and that the total preserved beef exports in May were the largest for any corresponding period in our history. It is possible that even the foreign consumer may have grasped the fact that the "Eagan brand" of contract army beef was something contrived exclusively for the army, and not available in the export market.

Senator Foraker is much of the time in a frame of mind towards the McKinley Administration which enables him to say what he thinks without any hesitation or reserve. He is particularly

ready to do this just now, because the old factional troubles among the Republicans of Ohio, in which he has so long been involved, are raging afresh, and the dominant Hanna wing is doing its best to "down" him. It is not surprising, therefore, that Mr. Foraker should have told an interviewer on Thursday that "we seem to have a harder job on our hands in the Philippines than we anticipated"; and that, although Congress will provide the means if more men and money are wanted, "the war is not popular." The truly loyal organs of the Administration will, as in duty bound, sneer at the Ohio Senator for talking in this strain; but we doubt if even the most ardent advocate of the expansion policy will venture to controvert his position by trying to prove that the war really is popular.

One remark of Senator Foraker's expresses a feeling which is steadily growing among close observers. "I don't believe," he says, "the newspapers are getting all the news received at the War Department, but I know nothing of it personally." There is no doubt that our imitation of the Spanish system of suppressing facts, through a censorship of the press, is constantly being carried further. Nearly two months ago the Hong Kong *Daily Press* contained a statement from the *American*, published at Manila, saying that its readers had complained because it did not give more news, and explaining that "many cablegrams are received from the United States, but are suppressed by the press censor," these two illustrations being cited: "On Friday a portion of one of our cablegrams was suppressed, and yesterday one entire dispatch was censored, this office receiving nothing but the words: 'American, Manila, from Hong Kong; text suppressed by press censor.'" A fortnight ago the Philadelphia *Times* published a special dispatch from Hong Kong, saying that the censorship at Manila had become so strict that a meeting of the correspondents there had been called to protest against the action of the United States military authorities. The representative of the *Times* reported that "nothing is allowed to be sent out on matters which affect the Administration at Washington; and unless dispatches are rosy and optimistic, they are not allowed to go." He further declared that, although there was great anxiety on the part of the volunteers to return home, the censor suppresses every mention of the fact, and that he also forbids any reference to the terrible sufferings from the heat, while "our men drop like sheep from the overpowering influence of the sun's rays." It is an interesting question how long the Am-

rican people will endure the same policy of suppression and deceit which they used to pity the Spaniards for tolerating a year and a half ago.

A more impudent performance than the appearance of Gen. Russell A. Alger as a candidate for the United States Senate from Michigan on a platform of opposition to Trusts could not be imagined. He was himself one of the chief organizers of a most odious Trust, and the Supreme Court of his own State held that the enterprise in which he thus engaged was unlawful and against public policy. About seventeen years ago the Diamond Match Company was organized by Gen. Alger and some other business men, with a view to controlling the manufacture and sale of friction-matches in the United States and Canada. The object sought to be attained was boldly avowed. The articles of agreement provided for the aggregation of an enormous amount of capital, sufficient to buy up and absorb all of that kind of business done in this country and in the Dominion, and to prevent any other person or corporation from engaging in or carrying on the business, thereby preventing all competition in the sale of matches. Not only did this object plainly appear in the organization of the Trust, but it was openly admitted by Gen. Alger himself. A law-suit grew out of the proceedings taken, to which he was a party, and here is his confession, in response to a question from his counsel:

"Question. It appears that during the years 1881 and 1883 large sums of money were expended to keep men out of the match business, remove competition, buy machinery and patents, and in some instances purchase other match factories. I will ask you to state the reasons, if there are any, why these sums should not be treated as an expense of the business and charged off from this account?

"Answer. Because the prices of matches were kept up to correspond, so as to pay these expenses and make large dividends above what could have been made had those factories been in the market to compete with the business."

The case finally reached the Supreme Court of Michigan, and its decision was filed on the 15th of November, 1889. The judgment of the court went to the heart of the matter. Chief Justice Sherwood, who wrote the decision, began by saying that no one could read the contract in question and fail to discover that considerations of public policy were largely involved. He then set forth the facts regarding the organization and operation of the Diamond Match Company, declaring that "the sole object of the corporation is to make money by having it in its power to raise the price of the article, or diminish the quantity to be made and used, at its pleasure." Both the supply of the article and its price were made to depend upon the action of about a half-dozen individuals, "to satisfy their

cupidity and avarice." The article thus brought under the control of a few avaricious men is one in necessary and daily use by almost every individual in the country. "It is difficult," said the Chief Justice, "to conceive of a monopoly which can affect a greater number of people, or one more extensive in its effect on the country, than that of the Diamond Match Company." The contract in the case then pending was to aid that company in carrying out its purposes, and the court was asked to enforce the contract. This it flatly refused to do, for the reasons quoted above.

Director Merriam of the Census Bureau has been trying to delude the public by the pretence that all applicants for places must undergo an examination which will test their ability as fully as any inquiry into their qualifications which the Civil-Service Commission would have made, if these positions had been brought under the rules. But only a very simple person could be taken in by such a pretence. If the spoilsmen had desired the honest application of the competitive system, they would have turned over this work to the Commission; whereas long experience of the "pass" examination has shown that it is always a delusion and a snare. This old truth is now being freshly demonstrated again. A sample illustration of the way that a spoilsman's examination works is given by the *Baltimore News*. An applicant whose home is not a thousand miles from Baltimore, after having passed what he was told by the officials was a highly creditable examination for one of the higher positions in the bureau, was advised by them to go and see his Congressman, who in turn referred him to the "executive" (the Baltimore equivalent of the New York "district leader") of the applicant's ward!

One of the worst effects of the President's recent "backward step" in the matter of civil-service reform is the encouragement which it has given to the revival of the spoils spirit everywhere. During the first two years of his administration Mr. McKinley reappointed efficient Democratic postmasters, upon the expiration of their terms, in more than one Massachusetts town, and the feeling was growing throughout the State that, when the incumbent of such an office had served to the general satisfaction of the community, politics should not stand in the way of his retention. Easthampton, a business and educational centre in one of the western counties, should have been added to the list of places where this sound principle had been accepted. Four years ago Mr. Cleveland appointed a postmaster who has proved so efficient that his reappointment was asked for in a very strong petition, representing a large majority of

the voters, and nearly all the business interests, including all the manufactories, Williston Seminary, the banks, and almost all of the merchants. But, since the bars have been taken down in the classified service by the President's recent order, the Republican politicians apparently feel that it will not do to let a Democrat stay in any place from which he can be ousted, and word has reached Easthampton that a Republican must be picked out for an office which nine-tenths of those most concerned prefer to see the Democratic incumbent retain.

A striking illustration of the folly of the rule that there must be a change in the postmastership of every town whenever there is a change of parties in the national administration at Washington, was afforded by a recent incident in the United States District Court for Connecticut. At East Hartland a man named Hayes had been arrested for the embezzlement of about \$345 while he was postmaster of that town, and was indicted by the grand jury. A lawyer appeared in his defence, but all that he could do was to plead for a mitigation of punishment, on this ground: "It was a great mistake that the man was ever appointed, but as Hayes was about the only one who had voted the Democratic ticket in Hartland for some time, he supposed that some one had to be appointed postmaster there, when the change of administration came, but he considered it a misfortune for Hayes that he had ever been selected." The District Attorney conceded that Hayes was a very ignorant man, and Judge Townsend said that he felt sorry for him, as he sentenced him to six months' imprisonment.

The Bourbon Democracy of Kentucky have adopted a pro-silver and anti-imperialist platform, and have nominated William J. Bryan for President. Neither the head nor the tail of the platform is very energetic in tone. The plea for silver is almost apologetic. The war with Spain is commended and endorsed, but the Administration's course in the Philippines is declared to be contrary to the spirit of republican institutions. The convention finally nominated J. C. S. Blackburn for Senator of the United States in place of Mr. Lindsay, the present member. Mr. Lindsay was a supporter of Palmer and Buckner in the campaign of 1896. Kentucky, under normal conditions, is overwhelmingly Democratic, and will no doubt prove to be such at the coming election. Her influence upon the Democracy of other States has never been great, and is not likely to be important this year.

The Silver Republican party of Iowa has given up the ghost. The attack

which destroyed what little life remained, was dealt by a provision in the new ballot law which will prevent so weak an organization from placing a ticket on the ballot next fall; but it would have been almost impossible to keep any breath in its body if there had been no such difficulty. The Silver Republicans counted for so little in the campaign of 1896 that the other elements in the opposition to the dominant party have not thought it worth while to pay much attention to them since then. The Populists in some States will find it almost as hard to keep up their separate organization, since the Bryanized Democracy has so generally accepted their principles. Bryanism has become so close an approach to Populism that there is not much excuse for keeping up the fiction of a difference. Indeed, the chief reason in most cases why anybody tries to maintain the separate organization is the hope of the men who run it that they may fare better, in the way of nominations, when the two parties "fuse" on a ticket than if they fell in behind the regular Democrats.

Prof. McVey of the University of Minnesota, in a note contributed to the *Journal of Political Economy* on the subject of Trusts and the tariff, says that there are some combinations so dependent on the tariff that the repeal of the protective duties would destroy both the combination and the industry. He instances the Tin-Plate combine as one of this sort, and gives figures to show how the tariff works in this case. The Tin-Plate Trust was formed last December with a capital of \$50,000,000. The selling price of tin-plate in Liverpool is \$2.30 per box. The cost of production in this country is \$2.75, and the tariff is \$1.62 per box, or 70 per cent. ad valorem. Since the formation of the Trust the price has been raised to \$3.80 per box, which is about the Liverpool price with the duty added. In other words, the Trust prevents the consumer from getting the benefit of domestic competition in the manufacture of tin-plate, and the tariff enables the Trust to accomplish this object. There has been considerable chuckling among the high-tariff gentry over the success of the tin-plate industry in this country, but in the presence of these facts and figures the less we hear from them the better. There never was any doubt that by paying 70 per cent. more for tin-plate than it is worth in a free market we could have it produced at home. Nor was there much doubt that the makers would combine to prevent domestic competition just as soon as the consumers began to derive any benefit from it.

The reported placing of orders for 180,000 tons of steel rails for Russia at the Carnegie works, to be delivered during

the next twenty-six months, is fresh evidence of the fact that the United States has become the centre of the world's iron and steel production. It may be worth mentioning that nine years ago Mr. Edward Atkinson contributed to the *Manufacturers' Record* of Baltimore a paper predicting this result as something to be looked for at an early date, i. e., that the United States would soon distance all other countries in the production of iron. He also quoted an earlier prediction of the same tenor from Abram S. Hewitt, dated as far back as 1855. Both were true prophets, and their words have come true sooner, perhaps, than they expected. Great Britain, hitherto the largest producer of iron and steel among the nations, is now handicapped by the growing cost of her raw material. She is compelled to import the best qualities of iron ore from Spain and Sweden, and, what is still more serious, she has reached her maximum output of coal; that is, she has reached the point where a larger demand for coal cannot be supplied without a material advance in price. This is a critical situation for her iron industry, if not for all of her industries that depend upon coal. At present the world's demand for iron and steel has outrun the supply, and while this condition lasts the competition of the United States will be little felt. But when the situation changes, the advantages which we possess in raw material will begin to tell against the English furnaces, and can be met only by economies of detail or by the sad alternative of lower wages to laborers.

The outward movement of gold ought not to attract any attention, and does not, except among those who deal in foreign exchange and those who have bills to pay abroad. It is easily explained by a number of patent facts, which are commonly overlooked. One of these is the gold production of the United States, which is going on all the time at the rate of \$5,000,000 per month. In addition to this is the production of the Klondike mines, nearly all of which comes to our refineries and assay offices. The amount of Klondike gold coming in is not known, but it is a pretty large sum, and is evidently increasing. It is not to be supposed that we can find use for all that we produce, plus all that we take in from the North. It is neither possible nor desirable that we should retain an excess of gold, any more than of grain, or cotton, or pig-iron. Moreover, the outward movement has not yet reached the amount of the payment made to Spain for the Philippines. Still another line of drainage not usually observed is the war in the Philippines, which is costing about \$3,000,000 per month. This works against our balance of trade just like the payment of the \$20,000,000 to Spain. Several months of the war

will cost us more than the original price of the islands. The \$3,000,000 sent to pay the Cuban army must be taken into the reckoning, also, together with the support of our own military forces there and in Porto Rico. Altogether the wonder is that the gold-export movement did not begin sooner and reach a larger amount.

The establishment of Australian federation is a matter of world-wide concern, and the result of the vote on this question in New South Wales on June 20 is therefore of the first importance. The idea of such a union among the British colonies in that part of the world has been discussed for a dozen years, but New South Wales, the coöperation of which was most essential, seemed disposed for some time to hang back. The late election, however, resulted in an overwhelming majority in favor of federation. South Australia has previously voted the same way; Victoria will certainly follow suit at its election next month, and Tasmania whenever the vote shall be taken; while Queensland, which has been hostile to the scheme, is not likely to stay out alone very long. Even if the latter colony shall vote against it next September, the other four will go ahead and start the Federation, under a Constitution which bears some strong resemblances to that of the United States. Such a Federation is a sign of healthy progress in the unification of interests among colonies which have much to gain from closer ties.

The arrival of the bubonic plague in Egypt in the course of its westwardly advance from China towards Europe is a disquieting fact, inasmuch as the latest scientific testimony is to the effect that the disease, having once obtained a foothold, cannot be stamped out by summary measures, but will prevail so long as it has material to feed upon. Alexandria is much cleaner now than it was before the days of the English occupation, but it is still an Oriental city, and, with the plague within its borders, more or less of a menace to all ports with which it is in communication. That the pest can be prevented from spreading to Europe is most improbable, that it may cross the Atlantic or Pacific is quite within the limits of possibility; but fortunately it is now practically certain that it can be controlled and defeated by proper sanitary precautions. This seems to be about the only point in connection with it upon which all the scientists are agreed, after several years of anxious observation in China and in India. As to the cure of the malady, Science has not advanced yet much beyond the experimental stage. The Russian Dr. Haffkin claims a certain degree of success for preliminary inoculation by his process.

AID AND COMFORT TO THE ENEMY.

The speech made by Mr. Barrett, late Minister from the United States to Siam, at the Chamber of Commerce in Boston, was in some respects commendable. So far as it dealt with the commerce of the East, it was at least more moderate in its estimates than some others that have been made. Mr. Barrett, however, assigned no substantial reason for the great increase of trade which he expected, and his estimates must be regarded as largely conjectural. It is not his figures that appear to us deserving of attention, but the political principles that he enunciates. He thinks that the only hope of this country, so far as gaining the trade of the Far East is concerned, is in our maintaining our sovereignty perpetually over the Philippine Islands, and he implies that those who protest against our subjugating their inhabitants are traitors. He declared that all our generals and most of our privates agree that the anti-imperialist movement has given unlimited aid, comfort, and encouragement to the forces of the Filipinos. More specifically, he stated that "the most encouraging influence for the Filipinos in fighting us, and hence the most unfortunate one for our soldiers and sailors to combat against, was the spreading of the sentiment and ideas through the ranks of the Filipino army and among the masses of the natives that our occupation of the islands was unwarranted, the war unprovoked, our army and navy unsupported by our people, and our country about to demand the withdrawal of our forces from the islands, the hauling down of the flag, and our complete and ignominious withdrawal from our responsibilities."

Mr. Barrett further declared that Senator Hoar's speech roused great hopes of freedom among the Filipinos, and that he did all that he could to prevent copies of the speech from being distributed among them. This is in accordance with the principles of the censorship which has been established under our military rule, and Mr. Barrett's whole speech is based on the assumption that it is the duty of Americans who believe that we are engaged in a war of "criminal aggression" to deny their belief, or at least hold their tongues. This assumption has no place in the theory of free government. It belongs to despotism, and the naïveté with which Mr. Barrett adopts it shows how extensive is the demoralization produced by war.

But how consistent is his own practice with his censure of those who will not be silent at this time? We find in the July number of the *Review of Reviews* an article from his pen on the Philippine situation, in which he represents Aguinaldo as the idolized popular leader, who had returned to his country "under the protection of the ships of a nation called America, which had gone to war with

Spain and would give them freedom and independence at once." The "impression went abroad among the masses of the people that Aguinaldo had arrived to establish an independent government, and that the Americans would assist him." The people flocked to him in such numbers that he had contributions of large sums of money, unlimited supplies of food, and more soldiers than he could arm. The "people were educated to believe that they were to have absolute independence." Within a few months, Aguinaldo organized a government which "developed into a much more elaborate affair than its most ardent supporters had originally expected." By the middle of October, 1898, says Mr. Barrett,

"He had assembled at Malolos a congress of 100 men who would compare in behavior, manner, dress, and education with the average men of the better classes of other Asiatic nations, possibly including the Japanese. These men, whose sessions I repeatedly attended, conducted themselves with great decorum, and showed a knowledge of debate and parliamentary law that would not compare unfavorably with the Japanese Parliament. The executive portion of the Government was made up of a ministry of bright men who seemed to understand their respective positions. Each general division was subdivided with reference to practical work. There was a large force of under-secretaries and clerks, who appeared to be kept very busy with routine labor."

Does that sound like the description of an assemblage of savages, or of an assemblage of intelligent men, who knew what they wanted—knew their rights, and were bound to maintain them? And now read what Mr. Barrett says of the army which Aguinaldo collected:

"The army, however, of Aguinaldo was the marvel of his achievements. He had over twenty regiments of comparatively well-organized, well-drilled, and well-dressed soldiers, carrying modern rifles and ammunition. I saw many of these regiments executing not only regimental, but battalion and company drill, with a precision that astonished me. Certainly as far as dress was concerned, the comparison with the uniform of our soldiers was favorable to the Filipinos. They were officered largely, except in the higher positions, with young men who were ambitious to win honors and were not merely show fighters. The people in all the different towns took great pride in this army. Nearly every family had a father, son, or cousin in it. Wherever they went, they roused enthusiasm for the Filipino cause. The impression made upon the inhabitants of the interior by such displays can be readily appreciated. Aguinaldo and his principal lieutenants also made frequent visits to the principal towns, and were received with the same earnestness that we show in greeting a successful President."

We submit that when Mr. Barrett publishes facts like these, he does more to discredit the war which we are carrying forward in the Philippines than all the utterances of the anti-imperialists, and all the soldiers' letters combined, can do. He makes an effort to show that Aguinaldo is culpable because, when he found that the Americans were not going to withdraw and leave the Filipinos to rule their own country, he concealed the fact from his followers. He also endeavors to show that while our forces maintained "most agreeable relations"

with Aguinaldo when he first returned, Admiral Dewey was "careful to avoid formal recognition." But Mr. Barrett knows very well that there is other evidence on this point which establishes beyond dispute that Aguinaldo and his followers were led to believe that they would be helped by the Americans to establish their own independence. There is the official dispatch of Admiral Dewey himself, sent to the Secretary of the Navy on June 27, 1898:

"Aguinaldo, insurgent leader, with thirteen of his staff, arrived May 19, by permission, on the *Nashua*. . . . I have given him to understand that I consider insurgents as friends, being opposed to a common enemy. He has gone to attend a meeting of insurgent leaders for the purpose of forming civil government. . . . In my opinion, these people are far superior in their intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba, and I am familiar with both races."

A few weeks later, Gen. Thomas M. Anderson, commanding the United States troops at Cavité, wrote to Aguinaldo: "I would like to have your Excellency's advice and coöperation, as you are best acquainted with the resources of the country." Three weeks later, still in supreme command, he asked Aguinaldo for assistance in transportation of American troops, "as it is to fight in the cause of your people." That previous to this time our consular officials, Wildman, Consul-General at Hong Kong, Pratt, Consul-General at Singapore, and Williams, Consul at Manila, gave Aguinaldo the strongest reasons for believing that the American Government would help him to secure the independence of the Filipinos, is an established fact, the details of which are too familiar to need repetition. But what matters it how he and his fellow-patriots got the idea that we were to help them to fight for their independence? If they are fighting for it, what kind of an American is he who cannot sympathize with them? And if our sympathy depends upon their condition of savagery or the reverse, is not Mr. Barrett fostering the very "treason" he deprecates?

HONEST POLITICS.

It would be interesting to learn exactly who is meant to be influenced by the defences of the recent civil-service order which have been put forth. We know what the Civil-Service Commission thinks of it; we know what every one who has struggled for the reform thinks of it. They have no doubt concerning the purpose of the order, nor concerning its construction, nor concerning its operation. The assertion that the order is really calculated to promote the cause of reform, in the opinion of all these persons, merely adds the sin of hypocrisy to the guilt of bad faith. It is certainly improbable, on its face, that an order devised by men who have never interested themselves in reforming the service should be meant to advance the reform,

when no one who has been interested in the reform suggested or desired such an order. We may lay it down quite positively that whoever was grieved or disgusted or angered by the issuing of the order has not had his feeling altered by the defences offered for it.

There is abundant evidence, also, that these defences are equally worthless in the view of those who are opposed to reform. The Ohio politicians may have exulted a little prematurely, and perhaps injudiciously; but they exulted sincerely and they show no signs of disappointment. They are doubtless indifferent to explanations of the new order, provided they get the offices, and they have no doubt that they will get them. The editor of a New Hampshire journal, the *Mirror and Farmer*, of Manchester, perhaps as influential a Republican organ as any in Northern New England, dismisses all the talk of the President's being in favor of keeping the offices out of the hands of the politicians as cant. He says very frankly that it is wasting space to contend that the President's order "taking from 5,000 to 10,000 Federal offices out of the classified service and putting them in the list of spoils squares with the St. Louis platform, or with the President's letter of acceptance, because every intelligent person who is interested in the subject knows to the contrary." The order, he maintains, is right, because it restores to the politicians a large number of offices that should never have been taken away from them, and he concludes with the pointed question: "Why not stand up and say so, instead of asking people to believe what they all know it is not?"

This honest politician takes the ground that as the Democratic officeholders are performing their duties faithfully and satisfactorily, it would be an outrage to remove them "for cause." There is no cause for removing them, except that they opposed McKinley's election in 1896 and will oppose his reelection in 1900. Barring their politics, they are well enough; but there are plenty of Republicans who can step into their places and perform their duties just as efficiently. No doubt President McKinley declared that he stood on the St. Louis platform, and that platform promised to defend and extend the merit system. But, in the first place, "the adoption of the civil-service plank at St. Louis was a perfunctory performance, intended, like the declaration in favor of international bimetalism, to catch or hold a few votes of which it was supposed there would be great need." The promise was a bad one, and is better broken than kept. The President "has become convinced that the Republicans did not mean what they said when, at St. Louis, they parroted the usual promise to defend and extend the civil-service rules, in accordance with the wishes of the professional

reformers, and he has corrected the mistake. He has made it possible to bounce several thousand Democrats who are doing well enough, and give their places to as many Republicans who will do just as well. This is the plain truth, and nothing is to be gained by having it misstated by cabinet officers or any one else."

It is difficult not to be convinced by these statements. They are evidently sincere, they express the feeling of most of the Republican politicians, and they are intrinsically probable. No one can deny that there are thousands of offices in which the pay is more than the services are worth—in which, indeed, the services are of no market value, and as has often been pointed out, in which a child could do all that is required of a man. Such offices are created by politicians for the purpose of filling them with politicians, and to suppose that they will relinquish them without the most desperate resistance is to suppose that they are willing to commit political suicide. Such offices are created to be made "spoils," and it is time for reformers to enlarge their scheme, so as to provide for the abolition of useless offices and the compensation of employees on business principles, as well as for examinations and permanent tenure. Until this is done, the ordinary citizen will cling to the traditional view that a public office is one in which the pay is much higher, in proportion to the work done, than a private position; and while that view prevails, the "spoils" theory will endure. The New Hampshire editor has stated the case fairly and honestly. The Republican politicians talked of civil-service reform only to gain votes, and now that they think they do not need these votes, they cease their pretences. That may be called dishonest politics from one point of view, but it is honest politics as showing reformers just how they have been treated, and just what they may expect from the Republican party.

POLITICAL ISSUES CHANGING.

Mr. S. E. Morss, editor of the Indianapolis *Sentinel*, is credited with holding the view that the financial plank in the Democratic platform of 1896 ought not to form the dominant issue in the campaign of next year, and that if it does the party will be beaten. According to an interview which has been published in some of the Western newspapers, Mr. Morss thinks that the issues will be "anti-Trust, anti-militarism, expansion, and tariff reform." With these he thinks that the Democrats would have good prospects of success. It is reported that the ancient and moss-grown Democracy of Indiana are much agitated by this outgiving, and that some of the more venerable members of the party talk of starting a new paper in opposi-

tion to the *Sentinel*—a project which may be carried into effect when the United States adopts free coinage at the ratio of 16 to 1 without the consent of any other nation, but not before.

Undoubtedly Mr. Morss, in the interview attributed to him, represents the present drift and tendency of the Democratic party. On the other hand, we observe a tendency among the Republicans to put the financial issue forward as the chief one of the next campaign. Such must be the meaning of the sudden and praiseworthy zeal of their leading organs in favor of a law declaring all Government obligations payable in gold, and the reported determination of the Senate Finance Committee to promote the passage of such a measure next winter. If such a bill is reported at the next session, it will constitute a challenge to the Democrats to make the campaign on the issues of 1896. It will serve the twofold purpose of putting the Democrats in a dilemma, and of sidetracking the issues of imperialism and civil-service debauchery which now becloud the Republican horizon not a little.

The question, what shall be the issues of next year, cannot be determined *ex cathedra* this year. Whatever shall prove to be the subjects of most immediate national concern then—whatever be the questions making the sharpest divisions in the public conscience—will be the political issues. Neither Mr. McKinley nor Mr. Bryan, neither editor Morss nor Senator Hanna, can stop the flowing of the tide of opinion. The tide will carry the platform-makers along with it, and they will be studying, when the time comes, not how they may stem it, but how they can make the best use of it and derive the most advantage from it. It is easy to say what will not be the uppermost consideration next year. Mr. Morss is right in saying that it will be useless to expect to change our monetary standard while the Republicans control the Senate. As they have secured a majority for at least six years to come, it will be simply a waste of powder for the Democrats to put the silver issue in front. All that they could expect in the most favorable event would be a change to bimetalism of some kind, national or international, about the year 1907. That is too distant and too problematical to engage present effort. No enthusiasm can be enlisted in a contingency so remote.

The situation is greatly changed since the fight for free coinage was going on in the seventies and eighties. Then the Republicans professed to be as good silver men as the Democrats. If the Democrats fathered the Bland bill, the Republicans fathered the Sherman bill, which "did more for silver" than the former measure. If the Democrats were for free coinage by separate action of the United States, the Republi-

cans favored the same end by international agreement, which was safer. And so the *ignis fatuus* was always dancing in front of us, apparently within reach, but just beyond our grasp. Now, however, the situation is wholly different. The Republicans are no longer pretending to favor silver. They no longer favor an international conference to "rehabilitate" it, although they would join one if it were called by some other nation of the first rank, as it will not be.

The prospect being as it is for six years to come, the most sanguine bimetalist must be under depression of spirits. The inspiration of hope is wanting. Even Mr. A. J. Warner, who may be called, since the death of Mr. Bland, the veteran of fiat money, is said to take a despairing view of the bimetallic future. It is certain that Mr. Bryan is not upholding the cause with his usual vigor. He has two words to say about Trusts where he says one about silver. He has said that he considers the money question only one branch of the Trust question. Very likely Mr. Morss did not give utterance to his views without some assurance that they would be agreeable, or not disagreeable, to Mr. Bryan. All that can be said now is that the Democratic party is drifting away from the financial plank of the Chicago platform, and that the campaign of next year will most probably be fought on the other issues which Mr. Morss has indicated.

THE INTEROCEANIC CANAL.

The problems of an interoceanic canal form the text of an instructive article in the June number of the *Political Science Quarterly*, by George L. Rives. Mr. Rives considers all the questions involved, but gives most attention to an exposition of the legal ones which are raised by the demand for "a canal under American control." This phrase has been repeated so often that it has come to be accepted by many as a self-evident proposition, yet it ignores several important considerations, and among others these: (1) the Clayton-Bulwer treaty with England, in which we agreed that we would never acquire or exercise such control; (2) the consent of Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Colombia, or whatever countries the canal passes through; (3) the means necessary to make such control permanent and effective, and the cost of the same.

What is meant by "American control" of an interoceanic canal? It does not mean exclusive right to use the canal. Nobody has ever suggested that idea. Every calculation that has ever been made respecting the cost and the revenue of the canal has been based upon the largest possible traffic. It has been assumed that all nations will use it on equal terms, and that the tolls will be made low enough to attract not only the

commerce that now goes around the Horn, but a large share of that which crosses the continent by rail, and some part of that which now goes via Suez. Neither Great Britain nor any other country could consent to discriminating tolls on an interoceanic canal. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty was framed primarily to prevent such discrimination. Moreover, Nicaragua has treaties with most of the nations of the Old World guaranteeing them equal rights of passage through any canal that may be made through its territory. Great Britain may consent to the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, but only on condition that the canal tolls shall be as low to her ships, her subjects, and her goods as to those of any competitor. Neither France nor Germany could consent to be put at a disadvantage commercially in respect of tolls, since discrimination against them would be tantamount to exclusion from the canal altogether. If the Suez Canal had never been neutralized by treaty, if it belonged solely to England in such a way that she could do what she liked with it, she could never adopt discriminating tolls on it without finding herself at war with the whole world.

We may assume, then, that "American control" does not mean the exclusive right to use the canal commercially, nor the right to give our own people an advantage over others. There is only one other thing that it can mean, and that is the right to pass our war-ships through it in time of war, and to prevent the enemy from doing so. Obviously, these rights can be exercised in time of war only on condition that we are strong enough on the line of the canal, and at both ends of it, to fight off the adversary. The right to pass the *Oregon* through the canal last year (if there had been a canal) would have been of no worth unless we had been able to guarantee that no harm would be done to her or to the canal itself while she was making the transit, and that she would not meet a superior enemy when she emerged from it. Mr. Rives thinks that without such guarantee Capt. Clark would have preferred to take his chances by the Straits of Magellan. A very small amount of dynamite would suffice to disable a lock and to imprison any and all ships that might be passing through. Of course the enemy would make the utmost efforts to cripple the canal unless he were restrained by treaty from doing so.

Therefore, American control, in Mr. Rives's opinion, requires continuous military occupation of the country through which the canal passes, supplemented and sustained by paramount naval strength, situated in close proximity to the Atlantic terminus. This is mainly a question of cost, but it is not without its moral aspects. How are we to acquire the right to occupy the country

in question? Such occupation is not likely to be granted peacefully. It is not likely that Nicaragua, for example, will surrender her sovereignty unless compelled by arms. Are we to invade her if she declines to do so? Would any large number of the American people justify such a step? There may be some persons so addled by the catchwords "American control," "Monroe Doctrine," etc., that they would see nothing wrong in our seizing any Central American country that denies or questions Mr. Olney's doctrine that our fiat has the force of law on this continent; but it is not probable that we shall resort to such measures unless we have better reasons for doing so than have been advanced as yet.

The conclusion that the readers of Mr. Rives's article will draw from it is that an international guarantee of the neutrality of the canal is much better and a great deal cheaper than any guarantee of our own. With an international guarantee, the only protection needed would be that of an ordinary police force, whereas our sole guarantee would require effective military control of the entire line, and effective naval control of the termini. The former would probably imply 30,000 men either on the isthmus or within hailing distance. The latter would be an indeterminate quantity. It might require us to have the largest navy in the world as a permanent addition to the national budget. It might involve us in a larger expense than all the saving which the canal could bring to our commerce.

Mr. Rives takes the Panama Canal into his reckoning, and holds it to be the President's duty to give that enterprise the same impartial consideration as the Nicaragua. His article is interesting in all its phases, and, while his treatment of the subject cannot be considered exactly novel, it is so clear and complete that it must have considerable influence on current opinion and discussion.

AN INTERESTING EXHIBITION.

LONDON, June, 1899.

The International Society of Painters, Sculptors, and Gravers, as it calls itself, having its headquarters at Knightsbridge, began its career a year ago, and yet already it is felt that if it will but persevere, if the small public that can appreciate it will but give it the necessary support, it must prove a more formidable power for the Royal Academy to reckon with than any number of Royal Commissions and big books of denunciation. Not that it was started in opposition. The object of the Grosvenor Gallery was, practically, to rival the Academy, to represent all the outside forces, to provide a shelter (and a befitting one) for distinguished, or interesting, or promising artists who found the doors of Burlington House shut against them. But the International was formed by a little group of men, with Mr. Whistler as their President, not to revolutionize or reform or represent or rival anything, but simply because it was

amusing to try, by means of discriminate invitation and selection, of intelligent hanging and arranging, to make a show that would prove a pleasure, and not a torture, to all who visited it. And it so happens that nothing is so badly needed at the present moment as just such a show. The necessity of covering an enormous wall space has put a premium on incompetency. The lowering of the exhibition standard has encouraged the amateurs. And in the dreadful medley that is the result, good work is lost sight of. It gradually disappears, for the self-respecting artist hesitates to dishonor his pictures by submitting them to so humiliating a test.

Against this evil the International Exhibition proves a triumphant protest, and it is because I think the evil so serious, though not half well enough realized, that I dwell on the general character of the show rather than on individual contributions to it. All the pictures hung may not be masterpieces, to be sure, but at least they are treated as if each were worthy of consideration—and, indeed, if it were not, why should it have been accepted? The walls, of a good gray-green, make a pleasant neutral background, the light is tempered by a canopy, and the pictures, instead of being jumbled up into a mere mosaic of frames, hang never more than two deep, while around each is the little space as important to a painting as the margin of white paper is to a page of text. If the result is that room can be spared for not quite two hundred and fifty pictures, so much the more reason have we to be thankful. It is quality that counts, not quantity. Another advantage is that these comparatively few are, more or less, in sympathy; at all events, different methods and styles are never allowed to conflict, to kill each other. When discord is thus avoided, when every canvas is duly respected, genius does not run the danger of disappearing for the moment, or of suffering from its neighbors; the honest endeavor or experiment is seen at its very best. Such careful arrangement immediately gives dignity and harmony to the walls. The collection can be looked at, not only comfortably, but with absolute enjoyment. Of course, it may be said that the system of inviting contributors must lead to injustice, that the most perfect committee is sure to have its prejudices and preferences, that some good men are bound to be left out. But still, in the end, the system, no matter how much abused, would be productive of less evil than the Academy's plan of considering any and everything any and every man, woman, or child may choose to submit. The more difficulty there is in obtaining admission into an exhibition, the better it must be for that exhibition.

But it is not necessary to theorize when we have the International as a practical example of how the system works. I do not count the New Gallery, where the same rule is supposed to prevail, for there, though there is a committee made up partly of artists, I doubt very much if they are the ruling force. Besides, they are mostly Academicians, with, presumably, Academical axes to grind. The comparison may be made more reasonably between the International and the Academy. It is a very few weeks since I wrote that the successes at this year's Academy could be reduced to two small pictures—a portrait and a landscape. And now, if I turn to the younger

institution? At once, I am confronted by a difficulty. I find in the four or five rooms—there are sixteen galleries at Burlington House—more good, more interesting work than I can mention without my letter dwindling into a mere catalogue, and I find also some extremely distinguished work. Here you have a President who not only is useful as a figurehead, but is a painter accepted by all other painters as a master. It would matter little at the Academy, one way or the other, if Sir Edward Poynter did or did not exhibit. Mr. Whistler's appearance at the International is an event of the greatest artistic importance—especially as three of the six paintings he contributes have never been shown to the public before. One is a little nude, the other two are portraits—small ovals: "Violet and Rose, Carmen qui rit," and "Rose and Gold, the Little Lady Sophie of Soho"—both very lovely harmonies of color, full of the elegance and reticence which always make so many of the canvases hung near Mr. Whistler's seem but tentative, experimental, uncertain. It is to be noted, too, that Mr. Whistler's influence develops an appreciation of these very qualities in his pupils. Not very far from his group of pictures is a study of a head, "Étude de la Semaine," by Miss Inez Bate, who, the catalogue explains, is "Maître de l'Académie Carmen, Élève de Whistler," and its sober restraint, its dignity, lend it a distinction you do not look for in a student's work. How often, I wonder, would one's attention be called to the "Week's Study" by an Academy student, if it were hung at Burlington House?

The same difference that exists between the presidents of the two institutions is as striking when it comes to the rank and file. At the International the trouble is to discover, not the successes, but the failures. But let me quote Mr. R. A. M. Stevenson on the subject:

"While the first impression at the Academy is appalling, the first sight of this place is inviting and delightful; while one takes some time to find out that there are good works at Burlington House, one admits only slowly and reluctantly that there are bad pictures at the International."

And he adds that "perhaps bad may be a rather strong word, since the International does not go as far down as the Academy." But, really, it has been amusing, in reading the criticisms in the London papers, to see how the various critics have disposed of this majority of good work, to which the usual London show has not accustomed them. One or two have been content to consider only the pictures of the group represented by Renoir, Pissarro, Monet, Sisley, who, it has been said, must be discounted in reckoning the actual forces and prospects of the Society, though I cannot understand why, since they are unquestionably among the forces that have made a large proportion of the exhibitors what they are. In some cases interest has been concentrated chiefly upon the Glasgow men; very naturally, as this is the one gallery in London where Mr. Guthrie, Mr. Walton, Mr. Lavery, Mr. Paterson, and the others are received and recognized and honored. I cannot help feeling that their accomplishment has not yet justified the great expectations they aroused several years since, but their work is never commonplace, and their continual endeavor to develop style above all else prevents their tumbling into the trivialities of the Academy or wrecking themselves on the sham re-

vivals and archaic affectations of the mere notoriety-seeker. Nor have they ceased to concern themselves with the decorative quality of a canvas, so that you may be sure of some definite design, some well-thought-out arrangement of color, even in the portrait or landscape in which you are most keenly conscious of their indifference to tones and values.

Then, again, the important fact may be the presence of Miss Beaux, who made such a sensation last year, and Mr. Chase, who, in London, has hitherto been known only by reputation, and I think he might have sent pictures that would sustain that reputation more brilliantly. Or, the chief attraction is the work of the Scandinavians, Kroyer and Thaulow; of the Germans, Stuck and Klimt; of the Italians, Mancini and Fragiaco; of the Dutchman, James Maris, or of the individual painters independent of any group—Muhman, Mark Fisher, McLure Hamilton, for too many years resident in England to be identified entirely with the Americans—or Couture, or Sandys, or Walter Crane, or Greiffenhagen; and so I might go on through a long list. But I have said enough to give an idea of what manner of painting, or painter, is to be looked for at the International.

The prints and drawings are still more distinguished as a collection, and they are as admirably hung as the black-and-white work at the Academy is chucked carelessly together. The men of the sixties are given a place, and for me this mingling of the older with the younger generations is immensely helpful. There are studies by the English Alfred Stevens, the designer of the Wellington Monument at St. Paul's, and by the German Menzel. A room—a white room—is set apart for Mr. Whistler's etchings, among them two beautiful little impressions of the Jubilee Naval Review, now seen for the first time. There are several of Mr. Cole's wood engravings after the English masters, already published in the *Century*; color prints by Mr. Oppler and Mr. Nicholson; etchings by Herr Klinger, Mr. Pennell, Mr. Strang; Mr. Sullivan's series of drawings to illustrate "Sartor Resartus." But, again, I am in danger of cataloguing. All I have space to say is that the average in the black-and-white section is higher than in any other, and that the sculpture, if there is not much of it, is excellent, while it includes one of M. Rodin's most perfect little groups. Altogether, the radicals, who are so eager to put a stop to all exhibitions because both Salon and Academy have failed the artist, could not do better than visit the International, and from it borrow a far simpler solution for the most serious artistic problem of the day. N. N.

SAN GIMIGNANO.

FLORENCE, May, 1899.

Now if it were not for the recent fleeting gleam of popular interest in which the little Tuscan town of San Gimignano has been basking on account of the Dante celebration there, I should probably never set down for publication a word about the place. Nor do I intend to describe the goings on at the aforesaid celebration, firstly, because I was not present, and, secondly, because, as near as I can make out, it was like most celebrations—speeches, dinners, processions, and band-concerts. Neither can I speak learnedly of the surprisingly numerous and interesting frescoes in the local churches, by Benozzo Gozzoli, Ghirlandajo, and other worth-

ies. What, indeed, remains to be mentioned? Little, it is true; but there is always a pleasure in chronicling the obscure, if worthy, and bringing to light hidden treasures of even small price. The town, up to the present time, has been known to the elect only, and from the elect did I get my cue to go and stay there. So, as a mere matter of *noblesse oblige*, I should be extremely shy of "giving away a good thing" were it not for the celebration above mentioned, which has attracted such comparatively general attention to the town among tourists that I might as well raise my voice to tell them what San Gimignano is like when they are not there, and when no band-concerts are in progress.

What, then, is the mystic attraction of San Gimignano? Well, it is a mediæval town. Here, in seething modern Italy, only seven miles from the railroad, under the shadow of Florence, that great cradle of the new life of which the ending century has been so gloriously full, San Gimignano stands stolidly unmoved, essentially as it stood before that new life was conceived of. It was more on account of the local color of the place than of its somewhat slender connection with Dante—he spoke here in favor of the Tuscan League in 1390, not, as erroneously calculated, in 1299—that the town was selected as the stage for the recent cavalcades, speechifications, and so on. And as a stage, the setting is certainly appropriate. The centre is occupied most properly among a sober and cleanly folk by the town-wall, which, with that perversity almost proverbial in wells, occupies nearly the highest land in town. If you will stand on the steps and peer over the curb into the capacious depths, you will get the keynote of the town; for the inner edge of that solid stone curb is like nothing so much as a blunt-toothed comb. Unaccounted generations of bucket-ropes sliding over its surface have worn there a continuous fringe of grooves, so deep that in some you can hide two fingers. Turn and walk around the square, being careful not to step on the crockery and other small wares laid on the pavement for sale. The houses, you see, have rarely remained true to their original intentions. Doors have been made into windows, arches bricked up, and then other arches opened under them, to be perhaps superseded after all by a modern lintel. There are bits of fine old Siena brick and terracotta work over some of the more pretentious windows; a sturdy Romanesque chapel front of the eleventh century serves as a wall to the stable-yard; and dozens of other tracks of the whirling of time are obvious. Indeed, it is said that the town is mentioned as far back as 921. In the middle part of the town plentiful traces exist of a wall of the twelfth century.

In the sixteenth century a much more extensive wall was constructed, and this wall, with its round bastions, its machicolated gates, and its embrasures for the primitive cannon with which it was at intervals defended, still remains in almost perfect preservation. Outside of it the town, with true mediæval caution, has steadfastly refused to expand. Within it the highest point is occupied by the Rocca, or citadel, now for the most part a blooming garden. In the aimless streets that plough through the solid masonry of the town like deep crooked stone gutters, the pack-horse is still the characteristic beast of burden. The mail comes up from Poggibonsi, when it does come, in a shambling old curriole. Fur-

ther than the telegraph office, electricity in any form has never penetrated. I think at "Il Leon Bianco" I once saw a newspaper, but I forget of how many weeks back. The policeman sleeps undisturbed on the café bench. A bicycle tourist is a seven days' wonder. In fact, I am ready to back my thesis against all comers, that San Gimignano is a thoroughgoing mediæval town.

And what of the inhabitants in a mediæval town? I wish I could truthfully say that mediæval costume is still worn. But, alas, to return to our stage metaphor, instead of the "legitimate" doublet and hose, cuff and farthingale, a distressingly low-comedy style is prevalent; loud checked suit, pancake derby, and baggy green umbrella being proper festive attire. Since their disastrous playing at politics in the Middle Ages, resulting in loss of independence, dismantling of the fortifications, and a forced fealty to Florence, the inhabitants have to a remarkable degree minded their own business and cultivated self-dependence. Only once was I approached by a beggar (and this, mind you, in Italy) during my stay—of course, saving and excepting the children, who follow a visitor as if he were a kind of modern Midas. Almost every trade is practised in this isolated little community. The women twirl the distaff in the streets, and on the grass outside the walls bleach the narrow linen web that comes from the hand-loom clapping in the doorways. Dyed yarn hangs on the walls to dry. The cobbler, the harness-maker, the mason, the carpenter, the painter, the coppersmith, the potter, and all the rest of them can be seen intermittently at work. For nobody works very hard at San Gimignano. Why should they? Things were pretty well finished up there some time ago. Only the very old men and women are really active. Most of the able-bodied men lounge on the piazza and hold deep self-communings as to the advisability of doing anything to-day. It seems to take till about sixty-five to learn the value of time here. The types of face are not unpleasant—the women round-cheeked and cheery, brown-haired, taller and more attractive than the Senese; the men spare, keen-faced, taciturn, pipe in mouth, and hands in pockets, looking not unlike New England fishermen ashore.

Until the olive-picking and wine-making season comes round, life is almost stationary. What need to go far for anything? Following her self-centred policy, the town is well provided, not only with trades, but with public buildings. There is the cathedral, a stone barn without, within miserably painted above its uncouth capitals in imitation of Senese striped marble, yet enshrining the famous chapel of Fina, the invalid girl saint, whose simple death at the age of fifteen is beautifully illustrated on the walls by Ghirlandajo in some of his finest frescoes. There are the inevitable barracks, where a fresh section of that national scorpion, the Italian army, is quartered every six months. There is the hotel (as it loves to style itself), in an ancient "palace," where the infrequent visitor may watch the antics of his coming dinner as the geese chase the rabbits round the courtyard, or admire the sign-board, the ancient coat-of-arms of the town, a white lion on a shield half red, half gold. There is a mysterious factory that makes something very noisily in the sleepy late afternoon. There is even a theatre, shamelessly converted out of the ancient and venerable

hall of the Council. There is a collection of pictures from suppressed monasteries and the like, in the upper chamber of the town-hall. There is a monastery, not suppressed, among towering cypresses in the valley. There is an orphan school that is always open, and a public library that is always shut. There are parish churches, bald and early, but full of mural work by Benozzo Gozzoli and other great names. There is a large hospital and a small penitentiary. What would you? Are we not a complete little community at San Gimignano?

But above all there are the towers. Concerning them it appears, as nearly as I can make out, that at some misty date in the early struggles between Guelph and Ghibelline, or the two local families of Ardingelli and Salvucci, one of the haughty nobles built him a large square tower some three stories high, lighted by graceful arched windows and finished with a corbelled parapet. This was altogether too much for the leader of the opposition, who promptly built a taller tower and capped it with a belfry. "Unbearable!" cried every one, and forthwith the tower-building fever seized the town. Towers sprang up in all directions, all on the same square plan and with the same characteristics. Height being the sole consideration, any stone was used, mostly an ugly gray slate; no time or money was wasted on decoration, or even windows, save a few light-slits; there was no attempt at finishing the top—you merely stopped construction with a certain course, ready to go on again if the tower across the street grew taller than yours. One builder was so thoughtless as to run a set of corbels round the top of his tower; but behold, a neighbor's overtopped him, and he had to add another story, leaving the corbels foolishly sticking out below it. Church and state became equally infected. The town hall had been finished, a fine piece of early Gothic, but the Council built a large tower next it, thereby blocking the side street, which had to be led through an arch in the base. The cathedral chapter laid their heads together, and, under the name of a campanile, ran up a perfect monstrosity. One desperate slave to family pride erected twin towers only a few yards apart. Man without a tower was but a thing of naught indeed. At last affairs got to such a pitch that the authorities interfered. A maximum height of towers, a sort of early building law, was fixed, beyond which no private person could go. Then the craze subsided and the town came to its senses again. But what a looking town! Everywhere within the limits of the early walls, in the heart of the town, ugly tall towers and ugly short towers and ugly stumps of towers gibber senselessly at the firmament above them. Viewed from a distance, the town resembles some manufacturing centre, bristling with great chimneys of odd shapes. Only recently one of the loftiest towers was pulled down as dangerous, and similar precautions seem to have been often taken before. And they are now little more than ruins.

Just when this craze occurred I don't think any one quite knows, but it is alluded to in a proverb of highly respectable antiquity; and in the town hall you may see Gozzoli's picture of Saint Gimignano himself, painted years before Columbus was heard of, holding a model of the town, of which the towers form about nine-tenths of the buildings. Similarly, in Domenico Ghirlandajo's fres-

coes in the cathedral, groups of towers are used for unmistakable local "color"; and on the top of one we see a large bush already grown, as on an ancient ruin. By day they slowly splinter and crumble away under sun and wind and frost, of no more use now than they were to their pride-devoured builders. By night, from their pinnacles, the owls hoot derisively at each other, like haunting spirits of the disdainful nobles of the murky old days that saw their rise, and the moon plays strange mocking tricks with them. And as you end your stay in this corner of the Old World, and drive back to the New again, through the vineyards of the valley, you will turn for a last glimpse of the strange forgotten town, crawling uncertainly along its hilltop like some Rip Van Winkle who has lost his way, and all the poetry within you will be drowned in a flood of laughter at the inexpressibly futile and ludicrous appearance of the towers of San Gimignano.

S. F. B.

Correspondence.

FOREIGNERS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Will you please allow me to rectify an omission in my letter on Americans at the University of Paris? Besides the Comité de Patronage des Étudiants Étrangers, I should have mentioned another information-giving body, created especially to supply the needs of American students, namely, the Comité Franco-Américain, whose secretary, M. Henry Bréal, No. 70 Rue d'Assas, Paris, holds himself ready to answer all questions that may be addressed to him regarding studies in any of the French universities. American students, before or after arriving in Paris, may obtain from him information not merely on academic subjects, but also on the practical questions of expenses, lodgings, etc.

M. Bréal has just published, in the name of the Comité Franco-Américain, a pamphlet (in English), of about 140 pages, 8vo, entitled 'The Universities of France: A Guide for American Students,' containing very full information regarding organization, requirements for admission and graduation, and courses of study. This pamphlet may be had gratis on application either to him or to W. T. Harris, Esq., U. S. Commissioner of Education, Washington, D. C.—Yours very truly, W. S.
PARIS, June 15, 1899.

Notes.

Henry Holt & Co. announce Krausse's 'Russia in Asia,' and 'Adrian Rome: a Contemporary Portrait,' by Ernest Dowson and Arthur Moore.

'Thirty Years of New York Politics—Up to Date,' by Matthew P. Breen, will shortly be published by the author, at No. 71 Broadway, New York.

Macmillan Co. will publish 'Insects, their Structure and Life,' a primer of entomology, by Prof. George H. Carpenter; 'State Trials, Political and Social,' in two volumes, by H. L. Stephen of the Inner Temple; and, somewhat later, 'The Govern-

ment of Municipalities,' by Dorman B. Eaton.

The Scientific Publishing Co. of this city have nearly ready the seventh issue of 'The Mineral Industry: Its Statistics, Technology and Trade in the United States and Other Countries to the End of 1898,' edited by Richard P. Rothwell.

The Hudson-Kimberley Co. of Kansas City will publish immediately 'The House of Dreams, and Other Poems,' by William Griffith.

In August, Brown & Co., Boston, will have ready 'A Kipling Primer,' a bibliography by Frederick Lawrence Knowles, with a critical appreciation of Kipling's works and an alphabetical index to the plots of all the stories and ballads; and 'The King and Queen of Mollebusch, or, The Indispensables,' translated from the German of Georg Ebers by Mary J. Safford, with full-page illustrations.

The third volume of the Clarke papers, edited for the Royal Historical Society by Mr. Charles H. Firth, who, with Mr. Rawson Gardiner, shares the seventeenth century as his own, in matters historical, is in the press. It will contain many important papers relating to the West Indies. A facsimile will also be given in this volume of a very curious colored caricature of Richard Cromwell, on horseback, with the head of an owl.

Mr. Rodway, author of 'In the Guiana Forest,' of the 'History of British Guiana,' and of 'The West Indies and the Spanish Main,' in the 'Story of the Nations' series, is now on a visit to England, having obtained leave of absence for six months from his duties of librarian and assistant secretary to the Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society of British Guiana. From the more serious subjects of history and natural science Mr. Rodway has recently turned to novel-writing. His 'In the Wilds of Guiana,' just out, forms one of Mr. Fisher Unwin's 'Over-Sea' series. Mr. Rodway took to England manuscripts which will no doubt find their way into the publishers' hands.

Dr. Telting, sub-director of Archives at The Hague, is at present in the West Indies on official business. The West Indian Records preserved at The Hague having all been properly arranged, catalogued, and indexed, the Dutch Government has decided that the Records remaining in Dutch Guiana and in Curaçoa shall be similarly treated. It is on this mission that Dr. Telting is now engaged. He arrived in Paramaribo, the capital of Dutch Guiana, early in May, and, assisted by a staff of clerks from the several departments, he took in hand the documents preserved in the law courts, in the Treasury, and in the office of the Secretary of the Colony. Thinking he might learn something from the officials of British Guiana as to the preservation of documents from the ravages of insects, Dr. Telting paid a short visit to Georgetown, Demerara, where every facility for inquiry was given him by Governor Sir Walter Sendall. Neither in British nor in Dutch Guiana, however, has science yet disclosed the vermifuge that will preserve papers from the various pests that destroy books and manuscripts alike. After completing his labors in Dutch Guiana, Dr. Telting will proceed to Curaçoa, to arrange the Public Records of that historical island, of which Stuyvesant, the famous Governor of New York, was at one time Lieutenant

Governor. Returning to Europe by way of New York, Dr. Telting will renew acquaintance with Prof. Burr of Cornell, with whom he formed agreeable associations at the time the latter was working at The Hague in connection with President Cleveland's Venezuelan Boundary Commission.

The Messrs. Putnam have become the publishers of the second edition of Miner Bruce's 'Alaska,' which we noticed on its appearance three years ago, and have much improved its dress. The author has revised and enlarged his work, and given it a needed index. There is a chapter on the boundary dispute, one for tourists in search of the picturesque, and one of practical suggestions to prospectors in the Klondike. The illustrations are numerous and serviceable, and there are several maps.

Macmillan's taking little 'Pocket English Classics' proceed with 'Milton's Comus, Lycidas, and Other Poems,' and Byron's 'Childe Harold,' both edited by Andrew J. George.

FitzGerald's Omar is for a third time given the imprint of Thomas B. Mosher, Portland, Me., now in a "Vest-Pocket Edition," long and narrow as befits the designation. The binding is very dainty, and the printing to match. Mr. Dole, never weary of his subject, furnishes a brief preface.

Volumes ix. and x. of Mr. Charles F. Lummis's monthly *Land of Sunshine* are replete with information and entertainment not wholly confined to California. In 'The Bones of Mitla' the editor presents some of the architectural marvels of early Mexican civilization, and there are short illustrated articles on Hawaii and Manila, while Joaquin Miller describes 'Life in a Klondike Cabin,' from personal experience. In volume ix. is related by several hands the memorable ascent of the Enchanted Mesa by Mr. Lummis, his little daughter, President Jordan and wife, and others, who easily discovered proofs of former aboriginal occupancy. The pictures of scenery, population, natural products (e. g., the largest tree in the world), private and public dwellings and the like, will interest any one. Those who go deeper will be most struck by the bold and independent tone of the editorial writing, especially on public topics. This is not a common characteristic of the press, on the Pacific Coast or elsewhere; but courage has a permanent berth in the office of the *Land of Sunshine*.

A short but admirable preface, containing a brief biography of Amalie Skram, the author of 'Professor Hieronimus' (John Lane), and statement of her position among Scandinavian realists of to-day, arouses further interest in the story to succeed it by means of the following quotation from Björnson: "It is," he says, "the first time that a great author, in full possession of her mental powers, has had the opportunity of making such a study. Seeking quiet and treatment for a nervous affection, Fru Skram, of her own free will, became an inmate of a lunatic asylum. Thus she had a chance of studying one of those specialists in mental disease who are too apt to mistake rebelliousness for a sign of mental derangement. Of this doctor, of the patients, the nurses, her whole environment, she gives a picture so vivid, of such absorbing interest, that it can vie with the most thrilling romance." Vivid and absorbing it certainly is. We follow the fate of the heroine with feverish solicitude, and pity the husband hypnotized into the general be-

lief in her insanity, but it is the horror, and not the romance, of the situation which thrills us. A mixture of domineering conceit, untruthfulness, and subtle cruelty enables the professor to secure and retain his patients; nurses and doctors alike come under his spell. The treatment and hopeless struggles of the sane to escape are portrayed in ghastly detail; and this dramatic piece of writing of a high order will doubtless serve as a weapon for those who distrust the despotic power of asylums.

Baker, Voorhis & Co. of this city are the publishers of a valuable compendium of the 'United States Internal-Revenue Laws Now in Force,' by Mark Ash and William Ash. The volume is accompanied by notes indicating the derivatory statutes, references to judicial decisions, regulations, rules, and circulars of departments, and is supplemented by a voluminous appendix containing laws of a general nature and miscellaneous provisions applicable to the administration of the internal-revenue laws. The book is made necessary by the enactment of the war-revenue law of 1898, and is intended to cover everything. Taking as a basis the last official compilation of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue in 1894, the authors have endeavored to "comprehend in one volume all the *express* law." The compilation is conveniently arranged for purposes of reference.

'Cases on American Constitutional Law,' edited by Carl Evans Boyd (Chicago: Callaghan & Co.), is a compilation of some hundred and fifty or more abridged cases. The author, in his preface, disclaims any intention of attempting to rival the well-known collection of Prof. J. B. Thayer, but has aimed at bringing together within the compass of a single volume a sufficient number of the leading decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States to form the basis of a university course on Constitutional Law. The cases are taken from the reporters verbatim, except that "certain parts, particularly statements of facts, have been shortened, and matter not necessary to the elucidation of the constitutional question involved has been omitted."

'The Conflict of Laws in the Province of Quebec' is the title of a little book by Prof. E. Lafleur of McGill University (Montreal: C. Thoret). This is, it seems, the first attempt made "to collect and systematize the rules for solving conflicts of laws derivable from our codes, statutes, and jurisprudence." Many circumstances contribute to make the study of the conflict of laws in Quebec specially interesting—among others the fact that the province, while retaining French law as the foundation of its jurisprudence, has not (following the modern French rule) made civil status and the law of persons dependent on nationality, but has, on the contrary, adhered to the rule of the old French law, which is the same as that of the English law—that such questions must be decided with reference to *domicile*. The volume is a convenient handbook, and has a good collection of cases.

The Weidmann publishing-house of Berlin has commenced a series of translations of Greek tragedies by the well-known professor, Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, of the University of Berlin. These translations have already been published in the learned editions of this scholar, and are here repro-

duced in the hope of reaching readers who would not naturally turn to a critical and more costly edition of an Attic tragedian. Besides the translation, which is invariably a masterpiece of literary art, each volume is furnished with an introduction of which it is the highest praise to say that it is characteristic of the author. Taken all in all, these volumes form no inconsiderable contribution not only to the literature of the classics, but also to German literature. The tragedies thus far published are the "Œdipus Rex" of Sophocles and the "Hippolytus," "Hercules Furens," and "Supplikes" of Euripides.

American teachers of the classics, both in secondary schools and in colleges, will find much that is interesting and profitable in Dr. P. Dettweiler's articles on Latin and Greek instruction ("Didaktik und Methodik des griechischen und des lateinischen Unterrichts") which originally formed a part of Baumeister's recent 'Handbuch der Erziehungs- und Unterrichtslehre' (Munich: Beck), and are now obtainable in separate editions. Dr. Dettweiler, who is an Oberschulrat in Darmstadt, writes from long experience as a teacher, and from thorough knowledge of the extant literature of the subject to which his notes furnish an excellent bibliographical guide. The general portions of each treatise, dealing with the development, value, and principles of classical instruction, are, of course, of as great value here as in Germany; on the other hand, the particular considerations of teaching in the higher classes of the Gymnasias, while not at once and *in toto* applicable to our system, contain much that is of very great worth in regard to choice of authors to be read and methods of instruction.

Lippincott's Magazine will, in its July number, make a new departure in outward dress, and in collaboration, and announces the sole literary remains of the author of 'David Harum,' "a long short-story, entitled 'The Teller.'"

In the June number of the *Library Journal*, Mr. John Thomson, of the Free Library of Philadelphia, reports on his endeavor "to procure a hand list of incunabula (limiting the date to books printed prior to 1501) owned by colleges, libraries, and private owners in America"—this by way of contribution to the Gutenberg quinqucentenary celebration at Mainz. Already, he says, from five sources only he has got track of more than 1,500 volumes. He desires from any possessor of "fifteeners" a description embracing author, full title, date of publication and place (or press), and bibliographical reference (as to Hain or Panzer). In the same number may be found Mr. J. P. Edmond's account of his simple method of cataloguing fifteenth-century books.

We read in the Florence *Nazione* that on June 3 the Duchess Enrichetta Caetani di Sermoneta contributed \$5,000 towards the fund for the perpetual Dante lectureship in Florence. This fund, by the resolve of the local executive committee of the Italian Dante Society, had been named for Duke Michelangelo di Sermoneta of Rome, her late husband, a devoted student of Dante and eminent commentator. The Dante Hall in Or San Michele is to be furnished up and restored to its original condition by November next; and for the seating of it the Duchess offered 600 lire, and our countryman, Prof. Willard Fluke, 200. The same paper contains the subscription-list for the scholastic foundation to ce-

lebrate the fortieth year of Prof. Pasquale Villari's "fecondo e glorioso" instruction.

The twenty-first annual report of Mr. W. E. Foster of the Providence Public Library dwells largely on the new building now approaching completion. An interesting feature of the work of the year is the establishment of a system of "home libraries," consisting of "little cabinets, of attractive design," filled with good reading, and placed in the needy portions of the city. The decrease in the number of books circulated is amply accounted for by the increase of newspaper and periodical reading occasioned by the war with Spain. It is interesting to note that the percentage of fiction circulated was 60.60, history coming next. The total number of books in the library at the end of the year was 86,235.

From the annual report of the Suez Canal Company it appears that the receipts for 1898 were \$17,581,200, or nearly two and a half millions more than the previous year, and the largest on record, though the number of vessels (8,503 of 9,238,000 tons burden) was slightly less than in 1893, when the ships numbered 8,552. England sent 2,395 vessels, Germany 356, France 231, Holland 193, Austria 85, Italy 74, Turkey 54, Spain 49, Russia 48, Norway 47, Japan 46, Egypt 10, Denmark 8, America 4 (there were 3 last year), China 4, Portugal 3, Sweden 2, Greece 2, Rumania 1, and Argentina 1. Of the 212,000 passengers, a considerable majority were soldiers—English 34,000, Russian 28,000, Turkish 23,000, French 14,000, Spanish 10,000, Italian 5,000, and Dutch 3,000—figures of much historical significance.

At the last congress of the Sociétés Savantes, the Abbé Marsan read before the historical geography section a paper upon a project for communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by Nicaragua lake presented in 1785-1786 to Florida-Bianca, Minister of Foreign Affairs to Charles III. of Spain, by Count Louis Hector de Ségur, commandant of the castle of Péronne. The route suggested was "by the channel of the San Juan and Lakes Nicaragua and Lindiri." The manuscript of this memoir has been found in the archives of the château of Arreau.

Dr. Horace Howard Furness was given the honorary degree of Doctor in Letters by Cambridge (Eng.) University on June 13. The Public Orator, Dr. Sandys, had his word of praise for Dr. Furness's eminent Shaksperian labors—"virum et nobis et Britannorum poetæ summo conjunctissimum"—but also did not forget his father, that sound abolitionist, the late Rev. William H. Furness, D.D., "rerum divinarum interpretis humanissimi, Afrorum libertatis per vitam longam vindicis acerrimi."

—A return to the British Parliament of proceedings in county courts under the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897 covers only three full months of the law's activity, but gives some interesting figures. The act provides that the amount of compensation may be settled by agreement, in which case it does not necessarily become a matter of court record. Failing agreement, two forms of arbitration are provided—first, an informal arbitration by a single arbitrator chosen by the parties; or, second, a formal arbitration before a county court judge, or an arbitrator appointed by the judge and acting under court rules. The number of cases recorded was 130, of which 104 were settled by the judge's award, 8 by an arbi-

trators' award, and 18 by acceptance of money paid into court. The plaintiff won in 161 suits and lost in 29. In 38 cases compensation was given on account of death, the average award being £200. There were 53 cases of injury in which a weekly sum was granted—16 for total and 37 for partial incapacity. The average sum for partial incapacity was 12s. 10d. a week; for total, 11s. 4d. "It appears somewhat remarkable that the average payment for total incapacity should be less than that for partial incapacity. Probably the explanation is that partial incapacity usually means temporary incapacity, and that, in cases of temporary incapacity, even where the employer disputes his liability, he does not object, if he pays at all, to pay the full amount allowed under the act, i. e., half wages. On the other hand, the cases of total incapacity include a larger proportion of cases of permanent disablement in which a smaller allowance than the maximum under the act is awarded."

—These figures present a strong contrast to the returns under the Employers' Liability Act of 1880. Of the 681 cases treated under this act in 1898, 596 were in employments to which the Workmen's Compensation Act now applies. The average amount of damages in case of death was, under the act of 1880, only £85 6s., compared with £200 under the act of 1897. Solicitors' costs under the earlier law averaged £22 14s., and under the later only £11 1s. It is known that only a small part of the claims come before the courts, as damages are usually given without question. If the rate of injury and death in Germany held for England and Wales, the number of cases would number at least 120,000, and probably more. Considerably less than one per cent. of the cases, therefore, come before the judge or arbitrator, and the larger share of those do not arise from a disputed payment, but are to settle the question of the person to whom the payment should be made. "In some of the largest and most populous industrial districts, where numerous accidents must certainly have occurred in the employments coming within the act, not a single litigated case under the new act had, up to the 31st of December, been taken to the county court and decided, either by the judge or arbitrators. Thus, there was not one case from the mining districts of Durham, Consett, and Bishop Auckland, with a population of 312,000, nor from South Staffordshire, with a population of 575,000, nor from Plymouth and South Devon, with a population of 480,000, nor from Cornwall, with a population of 314,000. In Bristol, with a population of 355,000, there was only one case, and only two in the circuit which includes Halifax, Huddersfield, and Dewsbury, and has a population of 583,000."

—The contributors to Prof. Petit de Julleville's seventh volume of the *Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature Françaises* (Paris: Colin) have kept the tacit promise of their work on the eighteenth century by giving, in their treatment of the Romantic period (1800-1850), a very generous attention to writers of clerical and reactionary opinions, namely, Chateaubriand, Joseph de Maistre—and even Ballanche, Lammenais, Guisot, and Henri Martin hardly come off so well, although their respective writings are fully and fairly analyzed. As regards the principles of the Romantic school in poetry, one is pleased at finding neither violence nor

paradox in the exposition of them given here; but many readers will doubtless be surprised at the systematic disparagement of Hugo's tragedies, which have been contemptuously lumped with the work of Dumas père, and summarily disposed of as "melodramas." By following a similar line of argument, it would not be difficult to squeeze 'Le Cid' into the same category. Among the novelists, George Sand and Balzac naturally hold the foremost places. In the case of the latter, however, certain details of criticism leave something to be desired. If the great novelist's predilection for the Quartier Saint-Germain is indicative of a somewhat "snobbish" turn of mind (from which some of his successors have not remained entirely free), is it also true that his portraits of aristocratic society in the thirties are alone wanting in delicacy and tact? Surely, not here only is Balzac's representation of human character deficient. Much the most interesting chapters are those devoted to a review of criticism (Émile Faguet), to the literary relations between France and her neighbors (Joseph Texte), and to the interdependence of letters and art (Samuel Rocheblave), during the singularly active period covered by this volume. M. Faguet, treating his subject in more academic style than is his wont, appears at his best in estimating the value and influence of Sainte-Beuve's criticism; and in view of the sly underrating which the memory of the inimitable *causeur* has of late years experienced, M. Faguet's judicious discussion produces the effect of a rehabilitation. The most serious lack of this issue is in the matter of bibliography, to which but very superficial attention has been given. It is enough to state that the division on Musset contains no reference whatever to Paul Lindau's deservedly popular monograph.

—The unsettling of time-honored customs and old lines of demarcation of educational institutions, in consequence of the development of new domains of knowledge into full-grown sciences, has been experienced everywhere. Just now, the universities and higher technical schools of Germany are engaged in a serious intellectual boundary dispute, which is complicated by such side issues as the graduates' status in society and the State. The distinction attaching to the Doctor's title has led the modern technical Hochschule to covet the right to confer this degree, hitherto reserved to the university alone. If the degree of "Doctor of natural sciences" is granted by certain universities, why should not a four years' course at a technical Hochschule, followed by a *rigorosum* and a thesis, lead to a *doctor rerum technicarum*? Champions of the older institutions do not object to the title, but, they contend, it ought to emanate from the only genuine source of doctors' diplomas, i. e., the university. Others, however, hold that the titles of architect, engineer, etc., if properly guarded by law, would render the new species of doctor unnecessary. The grave question is under debate, and, to judge by the amount of thought bestowed upon it by the press and other authorities, is in no danger of being settled with unbecoming haste.

GORHAM'S STANTON.

Life and Public Services of Edwin M. Stanton. By George C. Gorham. With portraits, maps, and facsimiles of important

letters. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 456, 502. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

There has long been a good deal of curiosity to know whether Stanton's private papers contained much material which would throw new light upon the history of the civil war and the reconstruction period that followed. The publication of the *Life* by Mr. Gorham seems to prove that his career was public in a more complete sense than that of most men, and that there were, with him, almost none of those private intimacies in which statesmen take confidential friends behind the scenes and reveal their inmost opinions of the men with whom they are acting, and the hidden springs of events in which they have a part. The man and his work were one; and he may be said to have had very little life outside of his official duties. With this impression, at least, we close these volumes, in the preparation of which the author is supposed to have had fullest use of whatever private papers Mr. Stanton left.

This air of complete absorption impressed all who met him during the years when he was at the head of the War Department. His face rarely changed from the fixed seriousness, tinged with sadness, which was its habitual expression. His eyes gazed abstractedly beyond his visitor, and his words were uttered in a quiet monotone, with very little motion of lips or facial expression. This might be varied by flashes of intensity or of imperiousness, but almost never by relaxation into ease of manner or the genial trifles of conversation which smooth the flow of public business. Even his approval came as a kind of official benediction, through which might break at any moment a notice to quit. The portrait in Mr. Gorham's second volume gives with faithfulness the expression of his countenance habitual in his periods of best health, but it was intensified too often by lines which marked a morbid condition of his nerves, and the look of weariness in the eyes as of those who are overdone by watching. As a lawyer the same quality of intensity had marked his work, making him a vehement advocate who saw his case in the light of partisanship for his client. To take sides and to be militant in doing so was a necessity of his nature. It was easy for Lincoln to be judicial and to rid himself absolutely of partiality and predilection; but for Stanton this was not possible—at least not until the heat of the fray had plenty of time to cool.

Stanton, although stoutly for the Union, had been fierce in his opposition to the Republican party, and continued denunciatory of Lincoln and all his works down to the very day of his own appointment to the War Department. Mr. Gorham says that no man of note had been "more lavish of expressions of dislike for the President himself than had Mr. Stanton." There seems to be no good reason for doubting that McClellan's assertions and illustrations in his *'Own Story'* regarding the violent contemptuousness of Mr. Stanton's language in conversations with himself in the fall of 1861, are substantially true. Mr. Gorham makes no effort to explain the incongruousness in the sudden transition from this attitude to that of cordial and harmonious work under the President. The great desire to be of use to the country is hardly a sufficient solution. As Secretary he must work in strict and confidential subordination to Lincoln, while violent repulsion and contempt would destroy the necessary basis of successful cooperation.

There is evidence that Stanton underwent a conversion scarcely less sudden and striking than the most marked of religious transformations.

Mr. Lincoln's biographers agree in stating that a feeling of strong personal dislike had followed the association of Lincoln and Stanton as lawyers in the McCormick and Manny reaper case tried in the United States Circuit Court at Cincinnati in 1857. They, with Mr. Harding of Philadelphia, a leading lawyer in patent cases, were counsel for Manny. By common consent Mr. Harding was to present the arguments upon the mechanical questions, but, in the arrangement of the arguments upon the law, Mr. Lincoln was made to feel that he had been ridden over roughshod by Stanton and discourteously crowded out of his place in the argument. There are differences in the stories as to the details, but Mr. Herndon seems to be conclusive authority for the fact that, on Lincoln's return home, he felt the ill-treatment keenly. Accident had, besides, made him aware of rude personal expressions by Stanton, such as men meeting Lincoln for the first time were apt to use and smart with shame afterward when they learned what manner of man they had tried to look down upon. As the one in the wrong, Stanton's dislike naturally became vindictive and even violent when, in so short a time, Lincoln became a great figure in the nation and was made President, Stanton opposing with might and main.

Mr. Harding, being often in Cincinnati after the civil war, told the sequel to Channing Richards, late the United States Attorney there, who is the authority for it, and an indisputable authority to all who knew him. Harding had been admitted to Mr. Lincoln's friendship, and the latter knew his chagrin at being in any degree connected with the painful incident. He was in Washington at the time President Lincoln was considering the appointment of a new Secretary of War, and, with a tact amounting to genius, Mr. Lincoln made him the messenger to Mr. Stanton, to say that he was invited, as an earnest War Democrat, whose ability and honesty were well known, to take the War Department, and give the country confidence in the integrity and intelligence of its vast expenditures and in the unpartisan aims of the Administration in its conduct. The choice of the messenger made personal explanations superfluous. That Mr. Harding came with the invitation told the story without a word more. Stanton received it as a man stunned and incredulous. After a long pause, in which the tumult of his feelings could be seen in his face, he broke out, "Do you tell me, Harding, that Mr. Lincoln sent this message to me?" Assured that it was so, with streaming eyes he said, "Tell him that such magnanimity will make me work with him as man was never served!" It goes without saying that so impetuous a nature would become radical in the struggle, once he was committed to it, and that whoever else might complain of arrogance in dealing with him, after such a renewal of relations Mr. Lincoln's leadership was easily safe, though it was sure to be kind and considerate.

In dealing with Mr. Stanton's change of attitude toward General McClellan, Mr. Gorham makes a very full analysis of the dispatches and letters which passed between the War Department and the headquarters

of the Army of the Potomac. First came the rectification of Stanton's former supposition that there had been niggardliness in supplying the army and in fitting it out for a campaign. Next was the disproof of the General's imaginary obstacles, and of delays by reason of any hostility to him personally, or desire on the part of President or Congress to thwart him. This was inevitably followed by Stanton's discovery that the constitutional irresolution of McClellan was the sole cause of his tardiness in marching against the enemy, prompting him to exaggerate the forces opposed to him, and making a vigorously aggressive campaign an impossibility for him. The conviction that the General was a failure as a field-commander naturally led such a Secretary to vigorous efforts to remove him from command. The biographer shows that Stanton was quick and ardent in recognition and praise of all who struck hard at the enemy, and was intolerant only of timidity and inaction. McClellan had to take the same judgment as the rest, and the vindication of Lincoln and his Secretary is found in the earnest and unswerving approbation they gave to the officers who were finally developed, and who proved their ability to lead our armies to victory.

With Lincoln's death began a series of complications in our history which showed that the balance-wheel was gone and the engine racing in a way that threatened wreck and ruin. In the treatment of the convention between Generals Sherman and Johnston for the surrender of the Confederate armies, Stanton's impulsiveness ran away with his judgment. It is impossible to think of Mr. Lincoln as permitting the course taken by the Secretary, had he been living. The panic following the assassination and the attempt to murder Mr. Seward also is the best excuse for the total misjudgment of Sherman's real meaning and of the situation created by the negotiations. It was a matter to be handled delicately and thoughtfully, not coarsely and impulsively. Silence and confidential instructions to the General would have brought accord, and saved public excitement at a time when the calming of the public mind was the plainest dictate of prudence. Yet the manifesto published was of the class which provoke and accompany revolutions. Sherman felt it to be a travesty of what he had done, and was made to believe that it was published with intent to destroy his reputation. Mr. Gorham, however, writes of it as an advocate holding a brief for Mr. Stanton, and is able to see no flaw in his judgment or conduct. He rings the changes on the General's "admission of his 'folly in embracing in a military convention any civil matters,'" when the folly, as Sherman viewed it, was in failing to assume that the politicians would refuse consent to any plan not conceived by themselves. In the very letter quoted, he said, "I still believe the Government of the United States has made a mistake." In like manner, Mr. Gorham's denial that Stanton's manifesto implied that Sherman was violating known instructions given by Lincoln to Grant, is contrary to the natural meaning of the document, and that which was, in fact, given it at the time. So, the influence on Sherman of his recent conference with Lincoln himself is ignored, as is the extraordinary change in circumstances when Johnston declared he had power to surrender at once all the scattered forces of

the Confederacy, and prevent that lingering guerilla warfare which had been the great apprehension of our military men when the larger armies should be surrendered. Scarcely ingenuous is Mr. Gorham's use of John Sherman's letter to Stanton as "testimony that he was sure Mr. Stanton would not allow his brother, the General, to be unjustly dealt with," when the whole letter was a diplomatic effort to soften Stanton's antagonism, and was based on his feeling that "gross injustice has been done General Sherman." The armistice had been expressly made pending the submission of proposals to the Government, and to publish violent condemnation of them at the very moment the rejection was sent, days in advance of its reaching Sherman, is so gross a breach of established rules in civilized administration that nothing but an existing panic can palliate it, and it was inevitable that Sherman should feel outraged. The only fair treatment of the subject at this distance in time is to admit, on the one hand, that Sherman's sketch of terms was defective and could not be accepted as it stood, and, on the other, that Stanton's course was under the impulse of undue excitement, and his publication a grave mistake.

The same fault of temperament marks the whole of Stanton's dealings with President Johnson after he had determined to side with Congress in the deplorable quarrel over the reconstruction question. That one of the President's cabinet should stay in his confidential office for the very purpose of thwarting the Administration, and should make his knowledge, thus confidentially obtained, the means of drafting a bill to be passed by Congress to prevent the President, as Commander-in-Chief, from directing his generals in their administration of what the bill itself declared to be a military government in the conquered territory, shocks intelligent people now by the mere statement. That the same officer, after condemning the Tenure-of-office Act as unjustifiable invasion of the executive rights and responsibilities, should himself use its provisions to defy the executive, when his resignation was requested, and afterward his removal announced, is a gross inconsistency accounted for only by the blindness created by passion. Mr. Gorham makes elaborate argument in defence of Stanton, forgetting that those who then approved his action because it furthered their partisan aims learned, with so hot a partisan as Mr. Blaine, to say at last, "If it had been President Johnson's good fortune to go down to posterity on this single issue with Congress, he might confidently have anticipated the verdict of history in his favor." The quotations which the biographer makes from letters of approval by distinguished men to Mr. Stanton at the time, need to be supplemented by the votes of Congress repealing the act almost as soon as Mr. Johnson left the President's chair. Its character as a revolutionary measure was thus confessed, and judicious friends of Mr. Stanton wish he had followed the example of Mr. Dennison, Mr. Speed, and Mr. Harlan, in quietly retiring when they found themselves out of harmony with their chief, as all other cabinet officers have done before and since.

Mr. Stanton's final official act was as inconsequent as the others of this irrational period of our politics. His party was nearly solid in favor of the impeachment of Mr. Johnson, and was still unanimous in condemnation of what was understood to be the

Administration policy. That the impeachment lacked one vote of a two-thirds majority in the Senate did not affect the existing antagonism between the departments of the government, or the duty (if duty it was) of Mr. Stanton to stick to the War Office as a partisan of Congress. Yet he immediately resigned, giving as his reason that the failure to impeach was a failure to sustain the former resolution of the Senate that the President had no power to remove him and designate a Secretary ad interim. It is, however, a curious fact that the vote for impeachment was exactly the same as the vote for the resolution against removal, namely, thirty-five. In this latest step, as in the others, the biographer presents with great fulness what was the current party defence of Mr. Stanton at the time, but does not indicate the calmer judgment of the same party, which came with the sober second thought when the intoxication of partisan zeal had passed off. Here again Mr. Gorham would have done well to reflect upon Mr. Blaine's conclusion that "the sober reflection of later years has persuaded many who favored impeachment, that it was not justifiable on the charges made, and that its success would have resulted in greater injury to free institutions than Andrew Johnson in his utmost endeavor was able to inflict."

The true view of Mr. Stanton's character seems to be, that, with great intellectual abilities and high ideals, his impulsive nature made him exceptionally liable to the mistakes of intense partisanship. So long as he was under the influence of Lincoln's calmly practical and eminently sane judgment, his honesty and his great powers made him one of the most useful of public officers; but when left without that leadership, his eccentricities led him into many and great errors. The two large volumes of this biography come short of being historically valuable because they do not get beyond the limits of the thought and action of the period of political storm and stress, and give us no help in correcting the misjudgments inseparable from such a time.

MARSHALL'S INSTINCT AND REASON.

Instinct and Reason. By Henry Rutgers Marshall. The Macmillan Co. 1898.

Under this title Mr. Marshall essays to furnish us with a psychology of religion. Its last words, printed in capitals, are, "Be religious." Why? Because analysis shows it is in the highest degree desirable. Very well; most of us already feel that keenly enough. The difficulty is that the first step towards being religious is to believe; and not only do the minds of most men nowadays not readily believe, but, bad as it is to be deprived of religion, it is unquestionably still worse to cook up a factitious, unfounded, and consequently unstable belief. True, Mr. Marshall persuades us that religion is an instinct, and, therefore, not a faith. But, like other instincts, the moment it is broken down in the particular form in which it has taken root in us, it is apt to evaporate altogether, or, at any rate, to retain little vitality. Thus, the book, in its practical upshot, leaves us just where the majority of thinking men are already. Those who deem religion to be altogether baneful, had better avoid it if they do not want to change their minds. There are not many sentences in the volume as pro-religious as the following, which serves at once to illustrate Mr. Mar-

shall's attitude and his way of constructing a period:

"We note also the existence of a continuous and partially effective opposition to rationalism by the established Christian Church; an opposition which seemed exceedingly perverse to the Church's opponents at the time, which appears extremely reprehensible to the body of thinkers to-day, but which, I am convinced, will not seem nearly so ill-timed nor so disgraceful to those who look back from the standpoint which will be attained in the future, however much they may deplore, as we all must do, the form which this opposition took and the methods employed to attain its ends."

It is certainly true that rationalism has been slowly declining. Since nineteenth-century science has taught us how truth becomes established, since Darwinian ideas have been applied to the history of mind, since Hegel's analysis of self-consciousness has been illustrated in studies of childhood, and since the phenomena of sub-conscious mind have become known, the pretensions of individual reason to solve the great problems have been at a discount. Yet, after all, it is our nature to reason, and we have to make the best of it. Progress never has come from the religious spirit, and never will, as Mr. Marshall acknowledges; so that the whole question is how far we are to carry rationalism, and at what point to check it. Mr. Marshall's doctrinaire anti-rationalism is rather amusing, considering that his whole book is rationalism undiluted with one single word dictated by authority or prejudice, or even instinct, as such. All that he contributes to the solution of that question is an argument to show that it is rational to pay great respect to our instincts, especially those of the broader kinds. We fancy one J. J. Rousseau said something like this, without being looked upon as the champion of unreason.

The author's method of philosophizing is heartily in the spirit of the times. He relies implicitly and utterly upon a line of evolutionary argument which may be sound and is decidedly fashionable. He assumes as unquestionable that every instinct must subserve, or have formerly subserved, some important need, and even sometimes seems to speak as if every tendency to reaction must benefit, or have benefited, the single cell as well as the whole organism. While he risks everything on such reasonings, he makes considerable general admissions as to the insufficiency of the evolutionary philosophy, going in some respects further than there was any need of doing. Thus, he grants to Mr. B. I. Gilman that "Darwinism" leaves the whole question of origins untouched. Darwinism, in the proper sense of the word, of course does so; but that a purely evolutionary philosophy can trace its way from a starting-point that logically demands no explanation back of it, is shown by the instances of Aristotelianism and Hegelianism, both of which philosophies are evolutionary and set out (or may set out) from complete actual indeterminacy. Equally needless and still more important is the confession that the idea of "progress" is purely relative to our own ideals. If there be in nature a universal tendency in any definite direction, no matter what, that universal tendency will determine ideals; and therefore any such tendency would be a progress purely objective.

For reasons that appear decidedly feeble, Mr. Marshall concludes that there is something psychical—in his phrase a "psychic

somewhat"—to which he gives the name of mentality, in all action whatsoever. The reasons for believing that the rudiments of mind are much more widely distributed than we can positively make them out are strong enough; but to select "action" (whatever that may mean) from among all the objective elements of the universe of phenomena as defining the limits of mind, is a very different inference. It may be doubted whether a concept so vague and confused as a "psychic somewhat" can be of any service at all in philosophy. It would seem to be the business of the metaphysician to discriminate between the radically unlike elements of psychoses, and to find good reasons, as soon as he is able, for identifying these with different elements of phenomena objectively observed. One of the psychic somewhats would appear to be immediate consciousness, or feeling; but there is little or no reason to opine that this is at all proportionate to the amount of motion of its subject, or to anything else of that sort which the word "action" may denote. Consciousness is defined by Mr. Marshall as "the field of inattention." We may grant that this remark is founded on a true psychological observation, without admitting that attention and inattention differ otherwise than in degree, or that there is any threshold, or *Schwelle*, between them. Considered as a definition of consciousness, the proposition simply restricts that word to a particular kind of self-consciousness. Consequently, when the author applies the definition to the criticism of James and others, he simply misses their meaning.

Mr. Marshall reposes too confidently upon what he calls "mental and physical parallelism"—a monistic theory familiar enough in its outlines, though somewhat modified by the author—as against the traditional doctrine of a soul. To hold to a substantial soul is neither more nor less than to hold that mind and body really react. Action cannot take place without reaction, even if it can be so conceived, which may be doubted; for what would "action" mean without reaction? Yet the only considerable objections that Mr. Marshall brings against the theory of the soul are, first, that the action cannot be exclusively of mind on matter, and secondly, that it cannot be exclusively of matter on mind. The whole question is one of fact, and must await positive scientific observations for its settlement. Comparing it with other mysteries which have eventually been cleared up in that way—with that of the chemical constitution of the stars, that of the Trojan War, that of whether diseases are entities, that of meteorites, etc.—we remark that in those cases the facts were found to have little regard for the fine negative theories; and the simple idea of a soul seems to be rather more like nature's habitual answers to experimental questions than is any highly metaphysical hypothesis of mind-stuff and the like. Perhaps we may ultimately find that mind and matter are of the same general nature, and yet that there is a real mutual reaction between body and soul.

We could not undertake to do justice here to Mr. Marshall's very elaborate main argument. It seems to be essential to his position to maintain a natural classification of instincts into those which conduce to the preservation of the individual, those which go to the propagation of offspring, those which support social life, and finally religion, which checks the tendency to reason—or to

eccentricity, which is much the same thing, from Mr. Marshall's standpoint. Reason he holds to be continuous with choice, and as broad as our psychic life, and not at all restricted to the more superficial consciousness. Here, of course, he must expect strong dissent. The work concludes with two strong chapters, antagonizing hedonistic and utilitarian ethics.

RATZEL'S HISTORY OF MANKIND.

The History of Mankind. By Prof. Friedrich Ratzel. Translated by A. J. Butler, M.A. With introduction by E. B. Tylor, F.R.S. Colored plates, maps and illustrations. Vol. III., pp. 599. The Macmillan Co. 1898.

In this the concluding volume of a most comprehensive work, we have a description of the manners and customs, arts and industries, religion, form of government and personal appearance of the tribes that live in the western and central parts of Africa, together with a short and satisfactory account of "the cultured races of the Old World," under which head are included the Egyptians, Berbers, etc., of Africa and the Mongols, Arabs, etc., of Asia. In a separate chapter the racial history of the modern Europeans is briefly told.

Of course in an investigation of this character, ranging as it does from people in a low stage of barbarism to those that may be justly termed civilized, all attempts at generalizations except upon the broadest possible lines are futile. Great similarity, no doubt, runs through each one of the several groups, just as it exists everywhere between peoples in the same stage of development; but the differences in bodily conformation and in almost every other aspect of life are so numerous and so marked that no scale of progress hitherto invented seems elastic enough to include them all. Even among tribes and nations belonging to the same generic stock, and living in close proximity to each other, apparently upon the same plane of culture, this statement is believed to hold good; and it is this fact which makes it incumbent upon any one engaging in an investigation of the present nature to deal with each people separately and in more or less detail. Such a method of treatment, no doubt, has disadvantages, in so far as it involves an amount of repetition that soon becomes wearisome, and yet, on the other hand, it gives promise of greater accuracy, and, when based on competent authorities and accompanied by a suitable index, it makes the work invaluable for purposes of reference. This fact our author recognizes, and accordingly he has spared no labor in the preparation of a history in which, as people after people pass before us, we can study their characteristics and note the points in which they agree or disagree, be it in physique or culture.

Naturally enough, in a panorama of this kind, it is the differences that are chiefly in evidence. They are sometimes individual, oftener, perhaps, tribal, but in either event they are not infrequently of such a nature as to call for an explanation; and it is in answer to this demand that our author is led to ascribe them, in part, to the admixture that has everywhere taken place between people who not only lead different lives, but who may belong to different races and be in different stages of development. From the earliest antiquity, and all along

the line of contact between the light and dark races, or "between herdsmen and tillers of the soil," as our author more accurately describes them, this process has been going on; and so numerous are these crosses, and so varied the elements of which they are composed, that it is probably safe to assert that to-day there is no such thing known as a pure race, or a civilization untouched by outside influences. In Asia, for example, the southward march of Aryans, Mongols, etc., has made a hotch-potch of the peoples of India and their culture; while in Africa the Arabs and other Semites, in the course of successive invasions, have left their impress everywhere. Even in the heart of the Sudan and among the negroes of the Congo basin, the evidence of this is seen in the spread of Islam, in the prevalence of certain industries, especially the manufacture of iron, as well as in the agriculture and in the physical peculiarities of different tribes. Only in comparatively recent times and within certain limits has a stop been put to these wholesale irruptions and their long line of consequences. The Mongols, for instance, instead of hanging like a cloud over Eastern Europe, have been so effectually bridled by Russia and China that they are no longer a menace to their neighbors; and in Africa the same is true of the tribes that have suddenly, and much to their surprise, found themselves within the "sphere of influence" of some European Power. Only in the west-central portion of the continent, and outside of these "spheres," does the progress of the Fulbe warn us of the existence of regions in which the contest still rages much as it has always done.

Of the effects of this admixture it is impossible to speak in general terms with any degree of accuracy, for the reason that they are not uniform. The pastoral races were not always successful in their invasions; and even when they were, they not only did not always destroy the civilization they found in existence, or absorb the people whom they subjected, but sometimes, as in the case of Rome, they ended by adopting the civilization they are supposed to have destroyed, and were themselves absorbed by the people whom they subdued. Moreover, it is possible that those of us who hold that man is largely the creature of his environment, may ascribe the retrogression that has followed hard upon the irruption of a tribe of nomads upon their settled neighbors, to natural causes, rather than to the deteriorating effect of any admixture of races. Certainly, if we are to judge from the progress made in southern Spain during the seven or eight centuries that it was under Moslem rule, we should be justified in concluding that the relapse into pastoral life in portions of western Asia and northern Africa was due to the destruction of the forests, the exhaustion of the soil, or the drying up of the water supply, quite as much as it was to anything that the Arab may have done or left undone.

But enough of such generalizations. They contain nothing new, and our excuse for indulging in them is to be found in the fact that they embody, in an indefinite sort of way, conclusions which it would be impossible otherwise to set forth without trespassing upon the reader's patience. As a rule, these conclusions may be said to be unobjectionable, though there are times when they are believed to be premature. Thus, for

example, while there can be no doubt of the existence of Semitic influence in Africa from the date of the Hyksos invasion (some 2000 B. C.) down to present times, and from the Mediterranean to the southern extremity of the continent, yet it is by no means sure (pp. 161 *et seq.*) that the earliest Egyptian civilization followed that in western Asia, and was borrowed from it. All that can be safely asserted is that the case is still undecided. We may also add, though the matter is hardly germane, that the proof of "the derivation of the old American civilizations from Asia," which was to be forthcoming in Ratzel's second volume, is not satisfactory. Resemblances there are—any number of them—in the manners and customs of the people of the two continents, just as there are between our Indians and the barbarous tribes of Africa, or the people of Great Britain in the time of Caesar; but this does not prove derivation. And if it did, there is no reason why the argument is not as applicable in the one case as in the other, unless the facility of intercommunication via Bering Strait should be taken as the determining factor in the problem. Indeed, it is so regarded by our author, and if the configuration of the earth is the same to-day that it was ages ago, he may be right. It is a bad rule, however, that will not work both ways, and we must not forget that, leaving out of consideration the continent which, it is said, once united Europe, Iceland, and America, there can be no doubt that the Northmen were in Greenland, and, in all probability, upon the mainland of North America, some hundreds of years before "Columbus sailed the waters blue."

In conclusion, there are one or two considerations that have such a direct bearing upon the political conditions prevailing in our country to-day, that we bespeak for them careful attention. And, first of all, we have the statement, p. 558, based upon an investigation into the origin and distribution of the Aryan races, that "the fair Aryans," from whom we are graciously supposed to have descended, "do not acclimatize themselves in hot countries." This, it is said, is the "teaching of history"; it is endorsed by one who speaks with authority, and while it is not new, it contains a truth which should "give us pause" before we are enticed any further in a career that not only leads to the extension of our rule over tropical regions, but includes the assimilation, benevolent or otherwise, of alien races. Turning now to the ever present negro problem, we are told (I., p. 18) that it would be possible to forecast "the effect of culture upon race distinctions if we could say to-day, with approximate certainty, what will become, in the course of generations, of the 12,000,000 of negro slaves who have within the last thirty years been freed in America, and who will, in the enjoyment of freedom and the most modern acquisitions of culture, have multiplied to 100,000,000." Of the probability of such an increase there cannot, we imagine, be much doubt in view of the statement (II., p. 326) that "their numbers in North America increase faster than those of the most prosperous white population." Moreover, it is borne out by the fact that (II., p. 357) "whole islands, as San Domingo and Jamaica, have fallen to the share of the negroes; several States of the Union, as well as Nicaragua, show negro majorities, and in Brazil all classes are permeated by the negro element." To some of us this outlook

is not very encouraging, and yet, in spite of it, and of the "harm that has resulted, and is still, no doubt, in a yet greater measure in reserve for future ages, owing to the presence of 8,000,000 of negroes in the United States," our author is hopeful, for the reason that experience has shown that "culture is not injurious to the negroes," and because "they have not wholly unlearned the work which they had learnt." Regarded from an economic point of view, this opinion is well founded, for it is admitted (II., p. 322) that "the Southern States, in which those who were formerly slaves form 50 per cent. of the inhabitants," have been less injured than was feared by the abolition of slavery. Further than this our author does not venture in his effort to forecast the future; and we are accordingly left with the political portion of the problem unsolved, unless, perchance, the story, as here told, of the Turks (p. 552) in Europe, the Arabs (vols. II. and III. *passim*) in Africa, and the Russians and Chinese (III., pp. 150, etc., etc.) in Asia, should be taken as an indication that they have not been any more successful than we appear to have been in finding a way by which a higher and a lower race can be made to live together upon terms of political equality.

Longinus on the Sublime. By W. Rhys Roberts. Cambridge (Eng.): University Press; New York: Macmillan. 1899.

The author of the tract "On the Sublime" is, in a sense, the Matthew Arnold of Greek Literature. Matthew Arnold, however, lived in a period that was singularly productive of masterpieces of English, and as he wrote for an audience that was eager to appreciate and echo his definitions, he could seldom sincerely pose as one crying aloud in the desert.

"When I reflect on the age in which Longinus lived," wrote Gibbon in his "Journal," "an age which produced scarcely any other writer worthy of the attention of posterity; when real learning was almost extinct, philosophy sunk down to the quibbles of grammarians and the tricks of mountebanks, and the Empire desolated by every calamity, I am amazed that at such a period, in the heart of Syria, and at the court of an Eastern monarch, Longinus should produce a work worthy of the best and freest days of Athens."

It was not till nearly half a century after this entry that the traditional ascription of the treatise to Longinus was fairly challenged by scholars. In 1808 the learned world, which had taken for granted that all the MSS. attributed the book to Dionysius Longinus, was mortified by the discovery by the Italian scholar Amati that a Vatican MS. indicated "Dionysius or Longinus" as the author. Last of all it was found that a MS. at Florence had the frank title "Anonymous." Without entering into the arguments, which are chiefly negative and of slender weight one way or the other, we may sum up the controversy by saying that the question at issue is whether the work was written by a third-century writer, presumably Longinus, or by a first-century critic of the Augustan period, possibly one Dionysius. Mr. Roberts has stated both cases with great fairness, and leaves the matter in the obscurity that must darken it until the discovery of a new MS. furnishes less dubious evidence.

The historical Longinus does not depend altogether, for his historical interest, on his alleged authorship. He was that famous

minister of Zenobia, the Queen of Solomon's city, Palmyra, her instructor in Greek letters, and her chief adviser in the heroic resistance she made to the Emperor Aurelian. Aurelian, when he took Palmyra, put Longinus to death. Longinus is known to have been an excellent critic, and we have some fragments of his writings—hardly enough, however, to make a comparison with the present treatise of much value for the question of authorship. But Longinus owes his true lustre to the long-undisputed authorship of the work "On the Sublime," and, unless new evidence comes to back his claims, a generation hence, when the modern phrase "auctor *supra* *omnes*" shall have completely ousted the old title, the name and repute of Longinus will have very slight significance for literature. For the sake of brevity, we shall ourselves refer here to the author of the treatise under his traditional name.

The English word "sublime" is, of course, a wholly inadequate rendering of the Greek *υψος*. It is to be regretted that Mr. Roberts did not take the opportunity of this new and important edition to introduce a more satisfactory rendering. "*Υψος* is easier to describe than to define, and probably there is no single English word that would reproduce it. John Hall's seventeenth-century translation was entitled "Of the Height of Eloquence," which comes nearer the original than the unhappy "Gallicism," as Dr. Johnson would have called it, now in use. But perhaps there is no phrase current in modern criticism that so nearly represents Longinus's idea of the word *υψος* as Matthew Arnold's "the grand style." For both critics, the secret of a grand or elevated style is ethical; in both, the study of literature is closely allied to the study of morals.

"What fact," wrote Longinus, "was before the eyes of those superhuman writers who, aiming at everything that was highest in composition, condemned an all-pervading accuracy? This besides many other things, that Nature has appointed us men to be no base nor ignoble animals; but when she ushers us into life and into the vast universe as into some great assembly, to be, as it were, spectators of the mighty whole and the keenest aspirants for honour, forthwith she implants in our souls the unconquerable love of whatever is elevated and more divine than we."

"*Υψος* is, in short, the "high seriousness that comes from absolute sincerity." As Matthew Arnold relied on illustration rather than on definition to convey his idea of a "tonic" passage, so Longinus, with the unerring good taste that has made his criticisms of permanent value, illustrates his maxims from the whole range of Greek literature. He was a Greco-Roman sophist in the technical sense, but he never yielded to the Sophistic weakness of treating of minor and inferior authors on the same plane as the heroes of poetry. Like a nineteenth-century critic encouraging a reaction against the eighteenth-century manner, Longinus insists that the faultless productions of a Lysias or of an Alexandrian poet are not to be preferred to the work of a truly great writer like Homer whom it is possible to catch nodding.

Greek literature in its decadence produced two critics of importance, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Longinus. The latter ranks with Plato and Aristotle as the third of the three greatest critics of Greece. Longinus has not the rigidly analytical spirit of Aristotle; he is a critic of the intuitive type of Plato, with an enthusiasm that was troubled

by no philosophical *arrière pensée*. He has the enormous advantage over his predecessors of not being confined to a single literature. We possess only a third of his treatise; but no century, from the earliest times to the beginning of our era, is unrepresented in his quotations. It is a catholic taste that can draw on Sappho, Moses, and Cicero in a breath. After illustrating from literature the loftiest expressions of the divinity of the gods, Longinus adds: "Similarly, the legislator of the Jews, no ordinary man, having formed and expressed a worthy conception of the might of the godhead, writes at the very beginning of his laws, 'God said'—what? 'Let there be light, and there was light; let there be land, and there was land.'" Mommsen, who thought that the treatise was written in the early days of the Empire by an unknown author, was led by this passage to suggest that he was a Hellenized Jew. Here is a Greek critic, then, who has some acquaintance with Latin, and even with Hebrew literature. We owe to his wide range of quotation several passages from Greek literature that are nowhere else preserved, and, most important of all, that famous ode of Sappho—"not one passion but a congress of passions"—which Catullus translated. As Mr. Roberts points out, Longinus has not given us any of those great classical definitions that light up the "Poetics" of Aristotle, yet if we had to judge of all the glory that was Greek literature from only one or the other, it is the enthusiast Longinus from whom we should gain the clearer and wider conception.

The treatise has been much neglected by English editors. Mr. Havell's translation, published in 1890, did much to encourage the study of Longinus among general students of the history of criticism. Mr. Roberts has now given us a critical edition of the text with a parallel translation, a valuable introduction and appendices, which, if they do not embody any new matter, present with admirable clearness all the previous work done on the essay. We wish he had included the fragments of the historical Longinus for the convenience of those who wish to compare the styles. The post-classical Greek of Longinus has no great beauty to lose in translation—a fact which greatly simplifies the translator's task. Mr. Roberts's version is in excellent English, and, generally speaking, his renderings of the quotations are good; it is unfortunate that, of all the bad translations of the Sappho ode, he should have chosen that of the late John Addington Symonds; he might, however, have taken Gladstone's, which is one degree worse.

A Literary History of Ireland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. By Douglas Hyde, LL.D., M.R.I.A. London: T. Fisher Unwin; New York: Scribners. 1899. Pp. xviii, 654.

After all that has been said and done, there are few less sentimental people than the Irish. There are few more inclined to *mauvaise honte*, more apt to be moved by the sneers of those above them; few less disposed to let a ray of sentiment (on all but the religious question) stand in the way of their individual progress. They conserved through the penal and ascendancy days sufficient national peculiarities in language, dress, and music through which to exhibit distinctive national traits and customs as honorable as those so jealously guarded by the Scotch and Welsh.

Their object has been to obliterate rather than to conserve distinctive national life, and of late years Irishmen have had to deplore the peasantry beating their children who lisped Irish in districts to which came Continental savants to study the Irish branch, purely preserved and philologically most important of the tongue once common over Western Europe and the British Isles. In 1835 a German who travelled in Ireland calculated that out of a population of seven millions, four millions spoke Irish "als ihre Muttersprache." The census of 1891 showed that while 750,000 were still bilingual, but 66,000 spoke Irish only. There has of late years been a vigorous effort, likely to be attended with some measure of success, to preserve and extend the use of Irish, not to the exclusion of English, but as educational and enlightening, tending to self-respect and breadth of mind among the Irish people.

Dr. Hyde, fully qualified as a scholar and philologist, has been foremost in this movement. In the work before us we have the outcome of his deeper studies in the history of the language and its literature. The last chapter is an appeal for its preservation as a spoken tongue. The appearance of this book has been long looked forward to. In breadth of view and erudition anticipations have been justified. The style is, however, somewhat ponderous. While no collection of books relating to Ireland will be complete without it, it will be kept rather for reference than for reading. Most of the old cycles of story related, are familiar to those conversant with the subject and who are likely to purchase the book. For such they might have been curtailed. For those fresh to the subject they are not made sufficiently interesting. Dr. Hyde has not Dr. Joyce's faculty for popularizing knowledge on Gaelic subjects. This does not, however, take from the great and essential value of the book. We only regret that our space will not permit of a full exposition of the contents. Dr. Hyde cites the authority of German and French scholars for the belief that there are still in existence 133 Irish MSS. copied before 1600, and that the total literature produced by the Irish before the seventeenth century and still existing would fill 1,000 octavo volumes. There is in the Royal Irish Academy alone a large body of MS. "pieces," from quatrains to long poems and epic sagas. Dr. Hyde refers to the correspondence of genealogies and the correct noting of eclipses: "The Annals of Ulster, annals which treat of Ireland and Irish history from about the year 444, but of which the written copy dates only from the fifteenth century, contain from the year 496 to 884 as many as eighteen records of eclipses and comets which agree exactly, even to the day and hour, with the calculations of modern astronomers." Again: "We may, then, take it, without any credulity on our part, that Irish history as drawn from native sources may be very well relied upon from about the middle of the fourth century."

The Irish alphabet, still in use, was no doubt borrowed from the Romanized Britons. The general use of letters is to be attributed to the early Christian missionaries. Ogham is essentially an Irish system of writing to be found only where Irish settlements or Irish influence extended. Some of the Ogham pillars "are gravestones of people who died so late as the year 600, but what proportion of them, if any, date from before the Christian era, it is yet

impossible to tell." We have no specimens of Irish manuscript written in Irish before the eighth century; we have Latin probably of the fifth or sixth. The extent to which the Irish people, up to the catastrophe of the famine, and before the anti-Gaelic influence of the Government schools had worked, and even since and still, have preserved a taste for and recollection of the old literature, bears out Dr. Hyde's insistence concerning the extent of literary culture among the native Irish. Concerning the effective beneficial influence of that literature and of the great Irish schools upon national apart from individual character we retain our doubts. After all the bombast and glories of the ancient Sagas, Ireland was helpless to prevent the Danish and Norman invasions. She cherished no national ideal. The contests between the heroes and the clans of Ulster and Leinster and Meath and Connaught and Munster that form the staple of so much of Dr. Hyde's narratives, are sickeningly reproduced in the factions and rivalries of the present day. Literary interest there is, but circumscribed. Large admission is made by Dr. Hyde when, discussing the curious and involved Irish metres, concerning which he gives us so much interesting information, he says: "This . . . may help to place much of our poetry in another light, for its beauty depends less upon the intrinsic substance of the thought than the external elegance of the framework." To all but a comparatively narrow circle, ancient Irish poetry can be known but through translations. If through such, that is lost upon which its beauty mainly depends, it cannot be expected that it will arouse much general enthusiasm.

Seeing that Dr. Hyde appreciates the Irish alphabet as a "peculiarly beautiful" modification of the Roman, he gives no reason for not using it in this volume. The language is difficult enough of pronunciation in its own dress—doubly so in the cumbrousness of Roman lettering. The peculiar pronunciation of the dotted consonants in Irish is not fully expressed by the alternative addition, where Roman letters are used, of the letter *h* after the consonant. This valuable work is the outcome of Dr. Hyde's enthusiasm for the preservation of Irish as a spoken language. We do not understand why in its pages he thinks well to present it to his readers in foreign garb.

The dominant thought with which we lay aside this 'Literary History' is of the solace which native literature and song must have been to the Irish through ages when bereft of almost everything else.

Bibliography of Eighteenth-Century Art and Illustrated Books: Being a Guide to Collectors of Illustrated Works in English and French of the Period. By J. Lewine. With thirty-five plates giving specimens of the work of the artists of the time. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$25.00.

The title of this book is to be understood as the bibliography of art books and illustrated books. It would not be strictly accurate to say that it is a bibliography of eighteenth-century art, in view of the fact that it does not deal with books which treat of that art. Where no mention is made of the very numerous French writers of our own time who have devoted themselves largely to elucidating the art of the eighteenth century, the title should, perhaps, suggest as much.

Even if it did offer such suggestion, it would be hard to understand the phrases of the preface. It appears that our author thinks that the record is almost barren of bibliography devoted to "books with embellishments," which, as he truly says, are "now so much in vogue and so deservedly coveted by the amateur." There is one book devoted to "books with embellishments" concerning which the students of that important and curious branch of art are unanimous in praise. That book is Henry Cohen's 'Guide de l'Amateur,' which, whether in its fourth edition, now fifteen years old, or in its fifth edition as revised and enlarged by Baron Portalis, is as useful and as satisfactory as a book of the kind can be. This one bibliography covers nearly all the French half (which is really more than half) of Mr. Lewine's work, and to this has been added a very great number of monographs on different artists, also of the French school, together with the general treatises of the brothers De Goncourt, celebrated for their thoroughness and their complete presentation of the subject. The bibliography by Cohen and Portalis is devoted as strictly to books with illustrations as is Mr. Lewine's; and, as suggested above, there was little for the English author to do but to copy or restate what was contained therein; but the other works referred to above are, of course, treatises on the painter, the engraver, the decorator, the sculptor, the adorning of palaces and churches, as well as the beautifier of books.

On the other hand, the English compiler has gone a little farther afield than have the Frenchmen in that he has added to his list certain books which could not properly be called *livres d'ornement*, namely, such as certain collections of costumes, and a book on garden architecture, which, though books on kindred subjects are certainly included in Cohen and Portalis, are not to be found there. Still, it is for the English part of the collection that one will eagerly buy the present volume. There were very few books published in England and illustrated in the dainty French way with prints from delicately engraved plates, but there were the vigorous caricatures of Rowlandson and the realistic grotesques of Hogarth. There were the half-English publications known under the name of Count Hamilton. There were numberless volumes with a portrait or two in each, and there were the archaeological books which, from the beginning of the century to its close, were produced in England in some abundance. It would be an interesting task to make a classified list of the different subjects covered by the books named in this volume. One would be glad to know how many were French and how many English, how many are illustrated books proper—that is to say, with the text to which the illustrations are serviceable; how many are collections of unrelated plates held together by a thread of common location, as in the numerous "Galleries" of Dresden, Florence, and the like; and how many are books of archaeological study. The maker of such a list will be amused by the different departments which he has to create for himself, and into which his list has to be divided. It was a surprise, when page 510 of this book was reached, to see that the heading "Songs," beginning at the foot of that page, was carried on and continually repeated for three pages more. There are actually forty separate titles of song-books, all illustrated sufficiently to become the sub-

jects of Mr. Lewine's studies. Our student will find, also, in this book about English and French books some works which are neither English nor French, such as Treitzsaurwein's 'Weis Kunig,' which seems to be entered in its original form because there was to be entered a French issue of it, and Geesner's writings in five volumes, needed apparently for the same reason.

The eighteenth century deserves especial attention from those who would know how much of good and valuable art is possible to times which are admittedly less strenuous, less significant, less in earnest about their fine art. The exact value of such art as that of Watteau and that of Reynolds, when compared with the more serious and, therefore, greater art of earlier times, is difficult to fix even in one's mind; and of proportionate difficulty is the appraisal of the minor arts of the same epoch—the prints in these illustrated books, as well as the delicately modelled and exquisitely chased metal work of ornamental design, and the charming paintings above door, window, and mantel. The curious mixture of reality and stagey affectation which marks the figure-drawing of the period, and the defects in the drawing itself—not so much defects in knowledge as in care and serious purpose, and mingled with a singular dexterity and swiftness of execution—all this is worthy of the most serious observation of the student of fine art, and the explanation of it is a fit task for the wisest and most perspicacious critic. The books we already have, have opened up the French side of this art very thoroughly and admirably, and we have to expect more and yet more of the present generation of students; but the English side of it has hardly been done as yet; so far as that is concerned, the statements of Mr. Lewine's preface are correct.

Volcanoes: Their Structure and Significance.
By T. G. Bonney, D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S.,
Professor of Geology at University College, London. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1898.
8vo, pp. xiv, 322.

Volcanoes were among the first natural phenomena to be attentively observed by civilized man. The existence of Vesuvius, Vulcano, and other active or extinct eruptive centres in the midst of the Roman Empire led to continuous and minute observations upon many characteristics of volcanoes. Numerous excellent treatises have been written describing various phases of volcanic activity and decay, and discussing the problems as to the origin of the volcanic forces. In the English language the great work of Scrope, and the later one by his pupil, Prof. Judd, are well known to all students.

In the last few years some tremendous volcanic eruptions have occurred in distant parts of the world—New Zealand, Japan, and the East Indies; but while these great outbursts have been more fully described, and, through the newspaper and the magazine, have become known to a far larger number of people than older eruptions of the same character, it must be confessed that no great addition has been made to our understanding of the character or the cause of volcanic action. If this is true, a new general discussion of volcanoes must justify itself by its treatment of the later eruptions, or by a specially attractive or novel presentation of the older facts and theories. This idea seems to have

forced itself upon Prof. Bonney, the author of the work now before us, for in his preface he remarks: "Were it not that Nature sometimes supplies new materials, there would be little excuse for another book on Volcanoes." It seems, then, perfectly fair to examine his book upon this basis.

The plan of it, as expressed in its chapter headings, sounds very fair, and seems to promise a well-thought-out scheme for the presentation of the subject. "The Life History of Volcanoes," "The Dissection of Volcanoes," and the like, convey the idea of a very systematic treatment of the materials, but examination proves that the system is not followed out to any great extent. The book is very largely a compilation of long quotations, descriptive of certain volcanoes, and thrown together without much regard for the scheme of its table of contents.

In the first chapter, on the Life History, we find presented sketches of various kinds of volcanoes, with bits of the history of many vents; and, altogether, the reader will gain some idea of what is considered the normal sequence of events about a volcanic centre, but it will be in spite of, rather than owing to, the order of presentation. Under the "Dissection of Volcanoes" one encounters a jumble of descriptions of volcanic mountains in all stages of decay. A long discussion of crater lakes appears here, and shorter ones of fissure eruptions and laccolithic intrusions. It is much more the internal structure of volcanoes than the dissection which is dwelt upon in this chapter. It is, no doubt, a difficult task to explain the chemical and mineralogical classification of igneous rocks to a lay reader, but no good can result from attempts to make the matter simple by misstatement. Prof. Bonney gives a crude explanation of some of the principal rock groups—omitting others equally important—and then indicates the nomenclature of each group after this style: "Then the holocrystalline forms are called Diorite; the semicrystalline, Porphyrite; the glassy, Andesite." It is true that he explains that he does not use these adjectives in their natural sense and as they are used by petrographers, but he leaves it very obscure what he does wish to express. The description of the structural forms of lavas, including all their physical aspects, is clear and comprehensive.

The chapter on "The Geological History of Volcanoes" is not a general discussion of the subject indicated, but a kind of abstract of the works of Sir Archibald Geikie and Prof. Judd upon the extinct volcanoes of Great Britain, with many points concerning which there is still a marked difference of opinion. In the following chapter, on "The Distribution of Volcanoes," there is a brief statement in regard to the active or not long extinct volcanoes of the world, outside of Great Britain. This enumeration and concise characterization of known volcanoes is one of the most valuable portions of the book.

The final chapter, on "The Theories of Volcanoes," vividly illustrates the difficulty of analysing such an abstruse subject for the untechnical reader when it must be admitted at every turn that we are ignorant as to essential facts, and have but little basis for assumptions. The conclusion reached is the one familiar from earlier summaries, that we understand the physics and the chemistry of surface volcanic phenomena fairly well, but have little real knowledge of the deep-seated causes of volcanic action, including the ori-

gin of the magma and the force propelling it to the surface.

It seems, then, that Prof. Bonney's treatment of the older materials is not conspicuously successful. He has rearranged the descriptions of many well-known volcanoes to be found in earlier treatises, but without much reference to the apparent plan of his own work. As to the new materials supplied him by nature, it is probable that the greater number of those who take up this volume will already have read the same or much fuller accounts of Krakatoa, Bandaisan, etc.; at least that is true of America's readers.

The style of the work seems somewhat open to criticism. The attempt to popularize leads in many places to a rather colloquial form, often mistakenly thought to be the same thing as simplicity and directness of statement. The latter is far more difficult, and correspondingly more effective, as a rule.

History of the World: From the Earliest Historical Time to the Year 1898. By Edgar Sanderson, M.A. With Maps. (The Concise Knowledge Library.) D. Appleton & Co. 1898.

A publisher's note concerning the American edition of this book faces the title-page, and in it attention is called to the fact that Mr. Sanderson's 'History of the World,' as prepared for the United States, reaches the close of the war with Spain. This apparently incidental statement may be used to bring out the character of the volume. A history of the Spanish war, using that term in any proper sense, cannot yet be written, but much knowledge about the late contest is easily available, and that is all which is required for the purposes of the present series. Indeed, had Mr. Sanderson written his account of the Peloponnesian War in 404 B. C., or his account of the Lutheran Reformation in 1546, his pages on those subjects might well have borne a strong resemblance to the ones which we have just been reading. His comments and deductions would have been somewhat different, but the proportion of these to hard relentless facts is so small that the general appearance of the work would not have been profoundly affected thereby.

Comparing Mr. Sanderson's outlines of universal history with other similar sketches which have recently appeared, we find its chief value in the portions relating to the obscurer regions of the world—to those, we mean, which have had a relatively small share in the progress of civilization, and are, therefore, passed over by most writers as too insignificant for mention. Thus, for instance, in the case of the ancient world, Lydia, Phrygia, and Bactria appear; and in that of the modern, Siam, Burmah, the Sudan, Abyssinia, Central America, and Australasia. Roughly speaking, a fifth of the contents is occupied with information which, besides being ordinarily omitted from manuals, is likely to render intelligent readers of the newspapers direct assistance. On the whole, Mr. Sanderson has made his choice of topics judiciously, and shows that he has a competent store of historical information. There are a few standard authors to whom he is rather amusingly indebted, for example, Macaulay and Bryce. Besides quoting from and referring to them often, he more than once paraphrases their words without ex-

press recognition, *e. g.*, from Macaulay on p. 431, and from Bryce on p. 214. In one or two other respects he is decidedly amusing. What the sentences are like in which he gives the modern student mnemonic assistance by coupling some matter of contemporary note with an ancient fact or circumstance, may be gathered from the following illustrations: P. 209, "A seven days' desperate battle at the place, north of Cadiz, called Xeres de la Frontera, familiar to us from the district's wine called 'sherry,' ended in the total defeat of the Goths." P. 332, "We must now relate the origin of one of the most flourishing minor states of the world, the Swiss republic, which, in the nineteenth century, became a chief resort for European and American tourists and derives therefrom a large increase of wealth for her people." Another diverting feature is the shower of adjectives which, doubtless for the sake of conciseness, Mr. Sanderson lets fall upon rulers and other great personages, *e. g.*, p. 476, "The worthless, witty, clever Charles II. reigned from 1660-1685." And facing this, at the beginning of the next paragraph, p. 477, "James II. (1685-1688), cruel, faithless, stupid, hard-hearted despot as he was, had a short term of power, according to the prediction of his shrewd brother Charles." Finally, we doubt whether such an ex-parte statement as the following is appropriate in a "concise knowledge" series. Referring to the Anglo-Russian difficulty of 1885 in Afghanistan, Mr. Sanderson says: "The act was a deliberate insult to Great Britain, and should have been followed by an immediate declaration of war. Mr. Gladstone, however, was Prime Minister, and Lord Grenville was Foreign Secretary, and the matter was settled by 'explanations.'"

Some slips must always occur in an extensive work of reference, and we have noted a considerable number here, though not enough, by any means, to fix a stigma of incorrectness upon the whole narrative. We mention some of them partly because they are typical and partly that they may be placed upon the list of corrigenda. P. 168: The impression is conveyed that Declus decisively repelled the Goths. On the contrary, he was slain in the battle of Forum Treborril, where the Goths overwhelmed his legions. P. 182: Pope Leo the Great had not been concerned in meeting any Vandal invasion before 449. P. 183: The leader of the Franks to whom Pope Gregory III. appealed against the Lombards was Charles Martel, not Pepin the Short. P. 190: Clovis's victory over the Alamanni (Zülpich) was fought near Strassburg, not Cologne. P. 217: Roger Guiscard, rather than Robert, should be credited with achievements in Sicily against the Saracens. P. 245: Besides some doubtful statements regarding the early condition of Florence, the minting of the florin is ascribed to the eleventh century instead of to 1252. P. 274: 1166 is not the date of Strongbow's first victories in Ireland. P. 279: The essence of the communes (Cambrai, Beauvais, Noyon, etc.) is missed in the sentence, "Former serfs who had been hereditary owners of portions of land had, in like manner, organized communes or parishes." P. 289: It is implied wrongly that in 1158 Milan yielded to Barbarossa without a struggle. P. 296: The Cathedral of Florence was not a Medicean work. P. 330: There is no good evidence to show that the Emperor Henry VII. was poisoned in 1313, although the assertion

is often repeated on weak authority. P. 334: The battle of Nâfels was fought in canton Glarus, not Schwyz. P. 424: The notice of St. Bartholomew hardly represents the best recent investigations. P. 523: Admiral Jarvis was not "victor over the French" in the battle of Cape St. Vincent. P. 720: The first Canadian printing-press was established in 1769, not 1764.

Despite these strictures, we must term Mr. Sanderson's book a useful, and in the main a very correct, one.

Under the African Sun: A Description of Native Races in Uganda, Sporting Adventures, and Other Experiences. By W. J. Anson. With 134 illustrations from photographs by the author, and two colored plates. Longmans, Green & Co. 1899. 8vo, pp. xiv, 355.

Uganda is the most interesting of tropical African countries. Its unique position makes it the true heart of the continent. Situated at the sources of the Nile, exactly half way between the Cape and the Mediterranean and the proposed meeting-point of the Nile and Bechuana railways, it is in close touch with the Indian Ocean by a railway nearly completed. Before another decade closes, it may be in direct communication with the Atlantic by a railway bridging the two or three hundred miles to the navigable waters of the Congo. Though apparently possessed of no mineral wealth, its soil is extraordinarily fertile—cotton and sugar growing wild—and it has an equable climate in which neither the heat nor the cold is excessive. The inhabitants, more than any other pure negroes, resemble the Japanese in their intelligence and their feudal form of government, while their eagerness to learn is shown by their nascent literature and native press. Their strength of character and self-reliance are attested by their history since Stanley's memorable visit in 1875; and though wars, religious persecutions, and rebellions have devastated the land and reduced its population, yet now it is confidently hoped that an era of peace and prosperity has dawned, and that there is an approaching near fulfilment of the prophecy that Uganda will become a second India.

The author of this latest contribution to the literature of the country, as Government medical officer during the last four years, was stationed in different parts of the Protectorate, thereby gaining an exceptional knowledge of the country and the people. His book is not a connected narrative, but a series of detached sketches and descriptions of incidents and personal experiences with men and beasts. It seems almost as if Dr. Anson had first arranged his pictures according to subjects, and then in writing followed their suggestions. There is an advantage in this method in that each picture becomes individual and significant, and the impression of much which is described in the text is heightened. Beginning with Zanzibar and the caravan road to the lake, our author tells something of each district through which he passed or in which he was stationed, and of the different tribes with which he had dealings, closing with stories of his hunting adventures with big game, and brief accounts of some of the smaller mammals, reptiles, and insects. His most enjoyable station, if not the most interesting, was at Fovira on the Nile, where,

amid lovely scenery, surrounded by timid and peaceable natives, he led an almost idyllic life. Far different were his experiences at another post at the outbreak of the Sudanese mutiny. Fortunately his men remained loyal, not, however, without making some alarming demonstrations. He commends the Sudanese for their soldierly qualities of obedience and courage, and for their excellent service up to this time in guarding the frontiers of the Protectorate. Of their intelligence he gives this illustration:

"The men have to be their own tailors, and it is astonishing what neat white uniforms they can produce. The thread they obtain by unravelling a long, narrow strip of 'american' cotton-cloth, or, more economically, by spinning it for themselves out of cotton from the nearest cotton plant."

He tells little of the deplorable, because preventable, mutiny beyond his personal experiences, but he hints at one of the causes, insufficient pay, in the remark that its outcome is "that a more liberal allowance has been granted to meet Government expenditure, and that the British nation has a firmer hold than ever of the Uganda Protectorate."

Dr. Anson is an interested and careful observer, and scattered through his books are numerous descriptions, illustrated frequently by well-chosen pictures, of characteristic native types, customs, and dwellings. These differ sometimes in an extraordinary and inexplicable way: for instance, the traveller passes immediately from the absolutely nude savages in Kavirondo into Usoga, "where not even the youngest walk about uncovered." The children show at a very early age an intelligence and capacity which seem of great promise for the ultimate elevation of the race. On the northwest shore of Lake Albert, among the Lurs, a magnificent black bull, becoming excited, put a whole village, including Dr. Anson's followers, to flight, and was on the point of charging him:

"Fortunately some one had hurriedly sent for the bull's keeper, a six-year-old naked little urchin. He came on the scene, and before the bull was aware—switch!—gave the brute a whack across the flank with a long lithe reed wand. The effect was magical. The bull became most humble, . . . and it fairly galloped off, amid the jeers and laughter of the hundreds who, a few minutes before, had fled helter-skelter in every direction."

The author's hunting was done mainly to provide food, or, as in the case of the lions and hippopotami, for the protection of the people. On the Nile and on the western shore of Lake Albert, the latter were so numerous and destructive to the corn and sweet-potato crops that there was a scarcity of food. "In such a struggle for existence," he says, "the hippo is locally exterminated, or the villagers must migrate to a region not favored by these animals." He is an enthusiastic student of natural history, and in the description of his various collections by different authorities inserted at the end of his book, it appears that of the 216 species of birds, some are new to science, and of some only one or two other specimens are known, and of butterflies, moths, and beetles he has "succeeded in adding more than fifty new species to science." The illustrations, which are reproductions of his own photographs, are exceptionally good, and add much to the interest and value of the work. It is, we regret to say, however, without either map or index.

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Macaulay, T. B. Warren Hastings. Cassell & Co. 10s.
MacDonagh, M. Irish Life and Character 2d.
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